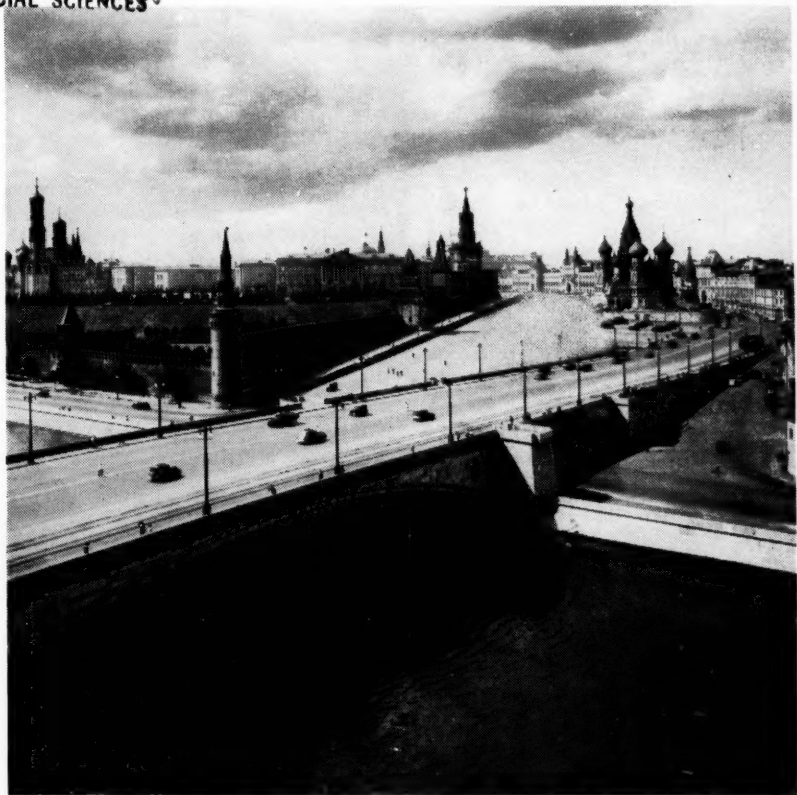


NOVEMBER, 1955

20¢

PUBLISHED BY THE
LIBRARY
NOV 18 1955
New World
REVIEW

SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓



Moscow, overlooking the Kremlin and Red Square

Marking Two Anniversaries: The 38th
Birthday of the Soviet Union and
22 Years of American-Soviet Relations

NEW WORLD *Review*

NOVEMBER

1955

Two Anniversaries	
<i>Jessica Smith</i>	3
Thoughts on this Anniversary	
<i>Dr. Harry F. Ward</i>	6
"Most Hopeful Country in the World"	
<i>Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois</i>	10
"Moscow's Peace Drive"	
<i>Anna Louise Strong</i>	12
Their Victories for Peace Are Also Ours	
<i>Paul Robeson</i>	16
Principles and Practice in Soviet Education	
<i>Beatrice King</i>	18
Keep the Flags of Friendship Flying	
<i>Sean O'Casey</i>	25
Soviet Scientists at Geneva	
<i>E. H. S. Burhop</i>	26
The USSR's Atomic Power Station	
<i>Ralph Parker</i>	31
30 Years of Development as an Industrial Country	
<i>Maurice Dobb</i>	37
East-West Trade	
<i>Theodore Bayer</i>	42
A Man and His Country	
<i>Andrew Voinow</i>	46
The Soviet Union and China	
<i>Susan Warren</i>	53
Report from the UN	
<i>Eslanda Robeson</i>	57
British Clergy Visit the USSR as Guests of the Church	
<i>Rev. Stanley Evans</i>	62

JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*

FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Far Eastern Editor*

ANDREW VOYNOW, *Managing Editor*

ESLANDA ROBESON

Editorial Consultant on Negro and Colonial Questions

Unless otherwise specified, photos are by Sovfoto

Vol. 23, No. 10, November, 1955. Re-entered as second class matter June 27, 1951 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription \$2.00 per year. \$1.00 for 6 months (Canadian, \$2.50 foreign \$3.00 a year. Draw money orders or checks payable in New York). Published monthly by the S.R.T. Publications, Inc., 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y. Indexed in Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

A Suggestion To Our Readers

Use this issue to get new subscribers!

The continuing Big Four negotiations, the exchange of delegations and the opening of East-West interchange have aroused a new interest among the American people for greater knowledge of the USSR. The changed international climate is creating new opportunities for NWR to meet this demand.

While our need for financial help, expressed each month in this space, is constant, equally great is the need to reach more people if we are properly to play our part in increasing the understanding among nations necessary for peaceful coexistence.

We believe this issue can serve as a good introduction to new readers. Will you show this copy to others, and order more copies for this purpose? Please be sure to explain that while this anniversary issue is devoted to the Soviet Union and American-Soviet relations, our magazine from month to month also publishes first hand material on the Chinese People's Republic, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the Asian and African nations, on the relations between these countries and ours, as well as news of other countries and material on vital issues relating to world peace.

Please use this blank to subscribe for a friend—or get a friend to send in.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

I am enclosing \$..... for a year's subscription (at \$2 a year) to New World Review.

Name

Address

City

Zone..... State

My Name
(If above is a gift subscription).

Two Anniversaries

by JESSICA SMITH

IN THIS ISSUE we mark two anniversaries of vital importance to the people of America.

The first of these, November 7, is the 38th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution which brought into being the world's first Socialist State.

The second, November 16, is the 22nd Anniversary of the establishment, by action of Franklin D. Roosevelt, of American-Soviet diplomatic relations. This followed sixteen years of non-recognition by successive Administrations of a government which in that period had established its stability, won the overwhelming support of its people, achieved great economic and social advances and entered upon the world stage as a powerful force for peace, pursuing then, as now, the goal of peaceful co-existence among the nations.

The importance of the Russian Revolution to the people of America, with our own revolutionary tradition, is obvious. No one in our country could fail to be affected by the first efforts to give reality to the age-old dream of the world's greatest thinkers and moral leaders as well as its workers—those who have created but not possessed the world's wealth. This was the creation of a good life for all, a life where no man would exploit another, where all would enjoy the fruits of their own labor, where inequalities between man and woman, between one race and another, between those who

labor by hand and those who labor by brain would be eliminated.

Over against the people of good will who hailed the Russian Revolution and sympathetically watched its progress, were all those who had vested interests in maintaining the status quo, or who were cut off from knowledge of the truth by the great machinery of information that supported the status quo. These forces in our own and other countries feared any demonstration that this new form of society could succeed. Ever since its inception they have sought to destroy the Soviet Union, by armed intervention, by blockade and isolation, by fanning prejudice and hate, through slander and falsification, by organizing hot wars and cold.

In this hostile environment, with the frightful Hitler invasion and the vast devastation and loss of life it caused, requiring all the resources of the Soviet Union after less than two decades of peaceful building, with the new wave of hatred and hysteria organized by the cold warriors in the post-war years, the Soviet Union has yet forged ahead with giant strides. It has built and strengthened its socialist economy, become a modern industrial nation, a great world power, provided its people with a constantly increasing standard of living, rich cultural opportunities, given a new example to the world in the brotherly relations of all its many peoples.

Greater than ever is the need for a full understanding of the aims and practices of the Soviet Union, now that a third of the world's people have entered upon the same road, however different their methods may be in following it in accordance with their own particular problems. In this anniversary issue we are bringing news of their advances in certain specific fields of basic importance.

It should surprise no one that there are still shortcomings in Soviet society, that it has not yet proved possible to overcome many of the traditional evils that have beset mankind, nor to solve in such a short space all the new problems to which the organization of a new kind of society, a new way of life, must give rise. We know that outside forces have sought out and played upon every element of weakness. We know that internally the element of human fallibility remains.

What is important is the magnificent progress that has been made in achieving basic goals despite all obstacles, the essential health of the socialist system in carrying the means within itself for the correction of errors. This is seen in the new levels which the socialist method of self-criticism have reached today, the frank admissions of past mistakes, the readiness to strike out on a new path when an old one has failed. It is being made manifest today in the forthright discussions going on in the field of science and culture and social attitudes, in the lifting of repressive methods formerly considered necessary, in the new emphasis on collective leadership and on efforts to insure further extension of the participation of the people in all affairs concerning them. And above all is the new determina-

tion with which the USSR is pursuing its consistent goal of peace.

The importance of the anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union to the people of America should also be self-evident, despite all the efforts made in recent years to revert to a situation close to those abnormal sixteen years without relations. Geneva has marked the failure of those efforts.

Let us never forget the one immeasurable boon which, aside from all others, American-Soviet relations have brought us: the victory over the Axis powers, the lives and security of millions of us which the mighty contribution of the Soviet Union to that victory meant.

Only the other day we had a strong reminder of this in the Pentagon documents which showed the practically unanimous opinion of all American commanders, that it was essential that the Soviet Union participate in the war against Japan, although this has been recently questioned in the effort to discredit the Roosevelt Administration. General MacArthur, in fact, advocated this long before the victory over Hitler. In answer to his urging, Roosevelt cabled him in May, 1942:

Find it difficult this spring and summer to get away from the fact that the Russian armies are killing more Axis personnel and destroying more Axis material than all the other twenty-five United Nations put together.

As, a decade ago, it was our relations with the Soviet Union that made possible the defeat of Hitler, the one over-riding problem that faced us then, so today it is our relations with the Soviet Union that will make it possible to avoid a new



—Eastfoto

The Geneva Summit Conference. Left to right: Premier Nikolai Bulganin (Soviet Union), President Dwight D. Eisenhower (United States), Premier Edgar Faure (France), and Prime Minister Anthony Eden (Great Britain)

world war, the greatest of all tasks that face us in this atomic era.

Despite pessimistic warnings from Washington about what may be accomplished at the forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers to take up the questions outlined at the summit conference, there can be no reversion to the pre-Geneva situation. The whole weight of American and world public opinion is too solidly behind the decisions made by the heads of governments not to make war against one another to permit any turning back.

