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New World

REVIEW



Soviet children look at exhibit of Mark Twain books before a conference on the author. See pages 24-31

Peace Currents in America • Soviet Peace Proposals • Chinese People Say "No" to H-Bomb • Soviet Economic Developments

NEW WORLD *Review*

JUNE

1955

Toward Easing World Tensions	3
Americans Urge Exchange Visits With Soviet People <i>Andrew Voynow</i>	5
Soviet Economic Policy <i>Maurice Dobb</i>	11
UN Plus Bandung Equals Peace <i>Eslanda Robeson</i>	9
The American People Want Peace <i>Jessica Smith</i>	15
World Congress of Mothers	23
Soviet Children Discuss Mark Twain	24
Western Note to the USSR	32
USSR Peace Proposals Offered to the UN	33
Chinese People Say "No" to Nuclear Weapons <i>Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley</i>	43
Diverting the Flow of Rivers <i>Nikolai Mikhailov</i>	46
The Meaning of Matusow <i>Alvah Bessie</i>	52

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SUMMER MEMO

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

Toward Ending World Tensions

THE PAST MONTH has seen a series of constructive events and hopeful moves in the direction of easing world tensions.

The proposal of the United States, Britain and France to the Soviet Union, and the acceptance by the latter, of a meeting this summer of the heads of state of these four countries, affords a long overdue opportunity for the negotiation of many issues affecting world peace.

The Western action was the direct result of the pressure of public opinion in our own country and in Europe. The demand for top-level Four-Power negotiations was so great in England that Sir Anthony Eden was forced to make it an issue of the election campaign, as the only chance to win over the Labor Party. The Administration's reluctant consent to begin with negotiations at the summit, as against its own preference to see what the foreign ministers might accomplish first, was a move to help the Tories stay in power.

The signing of the State Treaty with Austria on May 15, establishing a free and independent and neutral Austria, pledged to join no military alliances and have no foreign military bases on its soil, with all occupation troops to be withdrawn before the end of the year, is not only a great forward step in itself, but an example of what negotiations can accomplish. Concessions were made

by both East and West during the negotiations, but it has been generally conceded in the press that it was the "notable concessions" (*New York Times*, May 16) of the USSR that had made agreement possible.

The example of the Austrian Treaty will undoubtedly have a powerful effect on the public opinion of West Germany, where the completion of the ratifications of the Paris Pacts for the rearming of Germany, and the official entry of West Germany into NATO, brought a new wave of opposition to the implementation of the pacts, and new demands for negotiations with the Soviet Union for German unification. This opposition, sparked by the Social Democrats, the trade unions, and many other groups, now finds powerful support within Adenauer's coalition, and even within his own party.

The final ratification of the Paris Pacts brought the inevitable Soviet counter-action of the annulment of the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet treaties, as having been cancelled by the agreement with West Germany. It was also answered by the treaty of mutual defense signed by the USSR and its Eastern European allies on May 14, providing for a loose coordination of their military forces under joint command. Significant in the treaty, however, was that it provided for its dissolution should an all-European collective security

organization come into being. Also highly significant was the fact that while the German Democratic Republic is a signatory to the treaty, its "participation in measures regarding the armed forces of the unified command is to be examined later." This indicates that the question of negotiations for a unified and peaceful Germany remains open as long as the actual rearming of West Germany under the Paris Pacts is not implemented.

In his statement at the signing of the Austrian treaty, Mr. Molotov said that the Soviet Union will go on trying to find ways for a peaceful and democratic settlement of the German question that would establish "unity without reviving militarism."

The new peace proposals offered by the Soviet Union to the United Nations, covering proposals for ending the threat of a new world war, arms reduction, and the banning of nuclear weapons under strict international control, are a further example of what negotiations may accomplish. We are publishing these documents in full in this issue in view of the efforts that are already being made to distort the Soviet position. A careful study of them, against the whole record of negotiations on this question, will show what far-reaching concessions have been made by the USSR toward meeting the Western viewpoint, how the area of agreement has widened, how comprehensive and fool-proof a system of inspection in arms and atomic weapons control the USSR is now offering.

A further hopeful sign for the easing of tensions in Europe is the announcement of the forthcoming state visit of the top officials of the Soviet Government and Party to Yugoslavia.

In Asia there are also powerful trends in the direction of negotiated settlements and peace. The opposition of the people to intervention over Quemoy and Matsu islands, reinforced by the unwillingness of America's allies to be drawn into such a war, seems to have won out over the influence of the war-now advocates in the Pentagon and the McCarthyite wing of the Republican Party.

In this the historic Bandung Conference had a powerful impact, with its unanimous call for the ending of intervention, the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, and for nations to live together in peace and tolerance and friendly cooperation.

[We must apologize to our readers that due to a delay in the mails we have not yet received the promised first-hand report of the Bandung Conference. It will have to await the next issue.]

Possibility of a settlement with People's China opened up, following the announcement by Premier Chou En-lai at Bandung that the Chinese Government is willing to enter negotiations with the United States, "to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially . . . in the Taiwan (Formosa) area," and our government's acceptance of this idea after its original rejection of it. It is to be hoped that the visit to Peking of India's UN delegate, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, may result in further fruitful developments.

The great opportunity at hand for a peaceful settlement of the Formosa issue must not be lost.

Continued pressure from the people for the fullest use of the method of negotiation to achieve peaceful settlements everywhere is the great need of the moment.

American Students, GIs, Farmers Urge Exchange Visits With Soviet People

by ANDREW VOYNOW

A WARM, inspiring and hopeful meeting was held in Moscow a few weeks ago to mark the tenth anniversary of the link-up of the American and Soviet forces on the Elbe River in Germany. Soviet veterans of that event acted as hosts to nine American veterans with whom, on that historic day in 1945, they had joyfully shaken hands as allies against a common enemy. And now, ten years later, there were again heartfelt hand-clasps, pledges of friendship and ardent expressions of the desire for peace in the world.

Even in normal times this would have been a stirring reunion. But today, in the tense atmosphere that prevails, it is more than moving, for it is symbolic of a friendship between the two countries that *can* exist, it is a popular expression against war and the threat of war and for more normal exchange between the peoples of our country and the Soviet Union.

Joseph Polowsky, secretary of the American group of veterans which calls itself the American Veterans of the Elbe River Link-Up, declared before the take-off for Moscow that he thought the trip would help to

improve American-Soviet relations. And another spokesman of the group said: "At the time of the original link-up, both Americans and Russians pledged themselves to fight for a peaceful world." He added that the group "hopes to repeat that."

Peace. Friendship. Interchange. Nine former GI's flew to Moscow to tell the Soviet vets that's what they want.

There is ample proof that they were not speaking for themselves alone. The American people were behind them and gave concrete evidence of this.

The Soviet invitation took care of all expenses from Paris to Moscow and back to Paris again. The Americans had to raise their own funds to fly to the French capital and home again. This was a substantial sum, and none of them had it. But the American people wanted them to go, and were quite willing to pay for it.

It happened this way. The former GI's appeared on the TV quiz program, Strike It Rich. They described their mission as one to improve relations between the two countries and explained their plight. They asked

for aid. In the quiz they won \$500. The program offered them another \$500. And on the basis of the response that came in from TV viewers, the program advanced them the sum that they required. The Colgate-Palmolive Company, sponsors of Strike It Rich, and the CBS-TV network are to be commended for their public service on behalf of good international relations.

It is important to recognize that these ambassadors of friendship received the immediate support of the American public.

THERE HAVE been other instances lately of the American public expressing its desire to lessen world tensions, to meet with the people of the Soviet Union, to exchange with them their ideas, methods and experiences.

It is true that powerful forces try to thwart such friendly interchange—but the desire is there and at every opportunity it is expressed.

A case in point revolves around a group of editors of Soviet student and youth newspapers. Replying to an invitation from a similar group of American college editors who had visited the Soviet Union in 1953, the Soviet editors in the summer of 1954 applied for visas to visit the United States. Declaring that there was little student activity on the U.S. campuses during the summer vacation, the American authorities refused to grant them visas.

In November, 1954, the Soviet youth editors again applied for visas to visit our country. A silence of several months followed. Finally, on March 10 of this year, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the group would be granted 30-day visas.

Now that silence of several months

is of special interest. For only the State Department and the general press were silent. There was a ferment of excitement on American college campuses.

Very soon after the Soviet youth editors applied for visas, student leaders of eight American colleges and universities sent a letter urging Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to grant the visas and informed him that they had sent invitations to the Soviet editors inviting them to visit their respective campuses. A similar letter was sent to Attorney General Brownell.

The letter to Dulles was signed by the presidents of the student councils at Bryn Mawr, Haverford, Lincoln, Oberlin, Reed, Swarthmore and Wayne, and by the editors of the *Chicago Maroon*, *Haverford News*, *Oberlin Review* and *Swarthmore Phoenix*.

Other colleges began to line up in support. Resolutions were adopted on many campuses and editorials appeared in such college papers as the *Harvard Crimson*.

This public response to cultural exchange with the Soviet Union undoubtedly compelled the State Department—despite the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act—to decide to issue the visas.

The State Department requested a private organization in New York, the International Institute of Education, to arrange for the visit, and in no time the Institute was flooded with requests.

From coast to coast colleges and universities asked that the itinerary be arranged to allow the Soviet editors to visit their campuses. College papers welcomed the news and looked forward to meeting their Soviet counterparts. Union locals in various cities, especially Chicago, asked the

APPEAL TO AMERICAN AND SOVIET VETERANS

AN APPEAL to American and Soviet veterans was issued in a joint statement at the conclusion in Moscow of a reunion of American and Soviet veterans of the Elbe River link-up.

The statement, issued by nine American vets and their Soviet veteran colleagues, follows:

"We, American and Soviet veterans, participating in the historic meeting of the two Allied Armies on the Elbe River in 1945, who have gathered in Moscow for the tenth anniversary of that momentous event, solemnly declare that we have not forgotten the friendly union that took shape in the war years.

"The meeting of our armies on the Elbe will remain in the history of mankind a symbol of friendship, good will and mutual respect for our nations. We declare today, as we did ten years ago, our determination to work for friendship between the American and Soviet peoples and for peace throughout the world.

"We express the hope that our meeting will become a tradition, that in the future, too, on the day of the meeting on the Elbe, American and Soviet veterans will exchange friendly messages and meet together as friends."

editors to be their guests. And now even the general press jumped on the band wagon and declared that only good could result from such a visit.

Hopes were high, there was a new feeling in the air, tensions seemed to be relaxing. For at this very time there was also talk of a group of Soviet farmers coming to America to study the methods of the corn growers of Iowa.

BACK IN FEBRUARY the Des Moines *Register* suggested that a delegation of Soviet farmers visit Iowa to see how they raise corn and hogs, and a delegation of Iowa farmers visit the farmlands of the USSR. This, the editorial said, would be "an adventure in human understanding."

The Soviet newspaper *Selskoye Khoziasstvo* quickly responded, editorially declaring that Soviet agricultural scientists and workers looked with favor on such an exchange which "would help improve mutual

understanding between the two countries and ease international tension."

Things were moving fast. A week later, the Soviet Foreign Ministry in a note to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow indicated that the USSR looked favorably on such an exchange of delegations and asked the attitude of the United States.

The State Department, when asked to comment, indicated that the proposal would be "studied." Now matters began to move more slowly. There were hints that the idea would be approved—but nothing official.

Meanwhile, the American public again showed its desire to be hosts to the foreign guests, to extend the hand of friendship, to help lessen tensions. The farmers of Iowa greeted the proposal and declared that they would be happy to show their guests everything they knew about high quality corn-hog raising.

Officials of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, that state's largest farm organization, said they had found

widespread support for the proposed visit. Dr. James H. Hilton, President of Iowa State College, said the Russians would be welcome to inspect that institution's agricultural experiments and to observe its farm teaching methods.

A countrywide Gallup poll showed that 55 per cent of the people in the United States considered the idea of Soviet farmers visiting our country a good one. A regional poll showed that 62 per cent of the people in the Midwest and 64 per cent in the Far West favored the visit.

THERE WAS an air of expectancy. There was much talk of barriers being slightly lowered, of a "new policy" of lessening tensions.

And then came the dash of cold water to chill the warm hopes of people everywhere.

When the Soviet editors of student and youth newspapers were about to pick up their visas, they learned that the American authorities insisted that they be fingerprinted. It was pointed out that this was routine, and in accordance with our laws.

This seemed strange to the USSR, for this regulation was never invoked in the case of any Soviet citizen coming to the United States. The members of the Soviet chess team that came here last June were not fingerprinted. Soviet skiers who came later were not. It just has never been done to Soviet citizens and the USSR didn't see why an exception should be made at this time.

On the other hand the American college editors who travelled so freely in the USSR in 1953 and 1954 were not treated in this manner by the Soviet Union. The least that could be expected, the USSR felt, would be reciprocal treatment for their college editors.

It can be pointed out, too, that the nine American Elbe River veterans who went to Moscow were not subject to such indignities. On the contrary, when they applied to the Soviet Embassy in Washington for their visas, they were received courteously and warmly, and even offered caviar and wine.

Similarly, there was no thought of fingerprinting Dr. Richard Powell and Dr. J. Bartlet Brebner, who represented Columbia University at the 200th anniversary celebration of Moscow University last month, when they received their Soviet visas.

THE CANCELLATION of the Soviet editors' trip to our country is a sad blow to what was widely hoped would be the beginning of saner relations between the two countries. It points up the viciousness and stupidity of the Walter-McCarran Act which works not as a safeguard to our country's security (which its framers pretend it does) but as a barrier to better international understanding, an obstacle to peaceful interchange, a millstone to constructive diplomacy.

In a world of tensions this is dangerous nonsense. Fortunately, at this writing the State Department has informed the USSR that it will agree to a delegation of Soviet farmers to come here on an official basis, which means they will not have to be fingerprinted. It is hoped the delegation will arrive during the summer.