It is too much to expect that such complicated problems as the reunification of Germany and disarmament can be quickly solved. It is greatly to be hoped that the illness of President Eisenhower will not mean a new emergence of the most rabid exponents of a war policy. If the pressure of the people continues strongly enough, this can be prevented. And the fact that negotiations are continuing will in itself act as a brake on any new developments toward war.

Supporting the Geneva spirit and contributing toward eventual peaceful solutions, is the increasing interchange which has already con-

vinced millions of Americans of what our country has to gain from contacts with Soviet people and ideas, as theirs from us. The exchange of information at the Geneva Atoms for Peace conference opened breathtaking vistas of the world to be if we can harness the atom for the improvement of life instead of its annihilation. The farm and other delegations have shown what the two peoples have to give each other in human warmth and practical knowledge. The glory of Gilels' playing has given us a rich glimpse of what cultural exchange can mean.

Let us, as Americans, mark these two anniversaries by a new determination that the spirit of Geneva shall be kept alive, and will lead on to a new era that will mean a warless world, and a peaceful coexistence given content by interchange in every sphere, including mutually advantageous trade. The end of the arms race, a new era of friendship, will release our country's rich resources for the continuing advancement of our own people, and will enable our country to play a role in peaceful world development that befits our highest American traditions.

Thoughts on This Anniversary

by DR. HARRY F. WARD

ANOTHER ANNIVERSARY of the appearance of the first socialist state upon the world stage and the opening of the socialist era in the history of mankind! This one meets a lessening of tensions between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world and a change in the attitude of the United States and the Soviet Union. In this situation an urgent question is whether this change is a maneuver for advantage or a genuine search for a solution of an issue upon which the future of the human race depends.

For the answer concerning the Soviet Union this anniversary invites at least a glance at its record. The leading Soviet spokesman has frankly made it clear that on their side the change is not in the basic objective of a socialist world but in approach only. The record shows that this means the approach in diplomatic discussion of immediate issues, not the approach in the basic question of the method to be used in getting a socialist world. That issue was determined in the early days of the Soviet state when it became clear that there were to be no immediate successors to the Russian Revolution, and the policy of building socialism in one country, as a demonstration that a socialist economy can succeed,

was adopted. How effective concentration on this objective has been, against the heavy odds of industrial backwardness and the hostility of the capitalist world, can be seen by what has happened, and is on the way, in Asia.

It was recognized in the beginning, in the acceptance of the German terms for surrender, that this undertaking required joint effort to avoid war and secure a warless world. Hence the Soviet delegation came to the first two Geneva disarmament conferences asking for 100 per cent disarmament, and to the third requesting 50 per cent. It has repeated the lesser figure on many occasions in United Nations gatherings and has later been willing, under certain conditions, to accept a lesser reduction offered by Western powers. The course is clear and consistent. It registers the push of a practical necessity combined with the pull of a moral ideal.

This joint imperative has governed the relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world and to socialist developments in other lands. Consequent to the adoption of the policy of building socialism in one country there appears the thesis of peaceful coexistence, with mutually beneficial emulation. Later comes the conclusion

that revolution cannot be exported, that in any country it must await the development of forces capable of making it effective. Later still comes the corollary that each country make its social revolution in its own way according to its background and temperament. All this is accompanied in due time by the educational policy of conditioning children to desire friendship with all peoples and a world in which war is not learned any more.

From this record it is clear that the guarantees of the general course of Soviet behavior in the life or death crisis into which all mankind has been led is more than personal or governmental sincerity. For our press the clearest expression of the "spirit of Geneva" seems to be the mutual statement that each side is now convinced that the other side sincerely desires peace. There is however no recognition of the fact that the Soviet desire is not merely the expression of a moral ideal but also the result of the powerful self interest of economic necessity. For them the push of self interest is behind the pull of the common good. They do not have to move against the brake of how to replace some forty billions of expenditures for war in their national economy. In their situation, war is pure loss for everyone concerned, unless it is absolutely necessary to defend their lives, homes and the work of their hands and brains. This basic reality makes the attitude "You cannot trust the Russians" dangerously irrelevant.

Peaceful coexistence, and out of it a warless world, is our need too, and that of the rest of the world. No one has offered any alternative except mutual destruction. This the other nations are increasingly bound to see. To what, then, should the Soviet

Union change its course? Its change in approach opens the way to discussion of mutually acceptable terms of peaceful coexistence. Meantime it adds the guarantee of suiting the action to the word. While we talk about putting a brake upon the Geneva spirit they move to implement it. They demobilize the troops brought home from Austria and put them to peaceful work. They give back the Porkkala base to Finland as they gave back Port Arthur to China.

There is a similar economic pressure and a comparable, though not so complete, consistency in the Soviet record concerning the development of democracy. Now, in the greatest crisis in history, when the future of life upon this planet is at stake, as in the earlier struggle against fascism, it is clear that peace—in the broad sense of a world without war—and democracy are indivisible. For both the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world the continuous extension of the democratic process is an indispensable condition for avoiding the nuclear war and of the ability of peaceful coexistence to make unnecessary a series of civil wars in the first stage of the socialist era. The outcome depends upon whether the millions the world around who either have no voice in the control of their destiny, or no machinery to make it effective, become able to express their will and to make it prevail.

In socialist society the democratic process is extended from political to economic life. Government of the people, by the people and for the people, includes ownership and direction of the means of production and distribution of, by and for the people. In the beginning of the Soviet demonstration of a socialist economy it was recognized that for successful opera-

tion of the people's ownership of the economic machine and its needed resources, long time economic planning was required. It was also recognized that without the fullest possible participation in the making and execution of the plans, of all involved, down to the smallest operations, success could not be achieved. Before this was provided for, the record shows a full understanding that the chief enemy in socialist society, with whom continuous war would have to be waged, is bureaucracy. One device after another to check this foe appears. The fight still goes on, and will because the enemy bureaucrat embodies an inherent tendency in the nature of government.

That tendency is strong in Soviet government because its organizational form is democratic centralism. This fusion of opposites was designed to avoid both the repressiveness of a strong state and the impotence of a weak one. To achieve this end requires a perpetual struggle to prevent centralism from checking democratic development. That struggle has manifestly been recently renewed. There is increasing evidence of more expression of the people's will in extended discussions in all sectors of Soviet life. In the current reorganization of agriculture it was announced that there had been too much centralism in agricultural planning. In the instructions for the coming Party elections locals are emphatically urged to secure the expressions of the views of all members.

In the beginning the Soviet leaders sought to help the state "wither away" by developing voluntary co-operative undertakings. Progress in this direction was checked by the hostile attitudes and acts of the great capitalist states. The state had to

become strong, and repression appeared. There was the attempt to shortcut collectivization of farms by force which brought on the kulak war. That was ended by repentance, with promise of no repetition, in Stalin's "Dizziness From Success." In the calmer atmosphere of the early thirties there was ordered "the most democratic constitution in the world," and all others were consulted and compared. Hostile authorities have to admit that its guarantees of the people's rights are unsurpassed. Before they could be implemented two counter-revolutionary movements, both with foreign connections, appeared and the repression mania of '37 swept from Moscow throughout the land. Before life was fully restored to normal Mussolini, and then Hitler, appeared above the horizon. With the invasion inevitably came some of the repression of unreconciled, dissatisfied, minorities which war brings from any government, and also more freedom for those loyal to their native land, notably religious groups. Then came the threats of the cold war.

Now, from present trends toward more expression of the people's will, accompanied by acknowledgements of some unjustified repressions, one is justified in concluding that if the cold war is really abandoned and peaceful coexistence is genuinely sought by both sides, the economic necessity of securing the fullest co-operation from all the population will make continuously effective the desire to show that socialism can give democracy a fuller content, and a wider expression, than capitalism has been able to do.

The days of great advance for mankind have come when economic necessity joined with a long sought moral ideal.

Such a time has come to us in unprecedented force. Never did the human race face such possibilities of loss or gain. The outcome depends upon whether there are enough people who see what has to be done and are willing to do it, and whether enough leaders of sufficient capacity for the endeavor emerge. The record warrants the judgment that the Soviet Union is producing, and will produce, its full share of both. Many more are coming from the other lands where a socialist economy is being developed. These will be joined by an increasing number in capitalist lands who are coming to see that the capitalist era has passed its peak and, with no sufficient answer to the crisis created by the discovery of atomic power, is entering its decline. To secure the peaceful coexistence with disarmament and mutually beneficial emulation which is the only alternative to mutual destruction these forces have to emerge. Also they have to draw in those in the capitalist world who really believe that the capitalist economy can be sufficiently reformed to make another contribution to human wellbeing.

For this to be done, especially in the United States, the unreal picture of the USSR as portrayed by cold war propaganda, and the equally unreal opposite cherished by some of its friends, has to be replaced by a truthful portrait. If the Soviet leaders are the totally depraved beings, without conscience or moral stan-

dards, constantly pictured to the American people, indirectly and directly, there is no ground for peaceful coexistence nor even the continuance of the present United Nations. Some of them have surrendered and others will surrender, to the evil tendencies to which all flesh is heir. What nation or system has no evil men in its records? Recent Soviet admissions reveal the inadequacy of the friendship which blindly assumes that the socialist system and its leaders can do no wrong. They admit serious mistakes and, because they are human, others will be made. The socialist state shares enough of the nature of all states to make it fall under the judgment that there is none that is altogether righteous, no not one. Soviet society is now fighting "hooliganism" as a war product and we are fighting juvenile delinquency, but it has more help from the economy. It is also, as we are not, starting a government campaign against anti-social sex relations.

To escape the wrath to come if the misuse of atomic power persists, to enter the way it opens to the more abundant life for all humanity, it is necessary for our nation to abandon the self righteousness that has concealed its aims in moral values they do not possess, and to cooperate with the socialist sector of the world in mutual efforts to overcome the anti-social tendencies in human nature which have afflicted the race in the past.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAID AT GENEVA—

"The American people want to be friends with the Soviet people. There are no natural differences between our peoples or our nations. . . . Historically our two countries have always been at peace. . . . But friendly understanding . . . does not readily develop when there are artificial barriers. . . . It is time that all curtains whether of guns or laws or regulations, should begin to come down. But this can only be done in an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence."

"Most Hopeful Country in the World"

by DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

I REMEMBER my reaction in October, 1917, when I heard of the Russian Revolution. I was at the time the editor of the leading magazine among American Negroes and we Negroes felt close kinship to the Russian peasants because both were emancipated from slavery at nearly the same time. Both however failed to secure the freedom so publicly promised and I was uplifted to hear that at least the Russian workers were now really to be free even if we Negroes still lingered in partial serfdom. We were still for the most part disfranchised and being lynched at the rate of one a week. In Russia on the other hand, I heard of a nation at last redeemed from one of the lowest forms of religious dogma in the modern world and being prepared for real freedom to earn a living.

Then came a change. During the next quarter of a century, the mass of American people began to doubt the reality of the Revolution in Russia. Our magazines and the press circulated stories which gradually taught this nation widely to believe:

1. That the Russian people were being re-enslaved,
2. That the leaders of the Russian Revolution were conspirators and criminals,
3. That the mass of Russian women were being forced into public prostitution.

4. That the revolutionary government was on the brink of momentary collapse,

5. That communism was especially a threat to the United States,

6. That the United States must arm to the uttermost to conquer the Soviet Union and exterminate communism from the world.

This type of thinking did not come suddenly and did not convince all Americans but it spread gradually and widely until it took courage to withstand its influence.

For a long time I stood confused. I did not believe this trend of belief to be true; but I was in no position to contradict it. For perhaps a decade I had to fall back in my teaching, writing and lecturing on the declaration that I did not know just what was happening in Russia.

Finally I did what all intelligent men must do when in doubt: I took the first chance that came to hand to know. First in 1928 and then again in 1936 and finally in 1949, I visited the Soviet Union. Naturally in these visits of two weeks to two months each, I did not see everything or learn all. But I did see the leading cities from Leningrad to Moscow, Kiev and Gorky to Odessa. I crossed the Ukraine and parts of Siberia; I saw the Volga, the Yenesei and Lake Baikal.

I could not talk freely with the

people due to the language barrier, but I could see and hear them at work and at play. I could gather literature and read widely. From these journeys and the study based upon them, I soon became convinced that the Russian Revolution was one of the greatest events in human history for the uplift of mankind; that it was no march to glory, but the blood and sweat of fallible human beings, long held down by ignorance and poverty, staggering up and on and surrounded by traitors, spies, liars and reactionary forces of the world.

But despite all this and in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, the Soviet Union became, as I said first in 1951 and as I repeat now, "The most hopeful country in the world."

Today in October, 1955, I have lived to see my belief sustained by unanswerable facts, acknowledged more and more widely by the intelligent world. These facts are:

1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics still lives. It has not collapsed,

2. The peoples of Russia and its neighbors are better off today than ever before in history. The nation may in many ways lag behind some other nations, but it is absolutely clear that the Russians of 1950 surpass by every social measurement the Russians of 1900.

3. Even the United States has been forced to admit that communism is not a conspiracy led by criminals, but that its leaders are honest men with whom Americans can sit down and confer; and who desire peace as much as we do if not more,

4. That the Soviet Union is not an imperial power which is holding other nations in bondage and colonial control; but is a proposed new way

of life which can only be displaced by a better way,

5. That in spite of the strict demands of self-defense and discipline, the Soviet Union has made in the last 38 years extraordinary progress in science, art and literature; in education and agriculture; and is today setting the world an example of wide and deep human progress which all the world must heed.

There are many people, even those of intelligence and moral fiber, who still deny the facts stated above. But such folk are growing fewer in number and more doubtful in assertion. Most of those who today still attack and vilify the Soviet Union and China are fanatic and ignorant and greedy people. This the United States is slowly coming to see. America cannot much longer turn her back on Truth and scream for Hate and War. We cannot without eventual disaster keep spending forty thousand million dollars a year on a proposed war of the universe which, as even so ruthless a general as Douglas MacArthur admits, we could not win without destruction of ourselves and our world. Let us then stop taxing the poor to further enrich the rich, gambling on the stock market, and begin the using of our wealth for education, flood control, health and housing. In this way we can perhaps explain to America that fact that recently puzzled a Congressman: Why does the Soviet Union have no public debt while the United States owes two hundred and seventy-five thousand millions of dollars, which is twenty times as much as we owed when the Russian Revolution occurred.

For this great change in the heart of America and of the world, hail to the Soviet Union on its thirty-eighth birthday!

"Moscow's Peace Drive"

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

A MERICAN commentators call it "Moscow's peace drive." All admit, some of them lugubriously, that a serious "peace drive" is on. Our planet has spiritually moved in the space of five months into a different temper. Diplomats use for it the French word "detente." Tensions relax, war threats recede; diplomatic courtesy replaces name-calling.

Bloody struggles still dot the world in Morocco and Algeria, the Middle East, Indo-China, Argentina and elsewhere, but the ten-years main East-West tension has eased. Everyday folk read contentedly of Iowa farmers welcoming Russian farmers, and these are portrayed as regular guys, who endure the sweat of Iowa's summer with good humor and appreciatively devour farm wives' chickens and pies. American farmers similarly travel the Soviet farmlands. More Senators and Congressmen visit Moscow than in any past summer, and prepare to be "Russian experts" in future debates.

The Senators find Russians so friendly, so eager for peace and for "American technique," that they wonder whether that terrible thing called "communism" may not be slipping unobtrusively down the drain. Russians ask about prices and cost-accounting! Capitalism, no less! Party-chief Khrushchev sets the

record straight by the picturesque remark that those who think the USSR is abandoning communism "will have to wait till the shrimps learn to whistle." Khrushchev adds: "But we do not seek to convert anyone to communism by force. . . . [If you want capitalism] go your way until you see it is the way of the blind. We shall continue to progress along the road of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which is clear as a sunny day."

This happy admission of faith in what Americans have for ten years seen as "conspiracy" rather took our commentators aback. They had of course been warning fellow-citizens to keep up the war-spirit, since "Russia has not changed her basic objectives." Now Khrushchev admits it but defines those "basic objectives" in this upsetting way. Yet his vigorous marine metaphor only announces what Soviet leaders have been announcing for twenty years: that their basic objective is to build socialism and then communism in their own country, that they think others will copy them but have no intent to induce this by force. One would not have to repeat this so often announced policy were it not that the American press keeps insisting that Moscow's aim is to conquer the world by force. . . . This has always been a

pure invention of American cold war propaganda.

For building socialism and then communism in their country the prime requisite is peace. Russian leaders insist and Russian people believe that they always follow a "peace policy." If this is not always clear to Americans, it is in part due to press misrepresentation and in part to the fact that Soviet leaders do not seek peace by passivity and isolation, but by entering into and influencing the world's life. In this they pursue their own aims, not the aims of Washington. Since they live in a world in which important sections are incurably hostile to their economic system, their continuing policy must be to prevent these hostile forces from combining to attack. They have pursued this aim down the years with intelligence, agility and considerable success. This leads them to acts which other nations may consider hostile, even while Russians think they act to keep the peace.

May I note two out of many examples. Twice the USSR shocked the Anglo-American world by signing sudden agreements with Germany, at Rapallo and again with Hitler—that non-aggression pact which our press still miscalls an "alliance." The Anglo-American press denounced these agreements as "betrayals"; Russians felt that Washington and London had been trying to mobilize German manpower to attack Russia and that they had side-stepped. Something like this can happen again. If so, the American press will denounce, but the Russians will think it a move to avoid war. Most of the rest of the world will agree that they have a case.

A more recent example is the sale of arms by the Czechs to Egypt.

Dulles laments that this "starts an arms-race in the Middle East"; supporters of Israel look at it askance; pacifists dislike the sale of arms on principle. But periodicals like *U.S. News and World Report* let the cat out of the bag by revealing that Washington and London were controlling the Middle East by rationing out the arms supply to each country, and giving arms only for purposes that suited Washington. The Czech sale of arms for cotton, without dollars and without conditions, both restores sovereignty to Egypt and is also a bid for an opportunity to share in any international control the UN may establish for the Middle East. The Middle East is on Russia's door-step. Mr. Dulles may be annoyed when he has to add Russia to any Middle East control, but this will harm nobody except those who wish the world ruled from Washington. To Russians even the sale of arms may thus plausibly seem a move towards a stabler peace.

I have dealt with controversial acts to show how differently they may be regarded. But the past five months have produced a series of Soviet acts which drive towards peace so clearly that the *New York Times* lists them (September 25) as "pivotal acts" in a "peace drive." They are: 1.) In May, Moscow presents new disarmament plan, accepting Anglo-French ideas. 2.) Austria Treaty signed. 3.) Reconciliation with Yugoslavia. 4.) Begins peace talks with Japan. 5.) Big Four Meet in Geneva. 6.) Announces cut of 640,000 in armed forces. 7.) Begins relations with Bonn. 8.) Gives sovereignty to East Germany. 9.) Returns Porkkala naval base to Finland. I would add to this list the return of Port Arthur to China with which I think the drive started; and also Molotov's personal

attendance with a large delegation in San Francisco, an act which raised the status of the entire UN Memorial Session and reversed Washington's tendency to bypass the UN.

These were spectacular moves recognized by the world as intended to reduce international tension. They had that result. Guesses are made as to why the USSR chose this time to make them. The basic reason is of course that the world has reached a stage of atomic development in which a serious East-West war could destroy mankind. The world's people understand this. Now last winter just at the time when people everywhere were becoming convinced of it, and consequently passionately wanted peace, Washington made a series of moves that seemed to lead straight into war. These were especially three: 1.) the agreement to rearm Germany, which most Europeans fear; 2.) NATO's decision to base strategy on atomic weapons, which Europeans saw as sure guarantee of *their* doom, whoever won; 3.) the action of the U.S. Congress in voting to Eisenhower power to make war on the China mainland as he chose. These acts made it seem last spring that the world might be rushing headlong into its final war.

So Moscow launched its "peace drive." But we shall not understand this drive if we think of it as a pacifist yielding. It was a drive for peace, but at the same time for defense, for leadership, even for power. Moscow, feeling the pulse of the world, knew that any moves to war would meet universal resistance, while any obvious moves to peace would win universal support. This being the case, to convince the world very widely of their peaceful aims would not only win friends but might well be a sounder defense than was

furnished by a naval base in Finland. Atomic war had to be handled not by a naval base but by arousing a mentality that would prevent its start.