But the important fact is that in every case the American people want to act as hosts to visitors from the Soviet Union. They have proved this beyond doubt. What they must now do is see to it that the Administration's cold war policy is dropped so that their invitations can be accepted without difficulties and without insult.

UN + Bandung = Peace

by ESLANDA ROBESON

IN THE SPRING of 1945, just ten years ago, representatives from many nations met at San Francisco, founded the United Nations, and recorded their plans for peaceful coexistence in the charter.

This spring, in 1955, representatives from many nations met at Bandung, Indonesia, in an Asian-African Conference, and recorded their plans for peaceful coexistence in a communique which was adopted unanimously.

The tenth anniversary of the United Nations has been duly noted over at the glass-and-marble headquarters on the East River, and will be officially celebrated by a special convocation in San Francisco in June. Many of us who work at the world organization have taken this occasion to look back at its successes and failures, and to look forward to its enormous potentialities. In spite of the black blot of the Korean War on the lovely blue and white flag of the UN; in spite of the name-calling and the very undiplomatic arm-twisting, and the brazen voting-machine control; in spite of the occasional serious by-passing of the UN, there are many quite solid achievements to which we all point with pride:

- The UN has become a rallying point for people who just will not let certain member governments stampede them into war;
- The technical assistance, social and economic work of the UN has been a very important factor in making known and meeting the needs and economic rights of peoples everywhere;
- Under the slogan of human rights, women from all parts of the world have rallied to work vigorously for their emancipation and for the rights of children;
- The UN is a constant reminder that the peoples of the world will settle for nothing less than the peace and coexistence which is a mandate of the Charter.

Promise of the bright future for world cooperation in the United Nations can be seen in the changing pattern of the voting: the old pattern of 55 to 5 is now often replaced by 20 to 20 with 20 abstentions, and all kinds of variations in between. Recently we have had some unanimous decisions, which prove that agreement *can* be reached.

And it is very possible that those nations which have occasionally bypassed the UN on important issues

of world concern—now finding themselves way out on a limb, alone—may be compelled by their peoples to return to the fold of world co-operation in the United Nations.

Everyone knows by now that in the current world of flux no man nor small group of men, no nation nor small group of nations can be secure by itself. Together, cooperating with all men and all nations, *all* can be made secure.

The discussions at the Asian-African Conference on the other side of the world may well mark a turning point in world affairs. For generations the Western colonial powers, regarding themselves as a combination of God and Papa, have controlled the land, resources and peoples of Asia and Africa, not, as we now know, for the benefit of the peoples there, but for profit for themselves.

Now for the first time in modern

history the representatives of this majority of the world's population have met without Papa to discuss their own interests and problems, and to make their own plans for their well being and progress. Now that they have come of age, they discussed how best they could, together, contribute to the promotion of the world peace and cooperation which Papa has so far been unable to achieve. They also enunciated their faith in and support of the United Nations.

It may be that the peaceful co-existence of the United Nations plus the peaceful coexistence of Bandung may add up to peaceful coexistence of the world.

It has been said that it takes all kinds of people to make a world. Bandung, like the United Nations, shows them how to make it, despite their differences.

Bandung's Ten Principles for Peace

THE FINAL communique of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung urged all nations to follow a policy of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation based on the following ten principles:

1. Respect for the fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6A. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

6B. Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiations, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interest and cooperation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

Soviet Economic Policy

British economist analyzes latest figures and discusses the relation between heavy and light industries

by MAURICE DOBB

THE OFFICIAL REPORT of the Soviet Government on the results of the National Economic Plan in 1954 does not state the annual rates of increase for heavy and light industry separately, so that we do not know how far the shift towards consumption goods of the past two years has in fact gone and the revised targets for their output been achieved. Total output, however, of all industry registered an increase of 13 per cent over the previous year, which is an advance on the previous year's rate of growth. As compared with 1950, the 1954 results represented an increase of 65 per cent over the four years, which is to be compared with the Five-Year Plan target of 70 per cent by 1955 over 1950. Accordingly, in the words of the report of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR Council of Ministers, "this increase, together with the further increase in industrial output laid down by the plan for

1955, ensures fulfilment ahead of schedule of the targets for the Fifth Five-Year Plan."

Looking at the figures for individual products and their increase in the course of last year, the picture we get is that of a growth in the case of basic metals and fuel and power of between 8 and 11 per cent in the course of the year, or by *less* than the average rate for all industry (with the exception of diesel fuel which had an unusually large increase). Engineering products varied widely according to their type: metal-cutting machine-tools and metallurgical equipment and electrical machines showed relatively low rates of growth (compared with the average), while motor cars and buses (though not trucks) and tractors and excavators and weaving-loom showed much larger rates of growth than the average. Among consumer goods the picture we get from the percentage for individual products is an uneven one. Cotton textiles* and leather footwear registered increases of only 6 and 7 per cent

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* According to the speech of H. Z. Saburov to the Moscow Soviet on November 6, 1954, the output of cotton textiles for the year would amount to "more than 5,500 million meters," of woolen fabrics "242 million meters" and of silk fabrics "520 million meters."

(were they limited by raw material supplies?) and rubber footwear only 3 per cent. Similarly food products mostly grew by less than the average (butter, e.g., by only 2 per cent, though margarine by as much as 16 per cent, and dairy produce in general by 13 per cent). On the other hand woolen and silk textiles showed 17 per cent and 29 per cent increases respectively, while bicycles and motorcycles rose by 25 and 44 per cent, and clocks and watches and gramophones and furniture by between 27 and 31 per cent. Things like radio and television sets, refrigerators and washing machines and vacuum cleaners increased by much higher percentages than these, amounting to a doubling or trebling of output in the course of the year.

Although we have no total figure for production of consumer goods, we are given data on: 1.) state and cooperative sales of goods to the population (which leaves out collective farm-market sales) in 1954 compared with 1953; 2.) retail trade turnover in 1954 compared with 1950 (but not with 1953). Both of these comparisons are expressed "in comparable prices"; i.e. they make allowance for price-changes in the interval and accordingly represent the *real*, and not merely the monetary, change in volume. 1.) is given as an 18 per cent increase (and as high as 29 per cent, be it noted, in rural districts); 2.) as an increase of 80 per cent over the four years, which is already ahead of the Five-Year Plan target for 1955 (namely 70 per cent). Another index of consumption is that "the real wages of workers increased by 5 per cent, thanks to the increased monetary earnings and reduced prices." (This compares with an increase of labor productivity of 7 per cent). No sepa-

rate figure is given of the rise in real income of the rural population; but this must have been considerably greater than the rise in urban incomes in view of the statement that "the total incomes of the workers and peasants (in comparable prices) in 1954 increased by 11 per cent as against the previous year."

As regards agriculture, the sown area increased by nearly 9 million hectares (some 22 million acres)* over the previous year; and "the actual harvest of grain, and also the procurements and purchases of grain in 1954 for the country as a whole, were greater than in 1953 despite the fact that the weather conditions for the grain harvest and other agricultural crops were unfavorable in the South Ukraine and Volga districts." This statement is important in view of wild stories about alleged "failures in agriculture" and "crises of the new agricultural policy" that have been current in the Western press. During the year the supply of tractors to agriculture amounted to 137,000 (general purpose tractors, measured in 15 h.p. units), as well as 37,000 grain harvester combines (of which 17,000 were self-propelled). Of these the overwhelming majority have been sent to the new agricultural districts in Siberia and Kazakhstan, where unused virgin land is being brought under the plow for the first time. A small but significant improvement in livestock is shown by the figures in the table on the next page (which refer to livestock in all categories of holdings, collective, State and individually owned).

* About double this area was newly plowed in the new areas in 1954. The total sown area in 1954 represented an increase of 13 per cent over the sown area of 1950. (M. Z. Saburov in speech to Moscow Soviet of Nov. 6, 1954).

Early in the new year there was a series of intensive discussions in Party and government circles as to whether the priority in development which had been given in the past two years to the consumer goods industries was to be regarded as a temporary expedient, to compensate for a previous lag, or as a permanent feature of economic policy. To judge by an article in the September issue of the journal *Voprosi Ekonomiki* (*Questions of Economics*, 1954, No. 9, pp. 3-18) by I. Vekua, there was a school of thought which held that the period in which priority in development had to be given to heavy industry, producing capital goods, was now ended; that past achievements in building heavy industry had laid a sufficient basis for the expansion of consumption goods industries, and that the primary task for the future lay in developing the latter. (Vekua wrote: "At the present time, on the basis of the successes obtained in developing heavy industry, we now have all the conditions for organizing a steep boom in the production of means of consumption for the people.") There were evidently other economists in the Institute of Economics of the Academy who were propounding a similar thesis. A further article, two months later, in *Voprosi Ekonomiki* (1954, No. 11, pp. 22-39) by the well-known

economist, Academician Strumilin (formerly of Gosplan)—the State Planning Commission), advanced the opposite thesis in the course of an analysis of Marx's famous "schema of expanded reproduction" (in Vol. II of *Capital*) and of the significance of these *schema*, or equations, for the "method of balances" used in Soviet planning. I will not burden the reader with the technicalities of Strumilin's argument, interesting though these are. Suffice to say that, adapting Marx's *schema*, he produced tables, (the main magnitudes of which, he claimed, corresponded to the situation in Soviet economy "towards the end of the reconstruction period," i.e. 1950) to show that in order to sustain an annual increase of 10 per cent in the output of consumption goods, a much larger increase (as large as 17.8 per cent) in output of capital goods ("means of production," to use Marx's term) was needed.

The clear implication was that, in order to support a continuing growth of consumption, priority in investment and development had still to be assigned to heavy industry (metals, fuel and power, engineering etc.). Such priority must continue to be a feature of the "period of transition from socialism to communism"—and this, not as something *in conflict*

	Total number as on October 1, 1953 (In millions)	Total number as on October 1, 1954 (In millions)
Total Head of Beef and Dairy Cattle	63	64.9
Of which:		
Cows	26	27.5
Pigs	47.6	51.0
Sheep	114.9	117.5

(except temporarily) with a growth of consumption, but as the essential economic basis for a growth of consumption.

The official policy which has emerged from these discussions has evidently adopted the latter of these two views; and the outcome is evidently connected with recent governmental changes. That the result has been influenced by the deterioration in the international situation, following the forcing-through of the Paris agreements and the rearming of Germany, seems highly probable. At the same time, the decision to give continued priority to heavy industry in investment policy "stands on its own legs," as it were—rests on independent grounds of internal economic policy of the kind to which we have just been referring.

For the coming year, the last of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, we are told that once again "the lion's share of the allocations for the development of the country's national economy is to be invested in heavy industry . . . for a rapid increase in production in the metallurgical, coal, power and chemical industries and engineering" (Budget Speech by A. G. Zverev, Feb. 3, 1955). The output of industry as a whole is planned by the end of this year to attain a level of 80 per cent above 1950, with heavy industry showing a quinquennial growth of 84 per cent and the output of consumer goods a quinquennial increase of 71 per cent. (Speech by N. A. Bulganin to Supreme Soviet, Feb. 9, 1955). These are sufficiently impressive increases.

A large emphasis was also placed in the recent discussions upon agriculture, the lag in which was held to be an obstacle to the growth in consumption and to a further rise in the standard of life. This is the

reason for the emphasis that is being laid on an expansion of the sown area in the newer areas beyond the Urals. In the investment plans for the current year, a third as much is to be invested in agriculture as in the whole of industry; and in the newly-developed areas alone the target which has been set for 1956 is to raise the sown area to a figure of 28 to 30 million hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres), which is "approximately equal to the total sown area of France and Italy combined" (Saburov on Nov. 6, 1954); and as a slightly more long-distance target, "the task, within the next five or six years, of bringing the annual grain harvest up to not less than 10,000 million poods," or 160 million long tons. Within this total, special emphasis is to be placed on the cultivation of corn; so that this together with the rise in grain production generally "will make it possible to achieve a radical solution of the problem of establishing fodder resources for livestock farming" (Bulganin on Feb. 9, 1955).

It seems likely, therefore, that in the next few years (and in the new Five-Year Plan which starts next year) we shall once again see a priority of emphasis both on heavy industry and on agriculture. At the same time it seems unlikely (short of some sharp unfavorable turn in the international situation) that the disparity of growth between the two branches of industry will be anywhere near as great as it was in the pre-war decade (or even as great as Strumilin's 17.8 : 10 ratio). The emphasis on expanding the output of consumer goods, though less than it has been during the past three years, will almost certainly continue, as is indicated in recent official statements on the subject.

The American People Want Peace

by JESSICA SMITH

IN AN article in the *New York Times* of May 4, Mr. James Reston noted the "new period of intense diplomatic activity" entered upon by the United States government, relating to negotiations with the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

Among the reasons for these moves, Mr. Reston gave first place to the peace sentiments of the American people. He wrote:

The reaction throughout the country against getting involved in a war over Quemoy and Matsu has been so strong that the President has felt he had to take it into account. This has been reinforced by Senator Walter F. George's powerful appeals for conversations with the Communists.

The position of America's allies in not wishing to be drawn into war was given by Mr. Reston as another reason for the more conciliatory attitude in Washington. And, finally, the effect of the Bandung Conference—as a result of which such countries as Pakistan, Ceylon and the Philippines have made clear that "their continued support of the West depends on Washington's willingness to negotiate outstanding questions."

Mr. Reston concluded that pressure on the President from public opinion is now greater than the pressures on him from those who wish him to take a belligerent attitude.

The Power of Public Opinion

The power of the people is thus acknowledged by a correspondent with many years of experience in Washington and especially with the State Department, as the most important force in the country today influencing foreign policy.