In world opinion the drive began with the Austrian Treaty. It was not so much that Russia signed as the way it was done. Soviet leaders invited the Austrian chancellor to Moscow and made a deal in less than a week; then they invited London and Washington in. The generosity of the terms was unexpected: oil industries and the Danubian fleet were handed over in return for a neutrality most Austrians desired. Washington, suddenly aware that a neutral Austria broke NATO's communication lines between Italy and Germany, thought up irritating conditions to discourage the Russians, (a larger Austrian army, Austria's right to keep Soviet refugees, etc.). Russia surprised by accepting all these with good grace.

If the world was surprised by Soviet moves in Austria, it was flabbergasted by the move in Yugoslavia. All the top Soviet leadership went practically hat in hand to that little nation and apologized for past actions in what nations normally consider a humiliating way. When has a big nation done this before? I am one of those who think the Russians overdid it; that in the regrettable split between the two nations Yugoslavia bore a considerable share of blame. I could argue this, but why should I? Khrushchev didn't argue; he apologized. By tossing what is known as national prestige on the scrapheap he gained a widened neutral belt across Europe and a friendly would-be socialist neighbor. It was not a bad exchange.

By mid-spring the peace drive had the world so interested that the major question in British elections became

(See *New York Times*) "Has Eden done enough to keep out of thermonuclear war?" . . . So Eden promoted the Big Four Meet in Geneva and finally got Eisenhower in. Commentators said he agreed in order to help Eden win and also because the American people were flooding him with letters demanding peace.

After ten years refusal by Washington to meet, the chiefs of the Big Four met in Geneva in late July. There is no space to review here the action or results. Dulles summed it up to a reporter: "Well, we didn't give much away." Bulganin summed it for the Congress of Soviets: "It succeeded in relaxing international tensions; marked a turning-point in relations between the USSR and the West." CBS summed it: "Geneva settled nothing and was never intended to settle anything . . . they only agreed to try to agree. . . . Nevertheless it may identify a new period for history." All these summing-ups are true.

Neither side "gave anything away," though the Russians eased discussion by minor concessions such as accepting Washington's agenda. Each side kept basic policies intact but expressed for the first time in polite words. Both sides made clear that they knew that no gain or victory for either was possible from atomic war; that diplomatic methods must be tried. Manners changed; courtesy revived. "The cold war is buried," exulted the *Journal de Geneve*. And Del Vayo in the *Nation* agreed: "It is a mortal blow to the cold war." Is this exultation premature? I think not. The Russians agree with the estimate. In their subsequent acts—the cut in armed forces, the return of Porkkala naval base—they gave as reason that this was made possible by the relaxation

of international tension achieved.

Certainly it is not yet time—it will never be time—to rest complacent. Friendship and mutual understanding, so badly shattered in ten years of cold war, are yet to be built. Passports and the right to visit the USSR and exchange all knowledge must be fought for. The war party still lives in Washington and may take advantage of President Eisenhower's illness. But the world tide moves so strongly against them that they will achieve chiefly their own isolation.

For only by understanding the world tide and riding it may a nation gain even its limited objectives in any stable way. Walter Lippmann notes (October 8) that precisely by the "peace drive" Russia has gained one objective after another: that NATO loses its punch, that a neutrality belt grows across Europe, that Moscow siezes a hand in the Middle East. He asks whether the USA "is not coming off second best in the diplomatic deal in Germany, in the Middle East, in the Mediterranean."

War of course still lives. Civil strife and colonial war breaks out and spreads in many lands. But, for the time and perhaps for long, the USSR has pushed the war danger firmly away from its own frontiers. Most American commentators take it for granted that this is the "post Stalin policy," blaming on Stalin all frictions of the past decade. One must therefore note that it was Stalin, in his last long analysis for the Party Congress, who first clearly stated that future antagonisms were more apt to arise between capitalist nations, and in colonial struggles, than between the capitalist world and the socialist. Some saw that view as wishful thinking, and some as Soviet intention. But it seems to be working out that way.

Their Victories for Peace Are Also Ours

by PAUL ROBESON

FRIENDS of peace in every land have much to celebrate this year, and on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the October Revolution it is especially fitting to salute the peoples of the Soviet Union and their government which reflects their passionate devotion to the cause of world peace.

The many Americans who have recently visited the Soviet Union—Congressmen, farmers, clergymen, journalists, athletes and others—are unanimous in their findings that the Soviet people, far from being hostile and warlike, are openhearted and friendly. And the evil myth of “Soviet aggression” has been largely shattered by the consistent efforts of the Soviet government to remove all sources of tensions.

Those voices of discord in the world which cried out, hypocritically, for “deeds” to match the peaceful professions of the Soviet government, are being drowned out by the popular acclaim which has greeted the numerous steps taken by that government to build a lasting peace. The Austrian treaty, the rapprochement with Yugoslavia, the establishment of relations with West Germany, the concessions to Finland—

yes, the world has applauded each new breakthrough for peaceful coexistence achieved by the Soviet Union. And the past year, too, has witnessed the meeting of the Big Four, advocated for so long by the Soviet Union, and the birth in Geneva of a hopeful new spirit in international relations.

In pursuing its program to bring an end to the cold war and to banish forever the menace of atomic disaster, the Soviet Union moves with a massive strength that is altogether different from the notorious and now discredited policy of “positions of strength.” Increasingly it can be seen that the foreign policy of the USSR is effective not only because it reflects the interests of her own peoples, but because it is based upon the interests of all humanity. Indeed, the spirit of Geneva is given flesh and blood by Bandung—the freedom-striving peoples of Asia and Africa, by Helsinki—the world-wide movement of the partisans of peace, and by Warsaw—great rally of world youth.

“Peace, bread and land”—the slogan under which the Russian workers and peasants marched from the darkness of tsarist oppression to

establish a new way of life in the world—is now the goal of countless millions around the globe. Many differences exist, of course, as to the path to be followed, but men and women of goodwill everywhere respect and admire the heroic labors of the Soviet people who, in less than four decades, have built their socialist homeland into one of the decisive powers of the world. It was this epic advance, unprecedented in human history, that moved Prime Minister Nehru to say, after visiting the USSR this year, “I have left part of my heart behind.”

And now, more than ever, the colonial peoples, straining against their

chains, are strengthened and inspired by the unswerving stand of the Soviet Union, recently restated in these words of Nikita Khrushchev: “The position of the Soviet people is the position of moral support and sympathy for the aspirations of the national liberation movement of the peoples.”

Yes, the many millions of the colonial liberation movement, and millions more who are part of the world-wide movement for peace, will warmly greet the Soviet peoples on November 7th, and say:

“Happy birthday, dear brothers and sisters! Your victories for peace and freedom are also ours!”

CRITICS ACCLAIM EMIL GILES

Giles' performance was the most triumphant debut played in the Academy of Music for many decades. . . . It was not long before the audience realized it was listening to one of the greatest virtuosos of our time. . . . Last night's visitor not only plays the piano superbly, but he makes music magnificently. . . . Gilles' technique is flawless and breathtaking in its supreme mastery. . . . *Edwin H. Schloss, Philadelphia Inquirer, October 4.*

An unassuming little fellow with bushy red hair and a round, earnest face whipped up a frenzy of excitement in Carnegie Hall last night. . . . The real storm broke at the end of the Tchaikowsky concerto. People rose to their feet shouting “Bravo!” and applauding as if a new chapter had opened in world history. . . . Emil Giles is a pianist of astonishing power and a technician second to none. . . . *Louis Biancolli, New York World Telegram, October 5.*

. . . Giles proved himself to be a stupendous artist, demonstrating magnificent technical and musical command of his art. . . . His tributes from the sold out house were legion . . . there is no doubt he is among the top-ranking pianists of our time. . . . *Harriet Johnson, New York Post, October 5.*

Emil Giles . . . is a great pianist . . . a musician of personality. . . . He can make the piano sing and he can cause it to thunder. . . . To his brilliance and temperament he has added warmth and delicacy. International good will was busting out all over. . . . *Howard Tushman, New York Times, October 5.*

(For additional comments see page 56)

Principles and Practice In Soviet Education

by BEATRICE KING

AS SIGNIFICANT as going back to figures, is going back to principles. How far have they been put into practice? What has remained stable in all the changes that have occurred in Soviet education? Do these changes depart from the principles propounded by the founder of the Soviet state or are they merely organizational adaptations to gear education to changing life?

No one today challenges the achievements in Soviet education: 38 million at school instead of under 8 million in 1914, 900 higher education institutions instead of 91, with a million full-time students, hundreds of new types of schools, etc. In this article I propose to examine Soviet educational achievements by going back to first principles.

On October 16th, 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets published a decree on education, "The Unified Labor School," which gave legal definition to the principles of a socialist system of popular education. The different

types of schools hitherto existing, serving different classes of society, were to be replaced by the Unified Labor School divided into two sections according to age groups, grade I, 8 to 13; grade II, 13 to 17. The school was to be preceded by the kindergarten for children from 6 to 8 years.

The new system of Soviet education was based on principles arising from the essence of the new social structure, that expressed the laws of Soviet educational development.

The first principle stated that the school must be linked to life, geared to its political, economic and cultural problems and the needs as they developed. This principle was dealt with profoundly by Lenin in his speeches in the First All-Russian Conference of Education, in 1918, and in the Second All-Russian Conference of Internationalist Teachers, in January, 1919.

The second principle was that all schools must be state schools. The Soviet state was one where power, authority and wealth belonged to the workers. Private schools could no more be tolerated than private enterprise.

The third principle was that of socialist democracy. This it was claim-

BEATRICE KING, prominent British educator, has made an extensive study of education in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe.



There's an air of excitement as school reopens. Pupils come laden with flowers for their teachers and with tales of how they spent their vacations.

ed could only be realized in a socialist state where the facilities and opportunities for education were the same for all irrespective of social origin, parental income or place of habitation. The unified school provided the educational means for this. The purpose of the unified school was to encourage and develop the abilities and gifts of every individual, to raise the cultural level of the whole nation, not just of sections to serve as the ruling class.