It will be helpful for Americans concerned with peace to know what other Americans, like-minded on this issue, however different minded on others, are doing. While America is practically alone among the nations of the world in not having a big organized national peace movement, we can take heart from the way in which our people individually, in groups, and through their organizations are taking their own initiative in working for peace. This is indicated by the reports from Washington of the floods of letters to Congress and the Administration as each new issue affecting peace arises, in the great number of letters to the press, which in turn has affected the editorial attitudes of many papers which have in general supported Administration war policies.

The H-Bomb Horror

On an over-all basis, the horror of the H-bomb has had the widest repercussions of any single issue in awakening the people to the necessity of stopping war forever if civilization is to survive.

The release by the Atomic Energy Commission of the figure of 7,000 square miles of lethal radioactivity, resulting from a thermonuclear weapon such as that exploded at Bikini, spread new horror that was not abated by subsequent frantic attempts of the AEC to minimize the dangers of the fall-out. Scientists' warnings of the effect of radioactivity on future generations intensified the moral repugnance of all decent people. The statement by Val Peterson, Civil Defense Administrator, that the only kind of defense is "dig, die or get out," only proved that there is no defense at all against nuclear weapons, for those who dig will emerge into deadly radioactive rubble, and those who get out will have no place to go when bombs keep falling.

The recent arrival of the tragically disfigured Hiroshima maidens is a terrible reminder of what even survival may mean.

For ten days in late April and May, the American people read of the delay of the explosion at Yucca Flat because the winds were wrong, to prevent danger of a fall-out that could kill people thousands of miles away—and realized that in a war no participant would stop for the weather. Then on May 5th they saw on their television sets the ghastly mushroom cloud, and the shattered "capsule" reproductions of the typical American town below, which could be the town where anybody lives, the blasted homes which could be their own. This test bomb had almost twice the power of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs which killed 300,000 of the Japanese people at once, and from whose effects they are still suffering and dying. According to the *New York Times* account next day, this atomic bomb was merely "a firecrack-

er" in comparison with H-bombs.

A new wave of discussion arose with the death of Albert Einstein, the great and gentle humanitarian who opened the door on the atomic age. Hardly an obituary or tribute failed to mention his great hopes that atomic energy would be used for the enrichment of life on earth and not for its destruction.

The most immediate and widespread protests have arisen over the possibility of the United States initiating atomic war against the mainland of China over the Quemoy and Matsu islands, expressed in the massive popular support for the Morse-Lehman resolution. While many who oppose going to war for the off-shore islands support the defense of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, the discussion of this issue has also brought to the fore the question of recognition by our country of the Chinese People's Republic and its admission into the United Nations.

The Bandung Conference made a tremendous impact on American public opinion, along with the conciliatory attitude of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and his offer for bilateral negotiations with our country.

The action of the Soviet Government in reaching agreement with Austria on the terms of a state treaty, with fundamental concessions on questions of immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces and other important points, and the success of the subsequent four-power negotiations in Vienna, have pointed the way to similar negotiations for a unified and peaceful Germany.

Now the cry is rising for negotiations with the Soviet Union on Germany before the Paris Pacts on the rearming of Germany, and the inevitable counter-moves of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European

countries for their own defense organization, are implemented, as well as big-power negotiations on all outstanding issues, and for a policy leading to peaceful East-West existence and trade and cultural relations.

The opposition to Universal Military Training has reached such wide proportions among the most diverse groups over the years that every attempt to put it through has failed. It forced some modifications in the current bill introduced into Congress (now shelved). But the protests are continuing against any form of UMT, as opposed to American democratic traditions.

Some Recent Peace Actions

As the danger of war over Quemoy and Matsu islands was at its height, the Americans for Democratic Action, of which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is Honorary National Chairman, addressed a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him to make clear that the United States would not go to war over these islands. Although "wholeheartedly" endorsing the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores, the appeal acknowledged that the future status of Formosa was in question, and urged that it be determined by international agreement, without force.

Among the most impressive current actions for peace is a peace petition initiated early this year by a group in Detroit, with national support from leading figures in the religious and professional world. The petition, being circulated quietly, without fanfare, in many communities, and among religious groups, asks the President to:

1. Negotiate with enemies according to the Golden Rule;

2. Abolish weapons of mass extermination as an initial step toward international disarmament and devote the savings to human betterment;

3. Reconcile conflicts peaceably through the United Nations and help nations of differing systems to live together in peace.

LIVE AND LET LIVE was the title given to a recent peace appeal signed by fifty prominent Americans published as an advertisement in the *New York Times* of April 19. The signers urged that people of the Judeo-Christian faith rededicate themselves to seek means to avert the outbreak of war. They proposed a seven-point program as the basis for a reorientation of American foreign policy:

1. That the Government recognize Quemoy and Matsu islands as part of the China mainland, and engage in no military action in their defense.
2. That the issue of the permanent status of Formosa be submitted to the UN.
3. Negotiations with People's China "as a first step toward the eventual recognition of it as the legitimate government of China, and . . . its admission to the United Nations."
4. An end to saber-rattling in the Far East and the making of policy by military men.
5. Expanded economic and social aid to economically undeveloped countries and support toward their economic and political self-determination.
6. All necessary steps toward settlement of differences in all areas of the world.
7. "That our government take the initiative . . . in urging international outlawry of atomic and hydrogen weapons, strategic or tactical."

On the May 1 week-end, an all-day "Conference on Effective Disarmament and World Development," was held in Chicago. Among the 19 Midwest sponsoring organizations were

the Methodist Board of World Peace, the United World Federalists, the American Association for the United Nations, the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, American Friends' Service Committee, the National Association of Jewish Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the YWCA and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Senator Ralph Franders, (R. Vt.) addressed the gathering, proposing a ten-power world disarmament conference.

Among the many messages of greeting sent to the Bandung Conference by individuals and groups, hailing its role in opposing colonialism and promoting peace, was one by the Americans for Democratic Action and an independent group of American leaders. Numerous messages were sent from important Negro organizations and leaders, including the National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, representing eight million members, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Greetings were read at the conference from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson, whose great leadership for peace is recognized throughout the world.

Labor and Peace

In recent years, top labor leaders have supported pro-war policies on the basis that the big armaments program means jobs. But the realization is growing in trade union ranks and leadership that atomic warfare would bring destruction first of all to America's industrial communities, and that the only solid basis for continuing full employment and prosperity and life itself is peace

and trade with all the nations of the world.

Symptomatic of this was the fact that at the recent convention of the CIO United Auto Workers Union, President Walter Reuther coupled the UAW's guaranteed annual wage program with the need for peace, calling it an "important move in achieving full production and full employment in peacetime." He declared:

What good is a higher wage if our great cities are in ashes? What is the future of our children unless mankind finds a way to prevent the use of these terrible weapons of mass destruction? . . . What we need to realize is that we can win only if we can find a way to avoid a war.

It was highly significant that the AFL withdrew, as released "in error," an Executive Council statement made public May 6, which had opposed negotiations with People's China regarding Quemoy and Matsu islands.

The 50th annual convention of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union of the United States and Canada, held in mid-March in Spokane, Washington, reaffirmed the union's three-point program for peace including: 1. Negotiations among the major powers; 2. Agreements leading to disarmament and the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction; 3. Removing the artificial barriers to trade with all countries.

The Eleventh Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, meeting at Long Beach, California, in early April, adopted a strong resolution on peace. It called for negotiations on all outstanding international issues, and declared:

Just as the ILWU threw itself into World War II without qualification and without stint until victory had been won, so we must throw our resources into the fight for peace today—for the duration, and until peace has been achieved.

The union advocated top-level US-USSR talks, reduction of armaments, outlawry through UN action of A- and H-bombs, and "End the economic blockade and establish free trade throughout the world."

Several CIO and AFL organs have recently given editorial expression to labor's vital stake in peace.

But the peace sentiments of labor's rank and file are far from finding adequate expression in official actions. The unity and strength derived from the forthcoming AFL-CIO merger should afford new opportunities for labor to exert a decisive influence on U.S. foreign policy.

Religious Groups

Religious groups and individuals are increasingly in the forefront in initiating and supporting peace actions.

On March 31, the National Council of the Churches of Christ appealed to President Eisenhower to take "all honorable steps to end the crisis in the Formosa Strait peaceably," by urging negotiations with People's China as a "force in being."

On April 1, fourteen Protestant Church leaders joined in a peace appeal to President Eisenhower, declaring that all-out war and the use of atomic bombs against China would "expose the United States Government and the American people before the whole world as wanton aggressors."

On April 2, the Oregon Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social

Action sent an airmail statement to all members of Congress expressing concern over the drift toward war in the Chinese-Formosa area, urging the recall of the Seventh Fleet and all American official personnel from Formosa and the other off-shore islands, peaceful settlement of all international disputes, support of the UN disarmament proposal, destruction of all nuclear weapons and the end of test explosions. The MFSA issues a monthly Social Questions Bulletin constantly calling for peace action.

The official Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, while not specifying the particular issues on which action should be taken, has issued a booklet *Register Christian Opinion*, which urges:

Act for peace wherever you are; in the women's groups, service or civic clubs; store, factory or office; real estate association or labor union; wherever you stand, stand for policies of peace.

On May 4, a group of 88 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders launched "an all-out crusade to employ the God-given abundance of America in an expanded program of world development, human progress and international peace."

The Quakers are doing a tremendous amount of educational and practical work on all issues affecting peace. The Friends Committee on National Legislation issues a monthly *Washington Newsletter* which reports on measures before Congress and urges action upon them. Their emphasis this year is on easing of international tensions through mediation and conciliation, efforts to end tensions in the Near and Far East, and for a settlement with the Soviet Union and China, discontinu-

ance of efforts to rearm Germany and Japan, an end of militarization of the United States, constructive efforts toward economic aid and the removal of trade barriers.

The March issue of the *Washington Newsletter* gave special attention to the need of a peaceful settlement with People's China and of a willingness to move toward its eventual recognition and its seating in the United Nations. Currently they are calling for action against the pilot UMT plan.

The Friends issue a large mount of literature devoted to peace issues.

In June a Quaker good-will delegation, headed by Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Executive Secretary of the American Friends' Service Committee, will visit the USSR.

Among peace expressions from Jewish groups was the resolution on "The Achievement of a Just Peace" adopted at the Biennial Convention of American Hebrew Congregations held in February in Los Angeles, attended by 2,500 delegates, the largest gathering of Jewish leaders ever assembled in this country. The resolution condemned preventive war as "blasphemy of both religion and democracy," called for a rejection of colonialism and for cooperation among all religious groups "to keep the voice of faith above the clatter of the weapons of war." On April 8, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath forwarded this resolution to President Eisenhower, declaring that it was given fresh urgency by the crisis over the off-shore islands.

Bulletin of the Assembly, organ of the Assembly of Brooklyn Jewish Women's Organizations, in its April 19 issue, carried an editorial warning of the danger that belligerent elements in the administration might plunge us into war over Quemoy and

Matsu islands, and urging all Jewish women's organizations to alert their membership that "now, right now, we must bombard President Eisenhower with letters urging the continuance of efforts to promote peace. . . ."

Other Leading Peace Groups

Active work on all issues related to peace is carried on by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded forty years ago by Jane Addams. Honorary International President of this organization, with branches in many countries, is Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Professor Emily Greene Balch, and Honorary Chairman in this country is the distinguished writer, Pearl Buck.

The WIL Monthly Bulletin, *Four Lights* provides the information and inspiration for pressure from its membership to block all legislation and policies leading to war. They consistently support disarmament. They opposed ratification of the Paris Pacts for the rearming of Western Germany. They take the position that a final peaceful settlement in the Far East requires the seating of China in the United Nations.

Currently, the WIL is carrying on a campaign urging immediate pressure on Congress and the Administration on four main issues, namely: Opposition to U.S. military intervention in the Formosa Strait; high level negotiations before the agreements to rearm Germany are implemented; renewed efforts towards disarmament and a standstill agreement on tests and development of more deadly bombs; protests against the Revised Compulsory Reserve-UMT Bill.

Despite the difficulties which the American Peace Crusade has en-

countered in its work, it is continuing to provide useful Fact Sheets and other material to peace workers through a voluntary staff.

At the March meeting of the APC Resident Board in New York, the decision was taken that in view of the NATO agreement to base all its strategy on atomic and thermonuclear weapons, the main focus of the organization's attention should be the prevention of nuclear warfare. The program adopted urges our government not to initiate nuclear warfare, an end of atomic and thermonuclear tests, and settlement of all international issues by negotiation.

The board proposed that individuals, organizations and groups working for peace should work out their own form of a popular signature or petition campaign to prevent atomic and hydrogen warfare, with delegations from all over the country to present the results to the United Nations Assembly at its San Francisco meeting.

The State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party in New York has launched a three month peace drive, ending August 6, the 10th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing. It has started a drive for 50,000 signatures, urging upon President Eisenhower a top level conference of the big powers. Special issues developed during the campaign will be direct talks with the People's Republic of China on the immediate issues around Formosa, the question of the admission of People's China to the UN, and need for action to end the H-bomb menace.

In San Francisco, early in May fifty-four citizens of the Bay Area initiated a petition calling on the United Nations and all countries to outlaw atomic warfare, to be presented to the UN Assembly.

Many other state and local peace organizations are carrying on various forms of petition campaigns around the issue of banning nuclear weapons.

Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War was organized a year ago in Los Angeles, its initiators an ordinary section of our population, including housewives, businessmen, civic workers, musicians, lawyers, industrial and white collar workers, students, writers, scientists.

This year it has launched a new phase of its campaign with a proposed Joint Congressional Resolution to Outlaw War. The preamble calls attention to the fact that with nuclear weapons, there can be no victors in a third world war. The resolution calls for outlawry of war as an instrument of policy and proposes that within a year of its adoption an international conference of representatives of all nations be called to work out methods of total disarmament and enforcing the outlawry of war. The organization is at present calling for immediate action in writing to the President opposing use of armed forces in the Formosa situation, and seeking signatures for its Outlawry of War resolution.