The fourth principle was equality of educational opportunities for all nationalities, all creeds, all races inhabiting that vast land.

The fifth principle was the secularization of the schools, and the sixth was complete equality for the sexes. Co-education was a first step in this direction. Finally a governing principle of the whole system was the normal sequence of all its stages. "The whole system of normal education, from the kindergarten to the

university, represents one school, one unbroken ladder" one read in "The Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School."

Let us turn to the first principle, linking school to life. The very name Unified Labor School at once made education real for the working and peasant class that had come to power. In the new society all must work, and work must gain respect and dignity. From the beginning, methods used in the school linked classroom very closely to life. With the development of the country other aspects of life shared importance with labor. Gradually the term "unified labor" fell into disuse. In 1934 the decree "On the Structure of Primary and Secondary Schools" established three main types of schools, the primary four-year, the incomplete secondary or seven-year, and the secondary, or ten-year school. The names remain today though compulsory education now begins at seven and the kinder-

garten begins at three. The two first types are just preceding stages for the ten-year or high school.

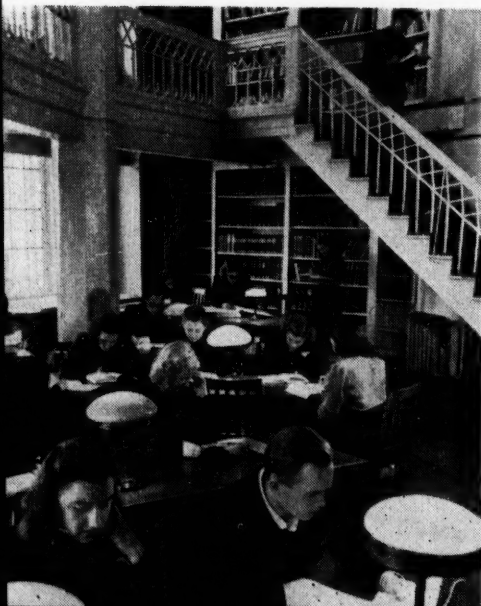
Today the education system is as unified as it ever was, withal embracing a great variety of facilities, showing a varied approach to the details of education, expressing as everywhere, the personality and individuality of principal and staff. The idea of labor is all-pervasive. The standard of attainment set is the same throughout the Union, whether remote village or capital city. The common curricula and syllabuses approximate the educational level over the whole country. It has not been easy to achieve this by one hundred per cent. A variety of measures and tactics are used to bring all to the same high standard with good results.

The rate of reconstruction and construction since the war, demanding intelligent skilled workers as well as highly qualified technicians and sci-

entists, is evidence of a high measure of success. Even stronger evidence that education is closely geared to life is supplied by the way the ordinary people spend their leisure. There is a vast reading public for good wholesome literature, home and foreign, classical and modern. People flock to opera, ballet, theater, concert and cinema. I have known a collective farm to buy up a whole opera performance in the nearest town for its members. There is a complete absence of the vulgar, the vacuous, or the perverted. Further evidence of the universality of the same good standard in taste and knowledge is provided by the amateur arts activities in farm and in factory, in village and city, often reaching standards any professionals might envy.

From the very first moment of the setting up of the new system, linking education to life received serious attention. In 1919, the Eighth Communist Party Congress discussed free and completely polytechnized education for all children up to 17. But polytechnization required workshops with equipment as well as special teachers and, like school till 17, was out of the question for some time. The state plan for electricity drawn up by Lenin in 1920 kept the question of polytechnization to the fore. In 1928, the agitation and help of the Young Communist League finally started off polytechnization in the schools. By 1932, the First Five-Year Plan was successfully completed. The foundations for heavy industry were laid and a new stage in the country's development was reached. This made new demands on the schools. The reorganization which followed, particularly in higher education, was the response to these demands. The process of

Students in the reading room of the library at the State University in Tartu, the Estonian Soviet Republic.



adaptation was repeated in 1936 after the successful fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan. The schools and universities had now to provide a better and more all-round educated person able to build socialism politically, economically, and culturally.

Polytechnization in the schools however, did not respond to the new demands of scientific production and by 1937 it was dropped from many schools as serving no purpose. Little was heard about the subject until after the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler. Practical work to help the army became an urgent matter and workshops of all kinds were started outside as well as inside schools. Post-war developments demanded a nation all of whom understood the essentials of the science on which life is coming more and more to be based; all of whom understood the scientific principles underlying production, and its organization; all of whom are able to handle not only simple tools, but to understand an internal combustion engine or a lathe. So the 19th Party Congress, responding to universal demands, recommended re-introduction of polytechnization into the schools, to be implemented in the school year 1954-55. But because the USSR today is not the USSR of 1928, because today the country is building communism, having now achieved socialism, polytechnization today is not the same as it was in 1928. It is geared to life in 1955. The many other changes introduced between 1954 and 1955 all serve the same end of linking education with life.

They are designed to equip the Soviet pupil who leaves high school with a better theoretical and practical knowledge broadly based, so that he can fit in easily to the growing complexity of modern life, and



In both town and country, they learn the three R's. Pupils attending an arithmetic lesson in a rural school.

with an understanding of the primary importance of industry. The new industrial and agricultural worker will have had a high school education. With this education behind him he will not only be a better worker at the bench or in the field, he will be able to cope the more easily with the problems, such as automatization, that scientific development is presenting to industry. Much emphasis is laid on the fact that entrance into industry does not bar the way to higher education. In the 38 years of Soviet education, its flexibility, its adaptability to changing conditions, its response to new demands stand out as one of the highlights.

In other spheres the link between school and life continues even stronger; the participation of the school in pre-election campaigns, in the cultural and social life of the community, is strong and widespread. The participation of the community in the life of the school; the parents' committees, the factory, farm, theater and other patronage over the school, all help to bring

school and life more closely together.

The second principle, that of state schools, was put into practice very early in the life of the Soviets. Not only schools, every kind of educational institution belongs to and is run by the state. This has not had the result of deadly uniformity. Geography, history, and nationality, all leave their impress on the school. Within the accepted common core, originality is encouraged, initiative is commended, individual experiment goes on with the results shared by all working in education. As a state activity education has its place in the country's economic plans and where need is greatest go the largest allocations. While commodity prices decrease, allocations to education increase yearly.

The principle of socialist democracy in education took time and effort to realize. The efforts began in 1918 when the then Commissariat of Education, unable to provide the necessary schools quickly enough, set up the first Club School for illiterate or semi-literate youngsters at work. The following year the Young Communist League took a hand and organized these Club Schools, equal to the seven-year school, in industrial centers, then in the plants themselves. In response to demand, amateur circles for the arts soon followed. In one year in Moscow 40 such Club Schools were set up.

To give workers' children a chance to enter university, Rabfacs were organized, the first in 1919. By 1924 there were 130 with 45,000 students, and by 1933 there were 339,000 students attending the two-year Rabfac courses preparing for university entrance. The Rabfacs continued in inverse proportion to the growth of high schools more or less till about 1938.

Schools for worker and peasant youth were established in the twenties, gradually replacing the club schools. Today these schools serve a different purpose, to complete the high school education of the young people who for some reason or other failed to do so. So successful are these that many young people go on to the university from there. These schools operate after work and fit in with shifts in the factory and the season on the farm. For those at work who desire higher education there are evening as well as correspondence course with paid time off for consultations and examination periods.

The introduction of universal high school education in cities and industrial settlements and the countryside by 1960, its extension to all children, is a major step in the march to full democracy in education. The end of 1955 will see an increase of 70 percent in high schools over 1950, with four times as many pupils. This has meant, and continues to mean, a great school building program, particularly when one bears in mind the 82,000 schools of different types destroyed by the Germans. In addition to the state building program, literally hundreds of schools are being built on the initiative and at the expense of collective farms and other patron bodies. As far back as 1950, over 1,350 schools were built in this way. A typical example are the collective farmers of the Ferghana Region who finished 52 schools ready for this September 1st, and have now started on another 58, while some collective farms in Kazakhstan have in the next two years planned to build 11 schools, 20 houses for teachers, 30 school sports grounds and 8 hot-houses for young naturalists.

The program of full equality of educational opportunity has also de-

Geology students in the soil laboratory at Moscow University receive help from a member of the faculty.



manded a great increase in the number of teachers. To cope with this demand 75 new education institutes (four-year course) and teachers' institutes (two-year course) have been built during the last five years. In the same period the intake of students for teacher training increased 45 per cent over the previous 5 years.

This year, to give maladjusted and retarded children the opportunity to catch up with the normal ones, special schools have been started for them since they could not be dealt with adequately in a class of 40 in the ordinary school. They are to have the best available teachers, the best available laboratory and workshop equipment and a prolonged school day, fed and occupied until the parents return from work. All these provisions based on the unified education system make democracy in education genuine.

The equality of nationality, race and creed in education has long been a reality, the cost in money and effort never being counted. Education today is being given in a hundred different languages, which has meant the creation of 40 new alphabets. The former widespread illiteracy is a

tale of the past, and this is now true of the lands that became Soviet in 1939. Not only schools, but universities staffed by their own people function where these had never existed. Turkmenia now has seven universities, Kirghizia eleven, Tadzhikistan nine. In the latter, 58 out of 10,000 are receiving higher education, in Turkmenia 60, in Uzbekistan 71, in Azerbaidzhan 93 out of 10,000. Comparable figures for Sweden, Denmark, France and Italy are respectively 21, 34, 36, and 32 out of 10,000. All education for the nationalities, large or small, takes account of national culture and history. It is resulting in a wonderful richness and variety.

The principle of secularization is universal throughout education, but the rights of religion in the home and the church are respected. The state seeks to provide education on a scientific basis and believes this can only be achieved when education is secular.

With the re-introduction of co-education the principle of sex equality has been fully achieved in every respect. It should be pointed out in fairness that segregation was intro-

duced in city schools as a measure to improve work and discipline. It had nothing to do with sex discrimination. There is no course, no faculty, which anywhere excludes or even limits women's opportunities. This is as true of Mohammedan populations where previously education was often unavailable to girls and where achievement of sex equality often meant a hard struggle, as of others.

In the universities 43 percent of students are women and for those who may be married with children, there are nurseries and kindergartens. Grants are the same for both sexes and equal pay for teachers is a matter of course. In both the teaching and the medical professions women outnumber men. Women are found in the highest academic posts and it is as common to find a woman principle of a high school as a man.

Thirty-eight years is not long in the history of a country. We can all be proud that the Soviet Union

has achieved so much in so comparatively short a time, proud of the Soviet people as human beings. We can be inspired when we think that in 1954, 57 million Soviet people were attending some educational course or other. We must become humble when we learn that in the short period of 38 years higher education institutions increased ten times; when we learn of the vast network of children's Pioneer Palaces and Houses; of the 100 children's theaters and all the rest of the leisure facilities; when we learn that back in 1951, 56 million books for children were published, 21 million of which went to school libraries. Let us not forget too the high standard of scientific research, nor of opera, theater, ballet and music.

Only a country whose aim is peace and peaceful coexistence with others, can afford so much and such varied education and can achieve so much in so short a time.

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

"The Central Asian Republics impressed me greatly. . . . I wanted to see as much as possible and meet different people during my travels. . . . I talked to judges and ministers, chairmen of collective farms, teachers and collective farmers.

"I want to note first of all that I was met everywhere with exceptional friendship, and everybody was very hospitable. And I visited lots of places. . . . I became convinced that the interest in America was tremendous. . . . I think the broadest exchange of tourists should be arranged. . . . We should know one another better, then it will be clear that the Russians and Americans have much in common."

—From interview in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September 8, 1955

GEORGE MOORE, UCLA STUDENT

"We visited factories, schools, universities, where we attended classes; churches and synagogues, attending services; collective farms, children's camps, museums and art galleries, and workers' resorts. We examined housing projects and entered apartments, hospitals and nursery schools. Everywhere and without exception the people ardently expressed their desire for peace and friendship, coexistence with the people of the United States."

—From a series of articles in *The Daily Bruin*

From Sean O'Casey

Keep the Flags of Friendship Flying

I HAVE TO guard with many rests the one good eye I have in my head; I am so busy with work that has to be done that I can't do what you ask of me. Anyhow, everyone who can read the alphabet knows of my affectionate regard for the USSR, and for the golden spurs of socialism she has fashioned for the spirit of man to go forward to a fruitful peace, and the shaking of hands all the world over.



What we wanted has begun, and I hope and believe that your President will soon see what Moscow looks like, as, I hope and believe, the USSR's President will as soon see New York looking lovely by night, and journey even farther to peep into Washington's Capitol, and your President's White House. All very natural; but, all the same, deserving a loud hurrah, and a laugh at McCarthy sitting by himself in a damp corner of a dust-bowl weeping.

Henceforth, there's no profit in war, even for the makers of the guns: The atom bomb has destroyed all chance of profit. The thing that came in the form of Satan has turned itself into an angel of light. A miracle come from the shout of the world's people: We will have no more war!

No: never again will we manure the world's wastes with the bloody bodies of our young. And first in the field of peace were the peoples of the USSR.

So be it. As I hailed the USSR in 1917, so I do now. An Irishman who loves America and the Americans, loves the people of the Soviet Union. East and West—forever the twain shall meet. The flags of friendship are out; they fly high; we must never let them be taken down.

This letter, though not the article requested, is so inspiring that, with the author's permission, we are publishing it.

Soviet Scientists at Geneva

A British scientist tells of their contributions to the "Atoms for Peace" conference

by E. H. S. BURHOP

HISTORY was made at Geneva this summer. The meeting of the Heads of State of France, Britain, the USA and the USSR in July was followed by the momentous gathering of scientists and engineers from 84 countries to discuss the peaceful applications of atomic energy. The meeting of Heads of State initiated a new era in international relations and marked a break with the old cold war policies. The meeting of the working scientists that followed served to emphasize in an unmistakable way the new spirit in international affairs and to make it a living reality.

In spite of a number of shortcomings, such as the absence of representatives from the Chinese Peoples' Republic which meant that one quarter of mankind were denied representation, the fact remains that at Geneva scientists of east and west came together to discuss technical problems of the greatest significance. A whole branch of physics—the physics of the fission process—which had

previously been concealed behind a curtain of secrecy became completely revealed. Fundamental constants whose value but yesterday were regarded as secrets to be guarded jealously at all costs, were revealed. America, Britain and the Soviet Union were found to have reached much the same stage in their study of the fission process and its applications. Scientists of both east and west working in completely independent teams had arrived at the same results. The only effect of secrecy had been to hinder the advance of the subject and to cause duplication of effort and frustration. For years many scientists had been warning that the cult of secrecy in fundamental science was founded on an illusion. There was no big secret to guard. What one group of scientists in one country could accomplish a similar competent group in another country could also achieve. The truth of this maxim was made clear for all to perceive at Geneva.

In view of recent history it was but natural that the contributions of Soviet scientists were awaited with particular interest. By any standards these contributions were impressive. Present day Soviet nuclear physics was revealed as strong and versatile.

DR. E. H. S. BURHOP, eminent British physicist, is a Professor at University College in London. He attended the Geneva "Atoms for Peace" Conference.



Students in a practical session in the tracer atoms laboratory of the Lenin Agricultural Institute in Moscow. The Institute has been studying the use of radioactive elements in raising the yields of various crops.

It is not of course that the level of development of physics in the USSR is greatly in advance of that in the USA. That is not the case. In some branches one country seems to be ahead and in some the other. But for years a false picture of the utter incompetence of Soviet science has been painted in many quarters—and to such an extent that many Western scientists had come to mistake the propaganda for the reality. And in fairness it must be admitted that this illusion was strengthened by the censorship of publications on nuclear physics in the USSR. When at last the illusion was unmasked the effect was bound to be profound.

The report by Professor D. I. Blokhintsev and N. A. Nikolayev on the building and operation of the Soviet atomic power station provoked great interest and keen discussion. The reactor used in this station employs graphite as a moderator and is cooled by distilled water at a pressure of 100 atmospheres. Uranium in which the content of the precious uranium 235 has been enriched until

it is seven times as great as in natural uranium is used as the fuel in this reactor. By operating at high pressure the heat from the reactor can be removed at a temperature high enough (275°C) to ensure reasonably efficient operation of the steam turbine used to drive the generators. It is true that the station has quite a small output (5,000 kilowatts) and is not very efficient (16 per cent). But it is the first nuclear reactor built anywhere in the world for the supply of electricity for peaceful industrial purposes and as such it possesses great symbolic significance. And the experience gained in its operation during the past twelve months will prove invaluable for the design of the larger and more advanced types of reactor now being built in the USSR to supply 100,000 kilowatts of electrical power. This operating experience was made available to all countries at the Geneva conference. And the significance of the Soviet atomic power station was not lost on the crowds of people who went to see the film about it showing

each day in the Soviet section of the exhibition held in connection with the conference.

Details of several other types of research reactors were also given by Soviet scientists, including the type being made available by the Soviet Government to eight other countries. It is clear that great progress has been made in the field of reactor technology. Fewer types of reactors were described however than by American workers and it must be said that on the whole some of the British and American designs for reactors were rather more daring in concept than those described by Soviet scientists. It must be remembered however that Russian contributions in this field described reactors which were actually operating or nearing completion while some of the papers submitted by other countries dealt with design studies of reactors that have scarcely passed the drawing board stage. Indeed one got the impression that rather too wide a variety of design was being worked on in the USA and it might be more rational and economical to concentrate on fewer types at this stage.

Soviet contributions on nuclear fuel and reactor constructional materials, including the effect of nuclear irradiation on these materials, on the chemistry of transuranic elements and their extraction from reactor fuel were all of high quality as were the papers on the geology of uranium and thorium. In this connection reference could be made to the exhibit of uranium-bearing minerals in the Soviet section of the exhibition which was masterly in concept and attracted great interest.

Radioactive isotopes are being used on a wide and increasing scale in industry, medicine and research in

the USSR. This was made clear both from the papers read at the conference sessions and from the accompanying exhibition. Of particular interest was the application of these materials to agricultural problems. Professor A. L. Kursanov described how the carbon 14 isotope has been used to study the carbon nutrition of a plant. These studies have revealed that carbon dioxide is absorbed not only from the atmosphere by the leaves but also that an appreciable fraction is taken up by the roots from the soil and quickly transported to the leaves where, in the light, it can be used for the synthesis of sugars and other products in the same way as the carbon dioxide absorbed from the air. This discovery has led to the use of ammonium carbonate instead of the more usual ammonium sulphate as a fertilizer on experimental plots with a consequent significant increase of yield in the case of sugar beet, barley and potatoes. Other plant nutrition studies described the use of radioactive forms of phosphorus and cobalt and the effect of ionizing radiations on metabolic processes.

The breadth and variety of the industrial uses of radioactive materials described both in papers given to the conference and exhibited in the USSR section of the accompanying exhibition, gave some idea of the scale on which the use of these techniques is being employed. Indeed both in industrial uses and in applications of scientific research one got the impression that, although much the same kinds of things were being done with radioactive isotopes as in Britain and the USA, the scale on which they are being employed is greater. The instrumentation associated with the use of radioactive isotopes is of a high standard. Soviet

engineers seem very conscious of the role of radioactive isotopes in the coming period of automation in industry by providing effective and convenient methods of non-contact gauging and of automatic and remote control.

The widespread use of radioactive materials in industry and the unavoidable production of enormous quantities of them in the course of operation of nuclear reactors for power production, means that very stringent precautions need to be taken to safeguard the health of workers in atomic energy plants and in factories or laboratories using radioactive materials. Great interest was therefore taken in the paper of Professor A. H. Letavet on labor hygiene for such workers. The measures prescribed by law in the USSR provide very adequate protection for such workers and could well be taken as a basis in other countries where inadequate legislation exists. The position, for example in the United Kingdom, is not very satisfactory in this respect although, of course, workers in atomic energy establishments enjoy a high level of protection.

Quite apart from the new scientific results revealed at Geneva—and these were indeed impressive—the real importance of the conference lay in the opportunity it provided for scientists of east and west to get together for the discussion of scientific problems of common interest. Never before had such a scientific conference with such a galaxy of talent been assembled. And the language difficulties, although sometimes formidable, could not prevent discussion. Walking round the corridors of the great Palais des Nations at any time of the day one was bound to find small groups of British, Ameri-

can and Russian scientists, and often scientists of other nationalities in animated conversation about different scientific problems raised at the conference.