American-Soviet Relations

The main organization in this field, the National Council on American-Soviet Friendship, has continued uninterruptedly its thoughtful, fundamental work of furthering American-Soviet understanding through conferences, field trips, publications on internal developments and US-USSR relations and the showing of films. It has been able to continue this during the past year under the extremely difficult conditions of having to divert time, funds and energies to legal defense against the

efforts of the Attorney General to require the Council to register as a subversive "Communist Front" organization under the terms of the McCarran Act.

Especially important is the Council's current project centering on the idea of peaceful co-existence. Correspondence on this subject was initiated by NCASF Chairman, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, with leading Americans, and thousands of communications have gone out to members of Congress and to the field leadership and contacts of the Council, with proposals for the initiation of local action, which have met with wide response.

Valuable work in this field is also being carried on by the American-Russian Institute of San Francisco. Following its beautiful Friendship Book containing expressions of friendship from hundreds of Americans, the ARI is now engaged in a new peace project, "invitation to live." The ARI proposes that the best way to end the threat of an H-bomb war is to make a new concerted effort for peaceful coexistence. It proposes that this be done through exchange of visits so that the two peoples may learn of each other's way of life, exchange of cultural delegations, the promotion of trade, the exchange of letters and gifts. Children are especially urged to send letters, drawings and gifts of friendship to Soviet children.

Those supporting these proposals are asked to urge the State Department to take all necessary steps to put them into effect, and to urge upon the President and Congress to act swiftly on the demands of people all over the world to further the aim

of prohibiting "production, possession, testing and use of nuclear weapons."

The American-Russian Institute of Los Angeles is cooperating in this project.

SIDE BY SIDE with the outpouring of American public opinion on all peace issues, and reaching even wider circles, is the growing concern for civil liberties which cannot be separated from the peace sentiment, because their destruction is part of the drive toward war. This has been given a new impetus by the retractions by Harvey Matusow and other government informers of the testimony on which America's growing number of political prisoners have been convicted and jailed. Judge Dimock's granting of a new trial to George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg on the basis of Matusow's sworn testimony that he lied in the 1942 trial, and similar retractions by others, have raised new questions regarding the Smith and McCarran Acts and the inquiries of Congressional Investigating Committees, all of which have depended on the lies of stool pigeons.

The people need to understand their power and act on it, bringing unending pressure on our government to end the drive toward war and the internal repressions that support it. What is necessary now is to make sure that the peace will of the American people is met not only in words and gestures, but in a new foreign policy that will put our country firmly and permanently on the road to peace.

World Congress of Mothers Convenes in July

A WORLD Congress of Mothers will meet in Paris, France, this summer, July 7th-July 10th. Their aim: "In defense of children against war, for disarmament and friendship among the peoples."

The Congress is the result of a proposal made last November by the bureau of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Preparations for the Congress, which has aroused world-wide interest, are now going forward in all the 66 countries in which this 140,000,000-member organization has members, with the support of many unaffiliated organizations and individuals.

Queen Elizabeth of Belgium has written the WIDF:

I welcome with great emotion the proposal to convene a World Congress of Mothers. In warmly approving this idea, I hope that the force of love which the mothers of the world bear for their children will overcome the forces of evil, hatred and its vilest aspect, war—atomic war—which may mean the end of humanity.

The Appeal to Mothers to support the Congress reads in part:

In the name of the maternal love which unites us, we address

all the mothers of the world.

We know the joy of having children, but we also know the anguish of losing them. We must protect them from the evils threatening them—from hunger, cold, poverty, disease, and from war, which brings all these evils in its train. . . .

We cannot agree that war is inevitable. We are strong enough to prevent it. Women cannot remain passive onlookers. . . . We want friendship among all peoples. We want disarmament and that the funds now spent on war preparations be used for peaceful purposes. We ardently want the greatest discovery of our century—atomic energy—to serve only as an instrument of progress. . . .

We shall unite in the defense of life against death, friendship against hatred, peace against war. . . .

The World Congress of Mothers will follow the World Peace Assembly, which has been postponed, and will now take place in Helsinki, Finland, June 22-29, and will center on the question of atomic weapons and disarmament.

Later in the summer, July 31-August 14, the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace will be held in Warsaw, Poland.

Young Soviet Readers Discuss Mark Twain

The House of Children's Books in Moscow is a center where young Soviet readers can attend exciting exhibitions on books and writers, meet and have face-to-face discussions with their favorite authors, and participate in their own youthful literary symposiums. Early this year they held an exhibition and conference on Mark Twain's work. After a brief lecture on the great American writer, the children themselves took the floor. Believing that our readers would be interested in learning how Soviet children approach their reading, especially their understanding and appreciation of our own Mark Twain, we are here giving the stenographic report of that conference. For purposes of space we have eliminated undue repetition. Photographs taken at the conference are on pages 28 and 29.

CHAIRMAN: We have gathered here to discuss the works of Mark Twain. First Raissa Orlova will tell you about the life of this outstanding American writer.

R. D. ORLOVA: I shall tell you about the life of a wonderful writer, whose books most of you have probably read.

We know this writer as Mark Twain, but that was not his real name; it was his pen name. You know our great Russian writer Maxim Gorky; his real name was Alexei Maximovich Peshkov. Mark Twain's real name was Samuel Clemens.

About a hundred years ago the shout "mark twain" was frequently heard on the Mississippi River. This meant that the river was deep enough there for the ship to be piloted safely. Samuel Clemens, who was a Mississippi pilot for a number of years, heard these words often and when he became a writer he

adopted them as a pen name. His choice of a pen name was not an accidental one; he took words that came from his life as a working man because he felt close to the laboring people.

The family Mark Twain was born into was not well-to-do. They lived on the frontier, only partially settled then. The writer's father had gone West with his family in the hope of getting rich there, but he did not succeed. When he died he left his family in difficult circumstances. The future writer had to leave school and go to work.

He worked as a printshop apprentice, a compositor, a river pilot and he prospected for silver in Nevada. Mark Twain lived the life of the common people of America and, of an evening, he would tell stories about them. His stories enjoyed great success, drawing large audiences and after a while he decided to try his hand at literature. His stories were

printed and won immediate popularity throughout the country. He became a famous writer.

Mark Twain entered on his literary career soon after the American Civil War which had been fought to decide whether slavery would or would not continue to exist in the United States. The war was won by the Northern states which favored the abolition of slavery. The American people hoped that now they would have real freedom, that life would be easier for the plain people, and Mark Twain shared these hopes. At that period he wrote humorous stories such as "How I Learned to Ride a Bicycle," "How I Edited an Agricultural Newspaper," "My Watch," "How I Ran for Governor." These stories were amusing and cheerful. I see you smiling now, as you think of them. At about the same time Mark Twain wrote "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer." And it is no wonder that this lively and cheerful book has remained popular for so many years among children all over the world, including, of course, American and Soviet children.

Wherever children can read, Tom Sawyer is known and loved, not only because he was mischievous, eating up Aunt Polly's jam, or going swimming without permission, or giving the cat his medicine, but because in times of serious trial—and children have their trials too—Tom proved himself a real man.

Remember the time Tom and Becky Thatcher were lost in the cave, a frightening labyrinth from which there seemed to be no exit? Tom did not lose heart. He did not sit down on a rock and begin to cry. He kept looking for a way out and found it because he was strong, brave and persevering. That is why Tom is a favorite hero in literature.

In his books about children Mark Twain has drawn on impressions from his own childhood. Born in the small town of Hannibal he writes of the life of the town.

Later Mark Twain began to write in a different vein. Take "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," a continuation of "Tom Sawyer." The heroes are our old friends Tom and Huck. The book is also full of amusing adventures, but it contains other things too, terrible stories about slavery in America, for instance. You remember the slave Jim who ran away from his mistress because she wanted to sell him. You remember the raft on which Huck and Jim sailed down the river. On the raft it was fine; people were friendly, always willing to help each other. But no sooner did the raft touch shore when everything changed for the worse. Mark Twain wrote with indignation about the America in which murder, swindle, deceit and robbery were possible.

Mark Twain's work teaches us to love all that is good in America. It is because of the vivid and truthful picture he drew of his country that he is justly called the "spirit of America." That is the proud name his countrymen have given him.

That is why we love and read Mark Twain and have gathered here to discuss his books.

RIMMA ANDREYEVA (5th grade): I have read "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" and I liked it very much. Most of all I liked Tom. He was a brave boy, loved adventures and was able to get the other boys to join him in his games.

One Saturday Aunt Polly made him whitewash the fence. Tom did not want to but he could not get out of it. He had just started when a

friend of his, Ben, passed by, eating an apple. Tom made Ben feel as if he was doing something very interesting. Ben wanted to whitewash the fence too, and Tom finally let him as though it were a great favor.

There are many moving places in the book. This is one of them: Becky Thatcher has torn the teacher's book. The teacher valued this book highly and used to read it over and over again. During class the teacher asks who tore the book. No one confesses. Then he begins to ask the children one by one, first the boys, and when no one confesses, the girls. The girls all say "no" in fright. When Becky's turn comes she stands up, flushing. Tom feels sorry for her. He gets up and says that it was he who tore the book. The teacher gives him a good beating.

These are the traits in Tom's character I like best. The book is so interesting it is impossible to tear yourself away from it.

I advise you all to read it.

MISHA SLADKOV (5th grade): I liked "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer." There are lots of funny places in the book, for instance, when Tom ate Aunt Polly's jam and she took up the switch, Tom resorted to cunning. "My! Look behind you, Aunt!" he cried. Aunt Polly turned around and Tom scrambled over the fence and was gone.

There are frightening places in the book—the scene in the cemetery when Tom saw Indian Joe kill the doctor, and when Tom looked out of the cave and saw Indian Joe on the other side of the gully.

The girl before me told you how Tom whitewashed the fence. Now you will see this scene.

(The whitewashing scene is enacted by two boys.) (Applause)

CHAIRMAN: Many of you have read "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" and want to say something about it.

ALIA ARAKCHYEVA (5th grade): I liked the book very much. I liked Tom best. I always wanted to know what would happen next, what interesting adventures Tom would think up. And he invented one after another.

First Tom decided to run away to the island and become a pirate. Then he imagined that there was a treasure buried somewhere and began to search for it. He did not find the treasure but he had many frightening experiences. Tom was a very good friend. He was friends with Huckleberry Finn although many of the town boys would not associate with Huck because he had no mother, because his father was a drunkard and because he did not go to school. Tom also knew how to be a good friend to the girls. *(Applause)*

SERIOZHA BEREZIN (5th grade): I want to speak about Tom Sawyer's best friend Huckleberry Finn.

Mark Twain has given us a good picture of an independent, good-hearted, adventurous boy. I liked Huck because he is kind, a good friend, and likes adventures. I liked the places which showed how brave Huck was, for instance, when the ship was grounded at night. Even though it was pitch dark, not a single light anywhere, and no stars or moon because of the clouds, Huck went on board the ship. Then there is the place where Huck and Tom free the runaway Negro. Jim could have been freed every easily but Tom had read many adventure books and he thought it would be uninteresting

to free him without digging tunnels and filing chains.

I advise you all to read this book. (Applause)

LIDA KRUGLIKOVA (4th grade): I liked "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" very much. It tells how boys and girls lived in America many years ago. The book gives us a good picture of Tom and Huckleberry. They were great friends and were determined to become pirates. When they lived on the island they made believe that they were in a pirate camp.

Tom's friends liked pranks. Once Tom was called on in school and began to stumble over the answer. So one of the boys tied up a cat and lowered it above the teacher's head. The teacher wore a wig, the cat clawed at it and pulled it off.

I should like to read some books about how boys and girls live in America today. (Applause)

DINA MITROFANOVA (5th grade): I also read "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer." I liked Tom because he was brave, resolute and honest. He liked to play jokes and he was able to draw his friends into games. He was a good friend to Huck and Becky.

There are funny places in the book, especially when they go to the island and become pirates. Everybody thought they had drowned. There were search parties and when the boys could not be found a funeral was held; the boys attended the funeral. When the minister began to preach the boys came forward; this is where I laughed most of all.

There are scary places in the book, when Tom and Huck climb into the haunted house and are still upstairs when Indian Joe and a companion

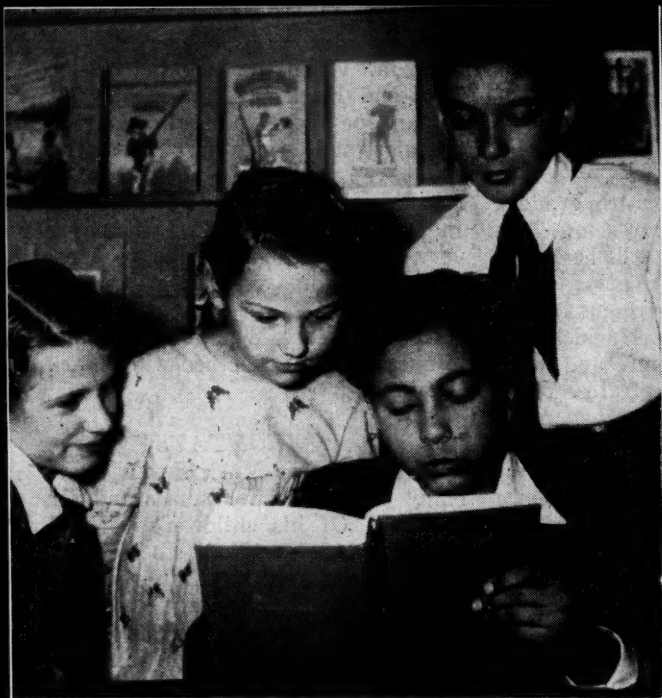
come in. When the men fell asleep, Tom and Huck try to get out but Indian Joe hears something moving upstairs and starts up the stairs. The boys are saved because the half-rotten staircase collapses under the Indian's weight. I liked the book very much. I should like to have such a boy for a friend.