One of the great occasions of the conference was the evening session devoted to high energy accelerators when Professor E. O. Lawrence, the great American physicist, described the operation of the machine at Berkeley which produces particles of energy 6000 million electron volts, the biggest in the world. Previously it had been believed that the USSR was well behind in the technology of such high energy machines. But Professor V. I. Veksler, a noted Soviet physicist who spoke immediately after Lawrence, caused a sensation when he announced that he and his colleagues expected within the next six months to commence the operation of an accelerator now nearing completion and designed to produce particles of energy 10,000 million electron volts. Such a machine should be able to produce beams of negative protons if these so far elusive particles really exist. The magnet for this machine, which is being constructed near Moscow, weighs 35,000 tons. But Veksler's revelation gave rise to no unfriendly rivalry. Each of these two great physicists paid gracious and generous tribute to the work of the other.

Incidentally, when this machine comes into operation the Soviet Union should be in the lead in this very exciting field of physics. There are two different types of machine used in this field, the synchro-cyclotron which produces larger currents of fast particles but smaller energies than the other type, the proton synchrotron. For the past few years the largest synchro-cyclotron in the world producing particles of energy

680 million electron volts has been in operation near Moscow. Now the announcement by Veksler in Geneva implies that before long the largest proton synchrotron will be operating there too.

There is no doubt that the stature of Soviet science has increased markedly in the eyes of the rest of the world as a result of the Geneva conference. And from the point of view of restoring scientific contact between east and west the conference succeeded beyond the hopes of its most optimistic organizers. As Dr. H. J. Bhabha said at the closing session, nothing can undo the work accomplished in this direction at Geneva.

But one must never forget that the problem of the peaceful uses is only one side, and that not the most immediately vital side, of the problem of nuclear energy. At present by far the greater part of national

resources and manpower are being devoted to the military uses of nuclear energy. A way must be found to stop this waste of effort which not only gravely increases the danger of a war of mass annihilation but hinders the application of the most exciting advances of modern physics for peaceful purposes.

Appropriately enough, this matter was referred to by Blokhintsev at the end of the paper in which he described the reactor being used in the Soviet atomic power station. He said, "The sooner the just and reasonable hope of all mankind that the new mighty force of nature be used exclusively for peaceful purposes is realized, the sooner will atomic energy emerge on the road of extensive development."

This sentiment is heartily endorsed by the great majority of scientists, and indeed of all people in every country in the world.

LEADERS URGE REAFFIRMATION OF GENEVA SPIRIT

ON OCTOBER 17, 100 prominent Americans issued a letter to President Eisenhower urging a reaffirmation of the spirit of Geneva at the coming Foreign Ministers' Conference. Deploring reports of efforts to put a brake on this spirit, they expressed the hope that the President's unfortunate illness would not hinder the progress of negotiations. They suggested avoidance of "the assumption that the Soviet leaders are always wrong and we are always right." On German unification the letter urged "consideration of compromise alternatives which will take into account the legitimate security interests of all nations involved." It proposed concrete steps "to open trade on the vast scale needed by all countries East and West. . . ." and strengthening of the United Nations "through expanding its membership to include universal participation." It declared: "Only the continued process of bargaining around the table in a frank exchange of views without threats of the use of force will insure a peaceful road for the future based on live and let live."

Signers included Ernest T. Weir, President National Steel Corporation; Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmstead, of the Women's International League; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta; and banker James P. Warburg.

THE USSR'S

ATOMIC POWER STATION

by RALPH PARKER

ABOUT 50 MILES west of Moscow, not far from the town of Naro-Fominsk, there stands beside the road the statue of a woman. Usually there are flowers at the foot of the monument, formal wreaths and simple bunches of wild flowers or brilliant-hued leaves. Motorists driving along the broad Minsk highway reduce speed as they pass this place and it has become a tradition to stop here as at the dignified war memorial on the heights between Kursk and Byelogorod on the Simferopol highway.

The statue is that of the eighteen-year-old Moscow schoolgirl Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya who as the partisan "Tanya" went behind the German lines in the winter of 1941, was captured, tortured and hanged at the hamlet of Petrishchevo, where her monument now stands.

Zoya was a girl of promise and beauty and in honoring her memory, the Soviet people honor that of an entire generation of talented, beauti-

ful people decimated by the war. It was a romantic, fervent generation, brought up against the background of the early Five-Year Plans and collectivization, of the construction of Stalingrad, Komsomolsk-on-Amur and Magnitogorsk, of the novels of Mikhail Sholokhov and the films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin, of the Moscow Ten-Year Plan, of the Spanish Civil War. Its heroes were Gromov and Chkalov, Marina Raskova and Papanin, Stakhanov and the men of the Cheliuskin—people of action and temerity who worked harder, flew faster, travelled farther than anyone had ever done before.

The spirit of those times led Zoya to a heroic death on the gallows at the outskirts of her native Moscow. And at this roadside shrine where her statue stands, in the school that bears Zoya's name, and in many other places that spirit is respected by a generation which has different values, a generation less easily stirred by the romantic, less impulsive, and far more critical of its heroes.

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

•

WE LEFT the main road after halting at the monument to Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya and drove south-

ward through thin forests of pine and birch. We passed villages with such resounding names as Balabanova and Yarmolino, new state farms called "Victory" and "Glory" built out of the ruins of the last war—for we were crossing the battlefields of 1941—until we reached the old Brest highway, the historic road to Europe. These regions are thinly inhabited. Only occasionally we would pass small groups of peasant women with dark colored kerchiefs on their heads, sitting patiently beside the road on sacks of potatoes.

Suddenly among the trees there was a gleam of new white buildings. We turned off the highway and in a few moments were entering a neighborhood of tall new buildings, each one crowned with a cluster of TV aerials. One of them with a pillared facade might have been a town hall or a new bank in other lands. Here it was unmistakably the club, the social center where the inhabitants of this new township danced, studied, watched films, attended lectures and, indeed, spent most of their free time.

Further exploration of the place revealed nothing out of the ordinary until we reached a square plaster-fronted two-story building surrounded by borders of sunflowers and tobacco plants. Only the tall chimney-

stack suggested that it had an industrial function. Then we read on a tablet beside the door "USSR Academy of Sciences. Atomic Electricity Station."

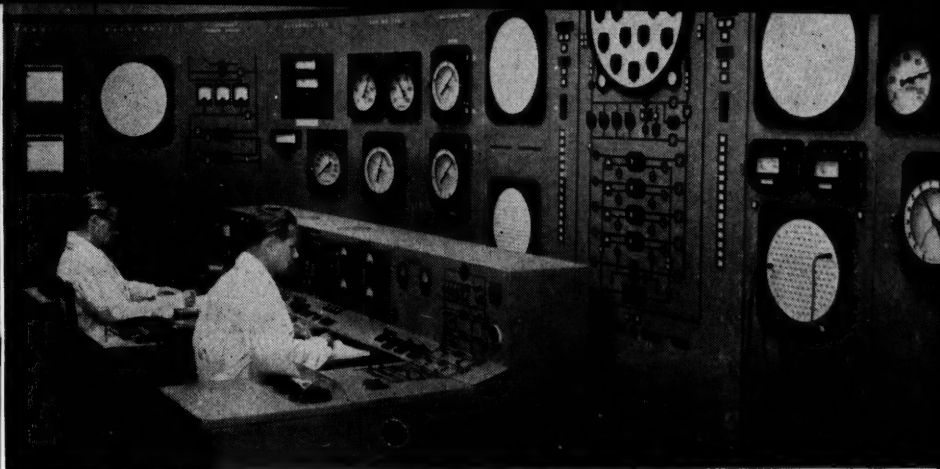
We were at the portal of the first atomic power station in the world, the pride and glory of post-war USSR.

Writers better qualified in this field than I have described this atomic power station—how a conventional electro-turbine is run by compressed steam which is produced by the conversion of atomic energy into heat; how this energy is produced within a graphite reactor packed with tubes inside which the instable Uranium 235 atom disintegrates under the bombardment of neutrons; and how the whole process is controlled by an elaborate complex of automatic mechanism which over a period of some 15 months has been recording the life history of the world's first atomic station. The account of the station's working given us by its chief, 42-year-old Nikolai Nikolayev, was non-technical and the eyes which we cast round the station were those of the uninformed layman.

Yet one cannot leave this place without the feeling of having stepped for a time into the future, of



A group of foreign diplomats leaving the Atomic Power Station of the USSR Academy of Sciences after inspecting the plant.



The central control room of the Atomic Power Station where the pressure, power, temperature and activity of the whole production cycle are recorded.

having seen, heard, felt, smelt the future. To emerge from this building after an hour or two spent with its machinery and its engineers is to step back from the atomic age into our present, and to return more sensitive to present shortcomings, more impatient for progress, more intolerant of such obsolete anomalies as war, want and hunger.

There are, in fact, only two chambers in the building where one obtains the impression of living in the future—the reactor hall and the central control room—the heart and the brains of the station. Except for the unusual thickness of the walls and the use of brighter colors—scarlet red, chestnut brown, electric blue—than is usual in industrial buildings, there is nothing out of the ordinary in the steam generator room, the pump rooms, the turbine shed.

The reactor hall is like a large gymnasium with its dove-grey walls of concrete, its protected lamps in round inlets, its neatly arranged equipment. Along the whole of one wall and half of another hang the 24-foot-long tubes within which the

controlled chain reaction takes place under the conditions that prevail in the reactor itself. Hanging there in pairs, some of them slate grey from their coating of graphite, others still in the wrappings with which they arrived from the chemical works, they look curiously like enormous billiard cues.

High above them, up against the ceiling, hangs a hook connected to a movable crane, and it is this hook which at the appointed time selects a tube, bears it the length of the hall and lowers it into one of the 128 slots in the top of the reactor, a round "cauldron" let into the floor. At this stage the contents of the tube, uranium and graphite within steel walls, are harmless. But when one hundred days later, the hook returns and extracts the tube from the reactor, these contents are radioactive and the "dead" tube has to be stored underground until its radioactivity has decreased and it can be returned to the chemical works for cleaning and recharging. The process of extracting the tubes has to be conducted by remote control

it is through those spy-holes in the concrete, twenty feet above the floor, that the engineer supervises the operation.