CHAIRMAN: Would anyone like to speak about other books by Mark Twain?

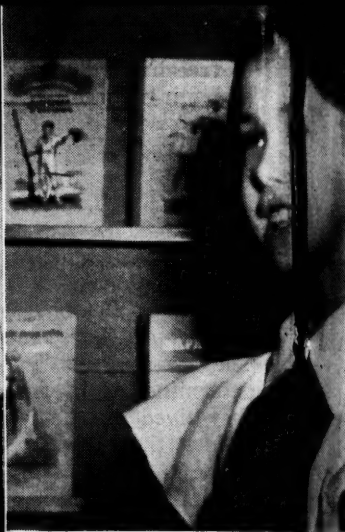
O L E G SKROMTAYEV: The American writer Mark Twain wrote many good books for adults and for children. Of his children's books I liked "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" most. Huck's father drank and beat the boy. Huck could not stand it and ran away from home. Huck was brave and incapable of any cunning. He was always straightforward, never tried to get out of anything. Huck could not read and therefore did not undersand many long words.

In Huckleberry Finn Mark Twain gives us a picture of a boy of the people. "Tom Sawyer" is a very cheerful book; in "Huckleberry Finn" the atmosphere is heavier because the author describes the life of the poor people. The book is interesting and exciting and one can read it again and again. (Applause)

SHANO (4th grade): Huckleberry was an honest boy and he loved freedom. He did not go to school but that was not his fault; it was because his father was a drunkard and a tramp. Huck and the runaway Jim and two swindlers came to a house where two sisters lived. The swindlers wanted to rob the sisters but Huck could not stand that and warned the older sister. (Continued on page 30)



Members of the conference examine the illustrated books by Mark Twain that were on exhibition



Lida Kruglikova, four grade
the conference why she likes "T

MARK TWAIN MEET IN MOSCOW

A readers conference in the House of Children's Books in Moscow devoted to Mark Twain by Raissa Orlova (right). The lecture was followed by a discussion by the children.





, fourth grade pupil, tells
why she likes "Tom Sawyer"

TWIN FANS

IN MOSCOW

devoted to Mark Twain opens with a lecture on the life of the American writer delivered
by the children. For a stenographic report of the conference, see page 24.



With chairs and a dust brush as props, two boys
enact the scene where Tom whitewashes the fence



I liked the book very much; it can be read many, many times. (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN: We should like to hear something about "The Prince and the Pauper."

VITALI ROGACHOVSKI (5th grade): I have read "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer," "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" and "The Prince and the Pauper," which I liked most of all. When you read it it seems as if everything actually happened, although it is all fantasy.

I also liked it because after the prince travelled and saw how hard it was for the people he began to rule so as to make life better for the people. And that is why when he died his reign was called the Golden Age.

And I liked the idea that peasants and paupers like Tom Canty could rule the country. Tom ruled and did it not at all badly.

I liked "The Prince and the Pauper" and I remember one passage from it by heart.

(*Vitali here quoted a lengthy passage from the book*).

IRA FINGER (5th grade): I have read "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer," "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," and "The Prince and the Pauper." I liked "The Prince and the Pauper" best. It is a story about two boys who looked very much alike. Tom Canty was born in a poor family and the Prince of Wales was born in the palace.

The Prince of Wales was walking in the garden. Tom saw him and wanted to go in but the sentry pushed him back and struck him.

The Prince took Tom's part. Then Tom went into the palace with the Prince. The Prince of Wales ordered his servants away and began to ask the pauper about his life. The Prince thought Tom's life very interesting and wanted to try it for a while. They exchanged clothes and the Prince went out into the street. He looked so much like the ragged Tom that the sentry would not let him in again and drove him away. So he went to Pudding Lane. Tom's father grabbed him by the scruff of his neck and asked him what he had brought and when he saw that the boy had nothing began to beat him.

Tom Canty remained in the palace. Everybody thought he was mad because he kept asking to go home. Then the King died and Tom began to rule. Neither boy lost his head in his new position. I liked the book very much. (*Applause*)

TANYA FINOGYEVA: I should like to say something about "The Prince and the Pauper" too. When the King died Tom ascended the throne and began to rule. Meanwhile the real King roamed the streets and saw a great deal of sorrow. Before his eyes a woman was tied to the pillory and beaten. When he came back to the throne he ruled so well that the people remembered and loved him long after his death. (*Applause*)

LEONID SERGEYEV (7th grade): All of us love Mark Twain. When I was smaller I also liked "Tom Sawyer" and "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," and read them several times. I have also read "The Prince and the Pauper" and "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

There is very good humor in Mark

Twain's books and there is satire too. His heroes strive for freedom. Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer wanted to find a country where everybody was free. (*Applause*)

GRUZDYEV (6th grade): I liked "The Prince and the Pauper" very much. In it a poor boy who became King ordered the simplest of meals. He ruled the country as he was able. He sold all the game cocks in the court and turned the money over to the treasury. He made mistakes in a dictation and was very much sur-

prised when another boy instead of him was punished, for the person of the King is inviolable.

Tom asked the boy about himself and learned that the child's mother was sick. Tom let him go to his mother. I liked this book the best of all.

CHAIRMAN: I see how much everybody liked Mark Twain's books. Would anyone else like to speak? No? Then let us thank Raisa Davydovna Orlova and all those who spoke here. (*Applause*)

A Letter of Love

by **EMILY GREENE BALCH**

Dear People of China:

This is a letter of love that I am sending you.

Men and women with your patient faces,

Little children with your bright eyes,
How could I not love you?

I am an American and what you perhaps call a capitalist.

Need that be a barrier to love?

It does not hold back mine.

Of course there are many differences between us.

The traditions of our countries are different.

There are differences even in our features,

And in our languages and religions.

But how much more we are alike!

Alike we are born to suffer.

We laugh and we cry as only men can do.

Shall fellow-men be divided by ideologies?

No. No. They shall not be so.

Of course, "co-existence" has great difficulties.

Even men who have a common country, Who speak the same language, profess the same religion—

Even such do not find mutual understanding, mutual trust too easy.

Yet the greatest barriers are not insuperable.

Let us strive to learn to live together.

You may know bad Americans. There are such.

But there are also here friendly, right-meaning people

Who want to help make the world better for everyone.

There are bad people and good people, I suppose,

In every country.

Let us be patient with one another, And even patient with ourselves.

We have a long, long way to go.

So let us hasten along the road, The road of human tenderness and generosity.

Groping, we may find one another's hands in the dark.

(Miss Balch's poem has also appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The Nation*.)

Western Note to the U.S.S.R.

While the text of the Soviet reply to the Western note on a top-level meeting has not yet been published as we go to press, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov announced in Vienna on May 15th that the USSR would accept the proposal. The occasion for the announcement was the meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France for the signing of the State Treaty with Austria. The successful conclusion of the negotiations with Austria provides a hopeful background for the forthcoming Four-Power meeting. The text of the United States-British-French note sent May 10 to the Soviet Union, follows:

THE Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States believe that the time has now come for a new effort to resolve the great problems which confront us. We, therefore, invite the Soviet Government to join with us in an effort to remove sources of conflict between us.

We recognize that the solution of these problems will take time and patience. They will not be solved at a single meeting nor in a hasty manner. Indeed, any effort to do so could set back real progress toward their settlement. Accordingly, we think it would be helpful to try a new procedure for dealing with these problems.

In view of their complexity and importance, our suggestion is that these problems be approached in two stages. We think it would be fruitful to begin with a meeting of the heads of government, accompanied by their foreign ministers, for an exchange of views. In the limited time for which the heads of government could meet, they would not undertake to agree upon substantive answers to the major difficulties facing the world. Such a meeting could, however, provide a new impetus by establishing the basis for the detailed work which will be required.

For this purpose the heads of government could devote themselves to formulating the issues to be worked on and to agreeing on methods to be followed in exploring solutions. We further

propose that the foreign ministers, to assist the heads of government in their task, should come together shortly in advance of the meeting of the heads of government and at the same place.

This first stage would lay the foundation for the second stage in which the problems would be examined in detail by such methods, organs and participants as it appears will be most fruitful according to the nature of the issues. This work should be started as soon as practicable after the meeting of the heads of government.

This procedure would facilitate the essential preparation and orderly negotiation most likely to bring about agreements by progressive stages. The important thing is to begin the process promptly and to pursue it with patience and determination.

We hope that this proposal will commend itself to the Soviet Union as a useful basis for progress toward better relations between us. If the Soviet Union agrees that an early meeting of the heads of government to explore such a program would be useful, we suggest that our foreign ministers settle through diplomatic channels or otherwise upon a time and place for such a meeting. The forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers at Vienna for the signing of the Austrian State Treaty might provide an opportunity for preliminary discussion of this proposal.

U.S.S.R. Peace Proposals Offered to the U.N.

Following is the full text of three resolutions proposed by the Soviet Union for United Nations consideration on "The Elimination of the Threat of Another War," distributed by the Soviet News Agency, *Tass*. The text was cabled from Moscow by *Reuters*, and published in the *New York Times*, May 11, 1955.

First UN Assembly Resolution *On Ending the Threat of War*

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, aware of the great responsibility which rests with the United Nations for the maintenance of peace among the nations, deems it its duty to draw the attention of all states to the situation that is developing now in the relations between countries.

The peoples who but recently lived through the Second World War, which took a huge toll of human lives and wrought immense material destruction, are more than ever before displaying a firm will for peace.

This deep-rooted desire of the peoples for peace has already made it possible to end the bloodshed in Korea and in Indo-China and thereby create more favorable conditions for the settlement of other outstanding international issues.

At the same time the peoples are displaying legitimate concern for the destinies of the world, especially in view of the situation that is developing in Europe and in Asia.

This has been expressed specifically in the decisions of the recent Asian-African conference at Bandung, which is of great importance in the struggle for peace, for the freedom

and independence of the nations.

The situation in certain areas of the world, far from improving, on the contrary is becoming complicated and mutual distrust among states is growing.

The absence of the necessary trust in relations between countries is the main cause hampering an adjustment of outstanding issues both in Europe and in Asia.

This above all applies to relations between the great powers, which bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of general peace and the security of the nations.

Notwithstanding the obligations assumed by the great powers, together with other states members of the United Nations, to cooperate in the maintenance of peace and international security, the relations between them do not conform with these requirements.

Distrust in relations between the powers has brought about a situation in which, after the end of the Second World War, a threat of another war has arisen, a war still more horrible in its consequences.

As a result of this distrust, first

and foremost in relations between the powers which are permanent members of the Security Council, the arms race is expanding all the time, the armies, navies and air forces are being increased continuously.

The greatest achievements of science and engineering are utilized for the production of the most destructive means of annihilation of people.

Especially large is the scale of the arms race in the manufacture of such dangerous weapons as the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Numerous foreign military bases are being set up on foreign territories, which arouses the legitimate apprehensions of the states in whose proximity these bases are being established. The establishment of such bases also increases the threat to the security of the states on whose territories they are being set up.

The existence of such bases, many of which are used for the atomic war preparations conducted by certain powers, still more increases distrust in the relations between states and aggravates international tension.

The result of all this is that the world has for many years been in the state of so-called "cold war," while the burden of the military preparation of states is weighing down the peoples more heavily.

Notwithstanding the resolutions of the General Assembly, unanimously adopted as early as 1947, which condemned any form of propaganda designed or capable of creating or increasing a threat to peace, a breach of peace or an act of aggression, open propaganda of another war is conducted in a number of states.

Calls for war, far from having

been discontinued, are becoming more and more frequent in the press, over the radio and in public statements. Moreover, calls for atomic war have become especially frequent of late.

The traditional economic and trade relations between many countries, which developed in the course of many years, have been deranged, with all the attendant negative consequences for international economic co-operation.

The situation which has arisen demands that urgent and effective measures be taken to ease international tension and to consolidate mutual trust in relations between states.

This object can be achieved only if the "cold war" is discontinued, if an end is put to the propaganda of another war conducted in certain countries and accompanied by the fomenting of enmity and hatred between nations and the setting of some peoples against other peoples.

Continuation of the propaganda which is being conducted in certain countries and is designed to whip up the war hysteria, and calls for war can only aggravate international tension and heighten mutual distrust between states and thereby increase the threat of another world war.

On the other hand discontinuation of the "cold war" between states could help to ease international tension, establish the necessary trust in international relations, avert the threat of another war and create the conditions for a life of peace and tranquillity for the nations.

This, in turn, would create the requisites for the carrying out of a broad disarmament program and the institution of the necessary international control over the implementation of this program.

For these purposes the General Assembly:

(1)

Recommends to all states to take the necessary measures for the strict implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly condemning any form of propaganda of a new war, for the discontinuation of all calls for war and for fomenting enmity among the nations voiced in the press, over the radio, in the cinema and in public statements.

Noncompliance with this recommendation will be regarded as a violation by a state of its international duty and its obligation before the United Nations—to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force, not to violate the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

(2)

Notes with satisfaction the successes achieved in negotiations on the Korean question between the states concerned, which brought about the end of the war in Korea, and also on the cessation of hostilities in Indochina. Thereby two dangerous seats of war in the Far East have been eliminated.

As a result of the negotiations between the states concerned it has become possible to settle also the question of concluding a state treaty with Austria, which insured the restoration of an independent Austria.

The settlement of the Austrian question represents another important contribution to the strengthening of peace in Europe and helps to create conditions for the successful adjustment of other outstanding post-war issues.

All this shows that by far not all the possibilities have been utilized

for settling outstanding international questions through negotiations between the powers in the interests of peace, freedom and the national independence of the peoples.

(3)

Holds that relaxation of international tension and establishment of the necessary talks between countries would be promoted by the immediate withdrawal by the four powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Britain and France—of their occupation forces from the territory of Germany to their national frontiers, except strictly limited contingents of troops left temporarily on the territory of Germany pending the conclusion of an agreement on their full withdrawal.

These aims would also be facilitated by the establishment of strictly limited contingents of local police forces in both parts of Germany and the institution of joint controls by the four powers over the implementation of the restrictive agreement.

The General Assembly will welcome any other steps as may be taken by the four powers to withdraw their forces from the territory of Germany and also to facilitate a settlement of the German problem in the interests of European security and the national unification of Germany as an integral, peaceable and democratic state.

(4)

Deems it necessary that the states which are permanent members of the Security Council reach agreement on the dismantling of military bases on foreign territories and inform the Security Council and the General Assembly of the results. Such an agreement would be of great

importance for reducing international tension, removing distrust in international relations and would facilitate the creation of the requisites for discontinuing the arms race.

(5)

Calls on the states which have experience in the production of atomic materials and atomic energy to render extensive production and scientific technical assistance to other countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, without making such assistance conditional upon any demands of a political or military nature.

(6)

Calls on the countries concerned to settle outstanding questions in the Far East in conformity with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, as the existing tense situation in certain areas of the Far East is fraught with the danger of another war and gravely menaces the maintenance of world peace.

(7)

Considers it necessary that states in their economic relations eliminate every discrimination which hampers the development of broad economic cooperation between them, first of all in the field of trade.

Both private and state interests are prejudiced by the situation when trade ties which have existed for a

long time between countries are severed.

The elimination of such discrimination and the broad development of international ties, based on the principle of mutual advantage, will strengthen friendly relations between countries and help raise the living standards of the peoples.

Without the elimination of these obstacles to the development of international trade it is impossible to expect real relief of international tension.

An important means for improving mutual understanding and bringing the peoples closer together is also the expansion of international cultural relations, specifically through the broad exchange of delegations and mutual visits by people engaged in industry, agriculture, trade, science, culture and the arts, delegations of students and through the development of tourist travel.

(8)

Decides to include in the agenda of its regular session the question of compliance by states with the provisions of the present declaration, having in view that their implementation will conform to the desire of the peoples for peace, will facilitate the establishment of necessary trust between states and thereby will make it easier to carry out a broad disarmament program and to establish effective international control over the fulfillment of this program.

Security Council Resolution

On Arms Reduction and Nuclear Weapons Ban

REGARDING the conclusion of an international convention on reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons:

The Security Council, striving to save mankind from another devastating war, to ease tension in relations between states, relieve the peoples

from the heavy tax burdens they are bearing as the result of the continuing arms race,

Desirous of ensuring the possibility of using the released resources to raise the living standard of the peoples and to render extensive assistance to the economically underdeveloped countries,

Instructs the United Nations Disarmament Commission to draw up and submit for approval in the Security Council a draft of an International Convention on Reduction of Armaments and Prohibition of Atomic, Hydrogen and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Such a convention, aimed at strengthening peace and international security, should envisage:

A. Complete prohibition of the use and manufacture of both nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction and the employment of the existing stocks of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes;

B. Substantial reduction of all armed forces and all conventional armaments;

C. Establishment of a control agency with the right, powers and functions guaranteeing in relation to all states equally effective observance of the agreed prohibitions and reductions.

In conformity with this, the convention should contain the following basic principles pertaining to measures for reduction of conventional national armaments:

Prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction and the procedure for the implementation of these measures during two periods.

First-period measures to be carried out during 1956

The following measures shall be carried out during 1956:

(1)

The state signatories to the convention undertake, as the first step toward reduction of armaments and armed forces, not to increase their armed forces and conventional armaments above the level of armaments and armed forces on Dec. 31, 1954.

They also undertake not to increase their appropriations for the armed forces and armaments, including atomic weapons, above the level of the expenses made for these purposes during the year which ended on Dec. 31, 1954.

The aforesaid measures shall be carried out within two months after the corresponding agreement enters into force.

The United States, the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and France shall submit to the Disarmament Commission, within one month after the convention enters into force: full official figures regarding their armed forces, conventional armaments and expenditures for military needs.

(2)

An agreed level is fixed for which the armed forces of all states exceeding this level shall be reduced so that no state should possess armed forces which might present a serious threat to international peace.

The armed forces of the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and France shall be reduced substantially. To this end the aforementioned five powers undertake to reduce the numerical strength of their armed forces so that they should not exceed the following levels:

The United States—From 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

The U.S.S.R.—From 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

China—From 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men.

Britain—650,000 men.

France—650,000 men.

The five powers undertake to reduce correspondingly their conventional armaments as well.

The aforesaid five powers reduce within one year their armed forces and armaments to the extent of 50 per cent of the difference between the level of their armed forces and armaments on Dec. 31, 1954, and the reduced levels of the armed forces and armaments of each of these states, fixed according to the obligations assumed by each state, as outlined above.

The appropriations of the states for the forces and conventional armaments are reduced accordingly.

(3)

To convene not later than during the first half of 1956 a world conference for general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons, with the participation of state members of the United Nations and states which are not members of the United Nations with the object of determining the reduction of armaments and armed forces by other states and prohibition of atomic weapons.

The strength of the armed forces the other states will be allowed to maintain shall be in all cases considerably lower than the levels fixed for the five permanent members of the Security Council.

In fixing the reduction of armaments by states, including the permanent members of the Security Council, account should be taken of simple agreed criteria, including demographic, geographic, economic and political factors, having in view the strengthening of general peace and international security and lessening the threat of aggression.

(4)

As one of the first measures in carrying out the program of reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons, the states possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons undertake to discontinue the tests of these weapons.

An international commission shall be established for supervising the fulfillment of the aforesaid obligation by the states and it shall submit reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

(5)

Simultaneously with the commencement of measures for reduction of the armaments and the armed forces of the five powers by the first 50 per cent of the agreed reduction to the established levels, the states, prior to the entry into force of the agreement on the complete prohibition of the atomic weapons, assume a solemn obligation not to use nuclear weapons which they consider as prohibited for themselves.

Exceptions from this rule may be allowed for purposes of defense against aggression when an appropriate decision is taken by the Security Council.

(6)

The states possessing military, naval and air bases on the territories of other countries undertake to dismantle these bases.

The question as to what bases are to be dismantled during the first period should be additionally agreed upon.

The implementation of these measures should consolidate the necessary trust between states and make it easier to carry out the measures for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons envisaged for the second period.

Second-period measures to be carried out during 1957

The following measures shall be carried out during 1957:

(1)

The production of atomic and hydrogen weapons shall be stopped immediately and national budget appropriations for military needs shall be cut correspondingly.

(2)

The United States, the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and France shall reduce during the year their armed forces and armaments by the remaining 50 per cent of the difference between the levels of the armed forces and armaments of each of the aforesaid five states on Dec. 31, 1954, and the reduced levels of the armed forces and armaments of each of these states, fixed according to the obligations assumed by them under the convention.

These states shall reduce correspondingly their appropriations for the armed forces and conventional armaments.

Measures for reduction of armaments and armed forces of other states in the amounts fixed for them at the world conference are also completed during this period.

(3)

After the armed forces and conventional armaments are reduced by 75 per cent of the total reduction envisaged by the convention, complete prohibition of the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction will enter into force. Removal of these weapons from national armaments and their destruction, reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments by the remaining 25 per cent of the agreed reduction shall begin simultaneously.

Both these processes shall be completed within definite time limits in 1957. All atomic material will then be used solely for peaceful purposes.

The states shall undertake to promote broad international cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This cooperation will also cover the free exchange of information on the employment of atomic energy in industry, agriculture, medicine and other fields of economy and science. Special attention should be given to the rendering of assistance to economically underdeveloped countries.

Such assistance should not be made conditional upon any demands of a political or military nature.

The states shall strive to devote part of the savings resulting from disarmament on a world scale and the removal of nuclear weapons to the broad utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

(4)

Measures for dismantling all foreign military, naval and air bases on the territories of other states shall be completed.

Upon the carrying out of all the aforementioned it is desirable that the powers further reduce their armaments and armed forces to levels absolutely essential for the maintenance of internal security and the fulfillment of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

The question of the obligations of China, as one of the permanent members of the Security Council following from the Convention on Reduction of Armaments and Prohibition of Atomic, Hydrogen and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction, should be examined with the participation of the People's Republic of China.

Second UN Assembly Resolution

On International Control and Inspection

REGARDING international control over reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons:

Recognizing the great importance of, and the need for instituting effective international control over the fulfillment by states of their obligations under the Convention on Reduction of Armaments and Armed Forces and Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons,

The General Assembly notes that at present the necessary conditions are lacking for the institution of such control as would enjoy the trust of all states and would fully conform to the requirements of international security.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that at present there is considerable international tension and distrust in relations between states. This is what explains the fact that in the existing situation of distrust between states all kinds of obstacles are raised even to the mutual exchange of industrial, agricultural, scientific, cultural and other delegations.

Such a situation makes difficult the reaching of agreement regarding the admission by states to their enterprises, particularly those engaged in war production, of foreign controllers who could inspect the enterprises.

In the existing situation, when many states display legitimate concern for their security, it is difficult to expect that these states would trustfully give other states access to their industrial and other resources which are of vital importance for their security.

Inasmuch as the necessary trust between states is now lacking, a

situation may arise in which the adoption of a decision on international control will actually be reduced to a mere formality failing to achieve the purpose.

This is all the more inadmissible because in the present situation the greatest apprehensions of the peace-loving peoples are aroused by the existence of atomic and hydrogen weapons as regards which the institution of international control is especially difficult.

This danger follows from the very nature of atomic production. It is well known that the production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes can be utilized for the accumulation of stocks of explosive atomic materials and moreover in ever greater quantities.

This means that states having enterprises for the production of atomic energy are able, in violation of their respective agreements, to accumulate big quantities of explosive material for the production of atomic weapons.

The danger of such a situation becomes still more understandable if account is taken of the fact that, given the corresponding quantities of explosive atomic materials, the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs as such is a matter fully feasible technically and can be organized on a wide scale.

Thus there are possibilities beyond the reach of international control for circumventing this control and organizing the secret manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons, even if there is a formal agreement on international control.

Under such a situation the secur-

ity of the state signatories to the international convention cannot be guaranteed in so far as the possibility would be open for the potential aggressor to stockpile atomic and hydrogen weapons for sudden atomic attack on peace-loving states.

Any agreement on the institution of international control, so far as there is no atmosphere of peace, can only lull the vigilance of the peoples.

It can create a false sense of security while in reality there will be the danger of manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons and hence the danger of a sudden attack and the unleashing of atomic war with all its horrible consequences for the peoples.

Account must also be taken of the fact that preparation for another war, the danger of which has been greatly aggravated by the emergence of atomic and hydrogen weapons, is inescapably associated with the need to concentrate at definite points large military formations with big quantities of conventional armaments: aircraft, guns, tanks, naval vessels and so forth.

Such a concentration of big contingents of ground armed forces, the navy and air force and their transfer can be effected only through big junctions, ports and airfields. With the present military techniques the significance of such points for preparing aggressive war, far from declining, on the contrary rises.

In the event of a war breaking out, besides atomic and hydrogen weapons, for all their destructive power, armies of many millions and huge quantities of conventional armaments which are of decisive significance for the outcome of any big war would inevitably be drawn into military operation.

All this must be taken into account

in deciding the question of instituting international control over the fulfillment by states of their obligation under the Convention on Reduction of Armaments and Prohibition of Atomic Weapons.

The question of establishment of international control and the rights and powers of the international control agency must thus be examined in close connection with the implementation of the aforesaid measures for reduction of international tension, consolidation of trust between states and the carrying out of other measures as regards the reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons.

Proceeding from the above, the General Assembly constitutes an international control agency with the following rights and powers:

(1)

For the first period of carrying out the measures for reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons:

A. With the object of preventing sudden attack by one state on another state, the international control agency shall set up on the territories of all the respective states along reciprocal lines control posts in big ports, railway junctions, motor roads and airdromes.

The task of these posts shall be to watch that there should be no dangerous concentrations of ground forces or of air and naval forces.

B. The international control agency shall have the right to demand from the states the necessary information on the implementation of the measures for reduction of armaments and armed forces.

C. The control agency shall have unhindered access to materials pertaining to national budget appropria-

tions for military needs, including all decisions of legislative and executive bodies of states on this question.

The state shall submit periodically within the fixed dates information to the control agency on the implementation of the measures envisaged by the convention.

(2)

For the second period of implementing the measures on reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons:

The implementation of measures envisaged in the above-mentioned declaration and of the measures for reduction of armaments and armed forces and for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons envisaged for the first period will create the necessary atmosphere of trust between the states.

Thereby the appropriate conditions for extending the functions of the international control agency will be insured.

In these conditions the international control agency shall have the following rights and powers:

A. To exercise control, including inspection, on a permanent basis, on the scale necessary to insure the implementation of the above convention by all the states. The international control agency shall exercise these functions, enjoying also the right to demand from states the necessary information on the carrying out of measures for reduction of armament and armed forces.

Inspection shall be carried out by personnel selected on an international basis.

B. To have permanently in all countries signatories to the convention its

staff of inspectors who, within the bounds of the control functions they exercise, would have unhindered access at any time to all objects of control.

With the object of preventing sudden attack by one state on another state the international control agency specifically shall have on the territory of respective states their reciprocal control posts in big ports, railway junctions, motor roads and airdromes.

C. The control agency shall have unhindered access to materials pertaining to national budget appropriations for military needs, including all decisions of legislative and executive bodies of states on the question. The states shall submit periodically within the fixed dates information to the control agency on the implementation of the measures envisaged by the convention. [Emphasis added.]

(3)

The control agency makes recommendation to the Security Council on measures of prevention and suppression as regards violators of the convention on reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons.

(4)

On the basis of the aforesaid principles the functions and powers of the permanent international control agency should be specified and a corresponding instruction given for this purpose.

The above proposal of the Soviet Government was submitted by the U.S.S.R. delegate, J. A. Malik, for consideration by the subcommittee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission in London on May 10, 1955.

THE CHINESE SAY "NO!"

TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

THE CAMPAIGN calling for the destruction and banning of atomic weapons, begun in response to the World Peace Council's appeal, has ended in China with 400,505,997 signatures. This means that from Tibet in the west to the China Sea in the east and from the Soviet border in the north to the borders of Viet Nam and Burma in the south two out of every three persons appended their names; at an average rate of roughly 6.7 million a day. This is a fact of tremendous significance because all knew what they were signing and why.

To people living in the United States, it must be quite incomprehensible how such a thing could happen in the short space of two months, especially in a country like China where communications are so difficult. But living as I do in Peking, it seems perfectly natural that the signatures should come in with such avalanche-like rapidity. In fact, thinking back to the day the cam-

paign was announced, I remember that I took it completely for granted that there would be such a response.

Regimentation? No. Something quite different. Let me tell you what happened here and you will get an idea.

On February 12th, a good day when you think of it, for it happened to be Lincoln's Birthday, the executive bodies of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the China Peace Committee met and formed a special committee to carry through the campaign. Of course there were speeches; not formal, dry and wordy, but meaty and reasonable, explaining the current international situation, the menace to all of nuclear weapons, the reasons why they were now being waved about in an attempt to intimidate the people of China and Asia in particular. No bombs of any kind, it was made clear, would make any difference to China's determination to reunite Taiwan with the rest of the country, but China wanted nothing outside her own national borders. The conclusion: that just as the earlier Stockholm Appeal had helped avert the use of the atom-bomb in Korea, so the A- and H-bomb hotheads could be sobered down by the incontro-

ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY during the Sino-Japanese war was a correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph." She spent some time in the U.S. and now lives and works in Peking.

vertible proof the world-wide signature campaign would give that hundreds of millions of people were watching and condemning their activities. Go on record against murderous war—it was as simple and logical as that.

The following day these facts were widely publicized in the daily papers and over the radio. At the same time national leaders in every field spoke at big meetings attended by the heads of organizations, chairmen of trade unions, and committee members of other popular bodies. These people then went back to their offices, factories and shops where meetings of all who worked there were called. In the meantime, 70,000 people in the city had volunteered as canvassers—working with street welfare committees composed mainly of housewives, which in turn helped to spread the news to the stay-at-homes. In this way, all the 2,500,000 residents of Peking were contacted personally, quite apart from the newspapers and the publicity media.

Now for the lowest rung of the ladder. Four days after the campaign started I went to an office meeting of 300 people in a publishing house.

Here the director gave a very fully documented talk ranging from the world political scene to technical details about nuclear weapons. While not minimizing the gravity of the situation, and stressing that the Chinese people were not to be intimidated and were ready to defend themselves if war was forced on them, he also pointed out that they had known too much war to want any more of it and had long ago put an end to the situation, which still exists under capitalism, in which anybody could profit from war.

The trade union chairman then read out the appeal of the World

Peace Council, called for comment and announced that signing could now begin. Seriously but in a good-humored and confident mood, everybody signed. One woman near me was worried because her husband was sick and she was afraid that missing this chance, he would get left out. She asked about it and was told she could bring his signature later.

All through that week the papers were filled with statements from eminent scientists, educators, churchmen, writers, trade unionists and others on the meaning of the campaign. My own favorite comment was that of the veteran painter, Chi Pai-shih who said:

"I am 95 years old. I think the discovery of atomic energy will mean many good things in the future to our children, grandchildren and countless generations to come. I have worked with paper and brush for 60 or 70 years. I paint beautiful and living things. Even when I draw a tiny grass insect I would like to give it a happy life. How can anyone allow this magnificent world of ours to be destroyed?"

With all this activity it wasn't surprising that everybody was soon talking about the campaign and on the lookout for an opportunity to sign. Because no one signed without hearing very full explanations there was a tremendous increase of public knowledge of the issues and a great consolidation of sentiment for peace. Shih Ti, a young engineering worker in a Peking factory made a typical remark: "I saw this plant going up on what was a strip of waste land only one and a half years ago. I got my first job here and I love my work. We are really building fast in China now and we are prepared to defend what we build."

Among those who gave lectures were every available scientist, from the very top rank down to science teachers in local schools. Many of these were relayed over the radio. A particularly moving one was delivered by a Chinese scientist who was in Hiroshima when the first atom bomb exploded there.

What was being done in Peking was repeated in every city throughout the nation. In the first ten days nearly five and a half million signatures came in from Shanghai and two and a half from Tientsin. By the end of the first month 80 per cent of the population of all the large and medium-sized cities had signed.

Every one of the dockers in the harbor at Tangku, near Tientsin, had sent in his signature. Said their trade union chairman: "Formerly guns for slaughtering the Chinese people were unloaded here from Japanese and American ships. Now we import machines, tractors and fertilizer. We want things to stay this way."

From the cities the campaign spread to the countryside. Meetings were called on collective farms, in agricultural producer and market-and-supply cooperatives, and in village centers. In some places in the na-

tional minority regions of the south, instances were reported where peasants had crossed mountains to get signatures from relatives and friends in remote places. And in the northwest, herdsmen rode many miles to the nearest signature stations despite the heavy falls of snow prevailing at that time.

Living in Peking while a quarter of mankind were affirming their will for peace has been an indescribably moving experience. I could not help thinking back to the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons in 1950 when I was in New York. Then I went into a shipping office near Wall Street one day and asked the clerk behind the counter if he would like to sign. As soon as he heard what it was about he gave a broad grin and said: "Sure, I'll sign that." But a few weeks later, having gone to great lengths to find me, he phoned in great distress to say that he wanted to get his signature back, because he might lose his job for putting his name to a paper he now heard was "subversive."

This could not happen in China. Here the people's natural desire for peace is not "subversive." It is the main concern of their government, too.

A REPLY TO A READER

WE HAVE been asked about progress on the Turkmen Canal in the USSR and the Danube-Black Sea Canal in Rumania.

We have reported (NWR, Nov., 1954, p. 24) that construction had begun on a canal across the Kara-Kum Desert of Turkmenia, between the Amu-Darya and Murgab rivers. The schedule has been extended beyond the original date, but the project is going forward. (For details, see article, page 46.)

In an interview, Nikita Khrushchev (NWR, March, 1955, p. 43) explained present emphasis in increasing farm output is on opening virgin lands in Kazakhstan and Siberia, rather than on great irrigation projects aimed to combat drought in the southeast, though these projects have by no means been abandoned.

The Danube-Black Sea Canal has been postponed.

Diverting the Flow of Rivers

by **NIKOLAI MIKHAILOV**

THE southeast of the USSR, like the southwest of the USA, lies in a zone of deserts and semi-deserts. The sun's heat, so abundant in these areas, is inadequately used to meet the needs of the national economy because of the scarcity of water there.

In the southeast lies Soviet Central Asia, where the summers are extremely hot. Sometimes not a drop of rain falls in the wastes of Central Asia during an entire summer. The soil gets so hot that an egg can be baked in the sand. Evaporation exceeds precipitation many times over. Depth of the wells in this area shows how much there is need for water: in the Kara Kum Desert one finds wells nearly 800 feet deep. There is a saying in the East: "A minaret is a well pulled up high." In this particular case, the minaret would be as high as a seventy-story building.

Yet there are large stretches of fertile gray-earth soil in Central Asia. Here poplars will grow tall in some five or six years, and cotton, rice, grapes, southern hemp, apricots, melons, walnuts, figs and citrus fruits will yield fine crops. Fruits are all sugar. The territory is potentially

very fertile, but it will prove this only when artificially irrigated.

Since olden times settlements were confined to occasional oases created by irrigation systems.

The rivers of Central Asia have an abundant source. The territory is divided into two sharply differing parts: flat and mountainous, the latter among the highest on earth. Here are to be found the mountain systems of the Pamir and the Tien-Shan.

The mountains condense the moisture brought by distant winds from the Atlantic Ocean and other places. The snow falling in the mountains hardens, taking the form of large icecaps. On the Pamirs there is one of the world's largest ice sheets. Here is to be found the Fedchenko Glacier (over 43 miles long), the longest glacier outside the Arctic.

The water produced by falling rain and melting snow and glaciers comes down the mountains in rivers, bringing life to Central Asia's flat country.

The October Revolution of 1917 found Central Asia a backward, semi-feudal and colonial country. Irrigation was then extremely primitive, the same methods that had been used

for thousands of years. Dams were made of earth and the rivers broke them up carrying away millions of hours of the people's labor. There were no large dams at all on the rivers. The canals dug with primitive plows were not large, and often the water was lifted to the fields in clay pitchers attached to wooden wheels that were turned by camels. Vast areas remained unirrigated.

After the revolution radical social changes took place in Central Asia. In place of the old tsarist colony with its impoverished population enjoying no rights, there emerged four constituent republics of the Soviet Union, equal members of the Union, namely, the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik and Kirghiz republics.

In these new socialist states large-scale industry has developed, including an up-to-date machine-building industry; agriculture has been mechanized, illiteracy abolished, and scores of higher educational establishments and scientific institutions have been opened, among them academies of sciences.

Together with all this, fundamental changes have taken place in irrigation.

The land and the water became state property, and they were turned over to the people for use. The state allotted substantial means for irrigation purposes, both money and machinery. In most cases the machines were designed especially to meet the needs of Central Asia. An organization of new educational establishments prepared qualified personnel to engage in irrigation.

Since all branches of the economy are covered by a single plan, construction of irrigation works is today an over-all development: besides furnishing new plowland, hydroelectric stations are built in many

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places, and sometimes the new canals also serve navigation.

New irrigation development has extended the area under crops, and new agrotechnics has increased the crop yield. As a result, the cotton crop, Central Asia's principal agricultural product, has been increased several-fold. Before the Revolution, nearly half the cotton needed by Russia was purchased abroad. Today, the vastly more developed textile industry of the USSR gets practically all the cotton it needs at home.

Here is a fact attesting to the advancement of cotton cultivation in the Central Asian republics: before the Revolution the average cotton crop there was 525 to 625 pounds to the acre, and at the beginning of the current, Fifth Five-Year Plan period it reached 1,870 pounds to the acre. The best cotton-growing masters in the foremost collective farms of Central Asia pick as much as 8,900 pounds per acre.

Irrigation development in Central Asia in the main proceeds in two directions. First, regulation of the mountain rivers for irrigating the

flat country. Large reservoirs are built on the rivers to accumulate the spring water for use when most needed for the fields.

For example, the Zeravshan River (in the area of Bokhara and Samarkand) used to be short of water for irrigation during the summer. Now, at the point where the river emerges from the mountains, a reservoir has been built with a capacity of 21 billion cubic feet. It is called the "Uzbek Sea" and it stores sufficient spring water for the fields in summer.

Another example. In Kirghizia large areas are irrigated by the Chu River, which comes down from the Tien-Shan Mountains. The Orto-Tokoi Reservoir is now being built at an altitude of 8,800 feet above sea level in an oval hollow in the mountains not far from Lake Issik-Kul in the upper reaches of the river. The hollow is being enclosed by a high fill dam; a tunnel more than a third of a mile long has been cut through the rocks to let the water pass. This reservoir will make it possible to regulate the discharge of the Chu River, and hence to feed the irrigation canals of a large part of the Kirghiz Republic. Before long the flow of all the principal rivers of Central Asia will be regulated.

This is the first direction given to irrigation development.

The second is changing the course of the rivers, diverting their water into the fields. In the postwar years new technically improved and large irrigation systems have been built on all the main rivers of Central Asia, and it is these systems which have extended the areas under cotton.

Water from the Syr-Darya River, for instance, is turned out onto the fields via the Great Ferghana Canal

and the irrigation system in the Hungry Steppe. In the basin of the Chu River the Great Chu Canal has been built.

The new irrigation system in Tadzhikistan has already made thousands of acres of land in the Vakhsh Valley fertile. These places were formerly deserts; the land was scorched and cracked, and wild rushes three times as tall as a man grew along the banks of the river. Mighty excavators dug the canals, the river flowed along a new channel, in part hewn out of solid rock. The Vakhsh slides along reinforced concrete, passes through "windows" with sectioned iron sluice gates and is picked up by a network of small canals.

Thousands of people have now settled in the valley, coming down from the Pamir Mountains. New villages have been built. Highways have been constructed. Kurgan-Tube, boasting the largest cotton-cleaning factory in Central Asia, has become a large city. More cotton is picked today on the Vakhsh than was produced in all of Tadzhikistan before the Revolution.

These achievements in irrigation and cotton cultivation, however, are not enough; more cotton must be produced. And this is feasible, for not all the river water of Central Asia is yet used for irrigation, not all the fertile land suitable for cotton growing is yet irrigated.

Construction of new irrigation systems is going on in many regions of Central Asia. But the largest construction development is based on the utilization of the 1,575-mile-long Amu-Darya, the Central Asian river most abounding in water.

In abundance of water the Amu-Darya almost equals the Nile, but the water of the Amu-Darya has twice as much fertile silt as that of

the Nile. The river not only will water crops; it will also fertilize them.

The Amu-Darya is not yet sufficiently used for irrigation. Some 70,000 cubic feet of water is discharged to no purpose every second into the inland Aral Sea. Only a relatively narrow zone along the river is artificially irrigated, and beyond to the right lies the Kyzil Kum Desert, and to the left the Kara Kum Desert.

The Kara Kum is one of the world's largest sandy deserts. It extends from the Amu-Darya on the east to the shore of the Caspian Sea on the west, occupying approximately 135,000 square miles, an area larger than that of Italy.

The need for increased cotton has brought forward the solution of a problem which formerly remained an unrealizable dream: the turning of some of the waters of the Amu-Darya westward to make it flow to the Kara Kum Desert.

The first attempt to do this was made 25 years ago. Year after year at the 30-kilometer post on the Vas-saga-Kerki Canal in the southeastern corner of Turkmenia, water from the Amu-Darya was discharged into the Kara Kum. The stream of water wrested mile after mile from the sands. Spades were used to help it wash away the hills blocking its way. The water moved forward slowly, advancing over the Kara Kum a score of miles or so.

Work goes on in this area today, but on an incomparably larger scale. Construction has been launched of the first section of the Kara Kum Canal.

At first water from the Amu-Darya will be carried to the west via the dried-up channel of the Kelif-Uzboi, the remains of the old bed

of the Balkh River. From there it will flow along a newly excavated bed.

The canal begins south of the city of Kerki. No dam is being built on the Amu-Darya. First the new canal will coincide with the Vasaga-Kerki Canal and follow the inhabited oasis, then it will form an extensive lake for settling, and will go far out into the sand desert. It will cross the Ashkhabad-Tashkent Railway at the Zakhmet station and then fall into the Murgab River near the city of Mari. The first section of the canal will be over 250 miles long.

The Murgab—Turkmenia's main oasis—does not have enough water now. When it gets the abundant Amu-Darya waters, it will double the land it irrigates.

And in the future the canal will extend farther west and bring more water to the neighboring Tedjen Oasis. That is the second section of the construction development. Later, the canal will come up to Ashkhabad, capital of the Turkmen Republic, to bring more water to the small rivers coming down from the Kopet Dag mountains; it will end near the village of Aruman.

The total length of the three sections of the canal will be close to 620 miles, and it will irrigate an additional million acres of land.

Along the canal, in addition to the irrigated land suitable for longstaple cotton, will be irrigated land good for stockraising.

It should not be thought that the Kara Kum Desert is barren today. True, too much heat and too little moisture do not permit the growing of cultivated plants, but the desert's natural herbage is of great value. Vegetation is rare and dry, but it is good feed for certain livestock, mainly the valuable karakul sheep

and camels. Even today collective and state farm herds graze on the pastures in the Kara Kum. But the herds could be many times larger if the animals were to be well provided with drinking water. In many parts of the desert rich pastures simply go to waste because of the lack of wells, or because in the wells that do exist the water is very salty.

When the Kara Kum Canal is built, small derivative canals with fresh water will make it possible to keep a great many head of stock in the pastures of the southeastern part of the Kara Kum.

In addition, a waterway with locks and hydroelectric stations will be built in the desert. The entire south of Turkmenia will be renewed.

Extensive utilization of the Amu-Darya for irrigation was made difficult because it required considerable hydraulic development. But today the Soviet government can spare immense material means to solve the technical problems involved. Working in the Kara Kum Desert are a large number of powerful excavators, suction dredges and monitors, and excavating machines which can be hitched to other machines.

Riding once in the Kara Kum, I thought how unrecognizable the places will be: A few years hence, a person visiting them for the first time and seeing the vast fields of cotton, the fat herds grazing on the banks of the artificial reservoirs, the fast motorships sailing on the canal and cities with developed industry, may not be able fully to appreciate what will have been accomplished. I took a good look at the stern features of the desert in order later to compare it with the embodied plans of the designers and builders.

A plane brought me to a remote district of the desert. We landed on

a flat clayey strip of land amid sand dunes. I lived in one of the tents of the geological expedition. People were probing the ground step by step. They put up derricks on the nearly impassable sands.

I joined a hydrologist in an all-purpose automobile on a trip around the Kara Kum, over quicksands, through the thin saksaul wood and over wormwood plateau. And everywhere I saw the derricks of the drilling machines, manholes for measuring the level of the subterranean waters and marks for geodetic layout. Strictly speaking, the desert as it looked before is no more.

I was also fortunate in being able to fly over the desert with a group of architects who were looking for a site for a new city to house a building materials factory and its personnel. We cruised around until the specialists found a suitable place, and then landed to examine it more closely. I was thus present when a new city was born in the desert.

Work in the desert is not easy. I will never forget my meeting with foreman Ivan Bartenyev in the sandy dunes of the Kara Kum. It was in November, and it was unusually cold for Central Asia. In the whirling icy snowstorm a giant suddenly rose before me dressed in a sheepskin coat open at the chest. He was leading the way for a truck on which a drill and a brigade of workers were being taken to a remote location. The heavily laden machine, running in roadless country, skidded, sinking in the ground up to its axles. Bartenyev turned to me and said: "It is impossible to make it, but I'll get through."

Central Asia is the USSR's chief irrigated area. But work on irrigating fields is also going on in other areas, and another important region of irrigated agriculture is the Trans-

caucasia. There, too, many new irrigation systems are being built.

I want to tell about the largest of them, which I have mentioned earlier in this series.

In the lower reaches of the Kura and Aras rivers in Azerbaidzhan there extends a vast lowland, flat and scorched by the sun: the Mils, Mugan, Shirvan, Salyan and Karabakh steppes. In summer the climate reminds one of Egypt. There is enough land there for hundreds of thousands of acres of fields and orchards. In Soviet years canals were built in the Kura lowland, nevertheless that area was little cultivated until recently. In winter there are pastures; but in summer the territory lies waste. In the low places there are marshes, and the soil is saline.

In spring the Kura has plenty of water but it brings harm instead of good. "Kuir" in the Azerbaidzhanian language means capricious. The Kura with its bed in many places higher than the surrounding territory breaks through dikes, overflowing its banks, inundating fields and demolishing villages.

Today a large hydroelectric station stands on the Kura near the new city of Mingechaur, and it is already in operation. Shown on the map of the country is a new lake. Four large irrigation canals will issue from it. They will cross the dead semi-desert, and when all work is completed they will irrigate as much as two and a half million acres,

primarily fields under cotton. Locks will raise the level of the Kura, converting it into a good waterway. There will be no floods. Fisheries will be developed. Malaria will disappear. The entire aspect of a vast expanse of territory will be changed.

Artificial irrigation has of late been introduced also in more northerly places of the Soviet Union. For instance, in connection with the construction of the Volga-Don Shipping Canal the Tsimlyanskaya Hydroelectric Station has been erected on the Don, as has been mentioned before. Water from the "Tsimlyanskaya Sea" is already being used to irrigate fields in Rostov and Stalingrad.

The main Don Canal, which begins at the Tsimlyanskaya Sea, tunnels through the divide between the Don and the Sal and continuing some 125 miles discharges its waters into the Manich. From this canal large distributive canals will branch out in different directions; some of them have already been constructed. One of these canals will turn back the course of the Sal River.

Both gravity and pumps are made use of in irrigation. On the newly irrigated land are grown wheat, rice, cotton, vegetables and other crops. Agriculture there will soon be electrified to a considerable extent. Special electric machine and tractor stations are already being constructed and in part are already functioning.

That is the way the discharge of rivers is regulated to serve irrigation.

The next article: How the Soviet Union is combatting drought and soil erosion over a vast area.

The Meaning of Matusow

It is the breach he has made in the practice of using lying witnesses

by ALVAH BESSIE

As one of the Hollywood Ten, Alvah Bessie was among the early victims of the cold war hysteria and redscare that has seized our country. He is the author of *Men in Battle* and *Bread and a Stone* and was the editor of a collection of writings on Spain; *The Heart of Spain*. His new novel, *The Un-Americans*, is being prepared for fall publication by Cameron Associates. Mr. Bessie is now working on a West Coast newspaper.

THE importance of Harvey Matusow's confession does not lie in his reasons for making it; they are the least convincing sections of his book.

The importance of his book* lies in the breach it has made in the Department of Justice's theory and practice of using professional witnesses to destroy popular organizations and militant and courageous citizens.

Listen to Assistant U.S. Attorney-General William S. Tompkins attempting to justify the use of the Matusows: "If we are just going to have to get somebody of absolutely impeccable and unassailable character, it is going to have a terrific impact on our prosecutions."

This statement was made before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives and was quoted in the newspapers on April 11. And Mr.

Tompkins has let the cat out of the bag, for what person of impeccable and unassailable character is going to lie for a living or market the sort of stories that are required to prosecute people under the Smith Act?

Echo answers that only those who are willing to lie, who are willing to "interpret" what others have said to mean "advocacy of violent overthrow" are going to be used to convict people of that McCarthyite crime.

The breach Matusow made in the Justice Department's practice of using such witnesses was widened by Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson, who also confessed to having lied at the instigation of government representatives in the case of Edward Lamb, a mid-western radio station owner. Mrs. Natvig, like Matusow, has also been punished for telling the truth, with an indictment for perjury.

* FALSE WITNESS, by Harvey Matusow. Cameron & Kahn, New York, 1955. Hard cover \$3.00, Soft cover \$1.25. 225 pp.

So the basic importance of the Matusow confessions lies in furnishing corroboration for what we have always known about the Matusows, the Crouches, Manning Johnsons and Cvetics. That they were liars.

We did not—till Matusow's book was published—realize *how* the lies were concocted or how extensive they were, but there were indications of this even before *False Witness* was issued.

Manning Johnson, under oath, has testified on numerous occasions that he has lied under oath and would "do it a thousand times again, if necessary!" He was caught flat-footed in the Harry Bridges trial of 1949-1950, when he testified that Bridges was at a Communist meeting in New York, on a certain date.

Paul Crouch testified to the same "fact." Then the defense proved that Bridges was in Stockton, California on that very date, and the appellate court itself—while sustaining the Bridges conviction (later reversed by the Supreme Court)—admitted they had lied.

Yet neither Crouch nor Johnson was prosecuted for perjury. Nor was "Lawrence Seton Ross" in the same trial. Ross broke down on the witness stand and confessed that his name was not Ross; that he had not been born in Kentucky (as he had sworn) and that his entire life was so complicated a lie that even his wife did not know his personal history.

The best example Matusow gives of how the big lie is manufactured may be found on pages 66 and 67 of his book. Being groomed as an "expert" on "Communism among the youth," Matusow was asked by reporters how many students in New York City were communists.

"I didn't know where to get the

answer," he writes. "But I faked it. 'Oh,' I said, 'there are about 5,000 Communists in the New York schools. But nobody is going to believe that. So for publication, let's say there are 3,500'."

The next day the *N.Y. Examiner* blossomed with an 8-column banner headline: Secret FBI Man Reveals 3,500 Students Recruited Here for Red Fifth Column.

And that is how the news is made! And that is the sort of "evidence" that has been used in court—the "expert's" word against the defendant's. And the juries bring in the verdict that was written before the trial ever started.

The example Matusow gives of how he "connected" publisher Alexander Trachtenberg with a quotation in a book by Soviet representative Andrei Vyshinsky—at the instigation and with the coaching of the ineffable Roy Cohn—is at the root of the premise the Department of Justice has been trying to establish: that Communists teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

The trick is simplicity itself. Matusow simply lied about Trachtenberg; took the whole cloth supplied by Cohn and wove it into the lie from the witness stand. It was enough to send Trachtenberg to prison for three years. (As the result of an affidavit by Matusow retracting testimony he gave at the original trial Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock, on April 22, ordered Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney freed on bail pending a new trial.)

For unless that premise can be established to the point where millions of Americans will believe it—and its corollary, that Communists or those who can be labeled Communists are actual or potential sabo-

teurs and traitors—then the climate the administration is attempting to create cannot be achieved.

That the administration still relies on its "experts" is evidenced by the fact that "Lawrence Seton Ross" is being brought back, in June, to testify in the fifth trial of Harry Bridges! And by Mr. Tompkins' implied statement that the Department of Justice, rather than have its convictions suffer "a terrible impact" will continue to employ witnesses who are somewhat less than "of absolutely impeccable and unassailable character."

And it will take more than Matusow's confession, or Marie Natvig's or Lowell Watson's to change the pattern.

It will also take something more than the proof, now adduced, that the government knew Matusow was suffering from psychoneurosis long before it stopped using him; that it knew professional witness Matt Cvetie was a chronic alcoholic, to put a stop to this indecent practice.

It will take the aroused and expressed indignation of the American people themselves, before the Bill of Rights is restored to its proper place in our archives (and our daily practice).

When this happens we will hear no more of an "international Communist conspiracy" which simply does not exist and the cold war will be thawed to the warm peace we must achieve in order to survive.

Must Reading on the USSR

SOVIET CIVILIZATION, by Corliss Lamont. *New and Enlarged Edition.* Philosophical Library, New York, - 1955. XXX plus 447 pp., \$5.00.

ONE MUST welcome most heartily this new edition of Dr. Lamont's work on the Soviet Union. When the first edition appeared, we greeted it as a "major contribution to peace" (NWR, Feb., 1953). With this second edition, the contribution has been enriched by an epilogue in which Dr. Lamont summarizes developments in the USSR in the intervening two years, and by an introduction by James Aronson, Executive editor of the *National Guardian*, and a preface by Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild.

Dr. Lamont is by no means uncritical of the Soviet Union, but his criticism is never petty or carping. On the contrary it is always tempered by his two decades of study of that country and

his ceaseless efforts during all the years toward friendly understanding and co-operation. At one point he writes:

Do the evils existent during the first thirty-five years of the Communist regime . . . outweigh the total good achieved or reasonably to be anticipated for the near future? My answer is "No"; in a complete and true balance sheet, the Soviet good greatly outweighs the bad.

Discussing the Soviet Constitution, he concludes that it "presents a grand design of human living of which the Soviet people can well be proud." Their policy on national equality he terms "an epoch-making step forward." His work contains valuable material on such subjects as freedom of religion, the role of socialist planning, the hydrological and afforestation projects.

Dr. Lamont effectively blasts the fashionable tenet that equates fascism

with Soviet socialism, and his section on American-Soviet relations draws lessons that all those who love peace must learn. His final appeal for coexistence is eloquent, and his plea that war and violence be replaced by methods of reason, understanding and compromise is forthright.

The new edition of Soviet Civilization is a reminder to those who have not yet read the book to do so at once, and to those who have, to read it once more as an excellent revitalizer in the struggle for peace.

—A. V.

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