Only a low hum and a faint glow of warmth from the cast-iron top of the reactor indicated to us that some twelve feet below, within the critical mass of uranium, a space about as large as a two-hundred-liter barrel, heat was being produced equivalent to that which it would require one hundred tons of coal a day to produce. Instead of the rattling conveyors shovelling coal into the roaring furnaces, instead of the great boilers and the leaping flames, the grime and the waste, the neutronic bombardment went on in silence, compactly, invisibly, and steam under 100 atmosphere pressure hissed to the generator through a single pipe under our feet.

"On those walls hang our fuel reserves for over one year," said the station chief, "the equivalent of

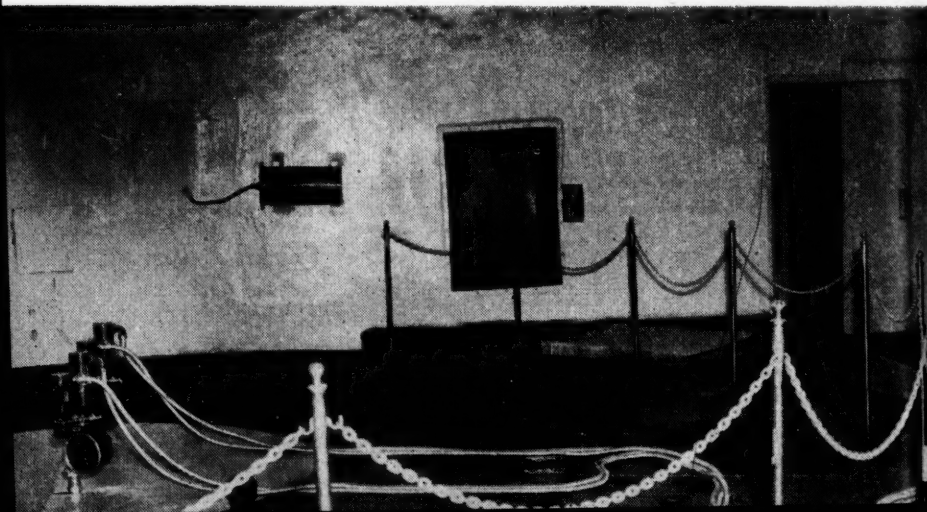
A guide shows foreign guests (right) the station. U.S. Ambassador Charles Bohlen is second from left. Directly below, the top of the reactor.

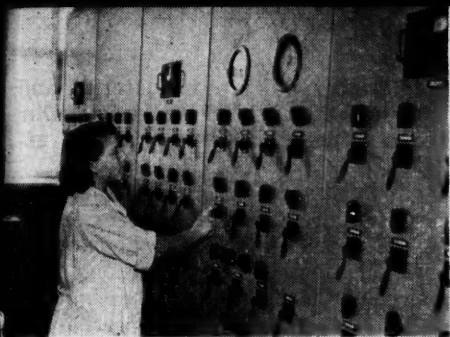


about 40,000 tons of coal. Imagine what it means to be able to transport and store the source of energy with the ease we now enjoy. It means we can build power stations anywhere. At the North Pole, if you like."

TAISSA Mikhailovna Koluzhenova picked up the telephone receiver at her right elbow and spoke a few quiet words, then entered a reading in one of the green-covered log-books on the desk before her and resumed her vigil before the right wing of the vast semi-circular panel of the central control room of the atomic power station.

The room, low ceilinged, lit by fluorescent lamps, was entirely occupied by the 100-foot curve of the panel and the desks where the two

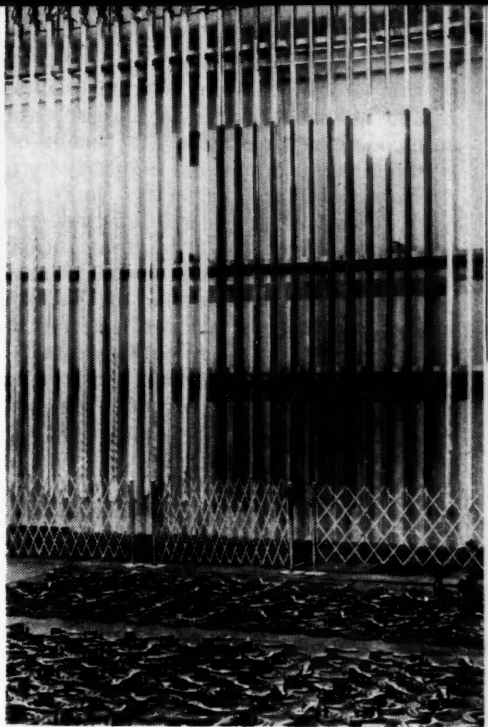




The dosimetry control boards (above) where the condition of the air in the station is regulated. Right: the "fuel" tubes for the chain reaction.

engineers on duty sat. Dials and screens record the power, pressure, temperature, expenditure, activity etc. of all sectors in the cycle of production.

Taissa's companion, Vladimir Sergeyev, presses a button and on a green screen pale yellow numbers flash: they indicate which of the tubes in the reactor are at the temperature corresponding to the button pressed. The engineer cross-checks; he inserts a plug into the appropriate socket and a needle spins on a dial with a reading which indicates the condition of the tube the engineer is interested in. In these ways the con-



trollers determine whether the automatic station's mechanical brain is working accurately. Man has decided precisely what power he wishes to extract from the chain reaction taking place in the graphite reactor and has set the controls accordingly. But



this atomic station is experimental and in the central control room data is being recorded for the benefit of the students who come regularly here from Moscow University and the Academy of Sciences, of the engineers engaged in building other atomic power stations twenty times more powerful than this, of the foreign researchers who are welcome to any of the results of Soviet pioneering in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Already the scientists of some 25 countries have visited the station.

"It is at this panel that man decides whether the disintegrating atom of U 235 is to 'run wild' and produce an explosion or be 'tamed' to put a few thousand more volts into the Moscow electricity grid," the chief of the station explained.

Taissa Kolozhenova raised a hand and pushed back an unruly lock of fair hair. She was in her early thirties, I reflected, watching this woman who during her shift at the control panel was in the most literal sense mastering the atom, controlling its capricious tendency to disintegrate and set up a chain reaction of disastrous consequences. Zoya would have been her age had she not been hanged on a gallows of rough-hewn logs on a snowy morning fourteen years ago. A whole generation of Soviet people had won the right and the power to say to nature: You work for, not against, man.

"The greatest achievement of this station so far," said Nikolai Nikolayev, "is that we have proved that an atomic power station can be run with safety. We have had no accident and there has been no deterioration in the health of our workers. It is now possible for us to say which precautions we need to take during work of this nature. We are handl-

ing highly dangerous material and our first task is to ensure safety. Our control system has been proved effective."

Soviet engineers and scientists have proved that the dangers of radiation can be avoided in the running of an atomic power station. And when one considers that the world's resources of fissionable material are greater than those of coal or water power, this achievement may be seen as the first practical step towards using atomic power for peaceful purposes.

Today there is a little atomically generated power in every lamp that burns in Moscow. The student preparing his lessons, the dancer in the spotlight on the stage of the Bolshoy Theater, the physician bringing a new Soviet citizen into the world in the maternity hospital, the tourist gazing in awe at the ruby stars that crown the Kremlin's towers, the locomotive driver reading the signal lamp, all are benefiting a little from atomic energy in the service of man.

And as we drove back from this settlement where the future had lodged firmly among the silver birches and the slender pines of the Russian forest, I saw a single lamp glowing brightly above the monument to Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, and I thought: "Zoya, the woman who sits beside that panel at the atomic power station is your sister. You died so that your people should go on from triumph to triumph in the service of mankind. And your sister Taissa sits in vigil beside the panel you helped to build. The panel where men of good will harness the elements of destruction and make them work for peace."

Above the statue of the beautiful girl the bulb bobbed in an autumn wind that set the forests sighing.

30 Years of Development As an Industrial Country

by MAURICE DOBB

IT SHOULD BE a commonplace to say that, in comparing the level of economic and social development in the USSR today with what it was at the time of the Revolution, one has to bear in mind that during that period the country has passed through two devastating and exhausting wars—wars fought on her own soil. Yet this fact is not always remembered by those who write and talk about the USSR; and by some it seems to be wilfully ignored.

Although the Soviet Revolution of 1917 virtually ended Russia's participation in the First World War, civil war and foreign intervention (with the armies of some fourteen foreign Powers invading Russian soil) continued for another three years; and not until 1925 or 26 could the work of economic restoration after the ravages of war be said to have been completed and could the tasks of new construction and development come

on the planning agenda (which the reason why this article has been headed "*Thirty Years of Development.*")

To the Western regions of the country the Second World War brought even greater devastation, amounting to about a half of the country's pre-war steel capacity and about a quarter of the whole country's urban buildings. Not until the end of 1949 was industrial production in these Western regions (where the bulk of consumer goods' production had been localized) restored to the pre-war level. Mr. G. M. Malenkov remarked a year or two ago that "the war retarded our industrial development for eight or nine years—approximately two Five-Year Plans." With these memories it is scarcely surprising that the Soviet people should have so passionate a desire to prevent a third war.

Yet despite this, Soviet industry has made those enormous strides over thirty years, of which the results of the last war, confounding the sceptics, left no doubt.

Today we see her steel output more than double pre-war and more than ten times what it was forty years ago, at the beginning of the

MAURICE DOBB, eminent British economist, is a Lecturer in Economics at Trinity College, Cambridge. Among his works are "Soviet Economy and the War," "Soviet Planning and Labor in Peace and War," and "Soviet Economic Development Since 1917."

First World War. At about 45 million tons it is approximately equal to the combined output of Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden combined (although still only a half that of the U.S.A.). Her coal output is also more than double pre-war, and twelve times the level of forty years ago; her electricity output over three times pre-war and nearly eighty times the level of forty years ago. Similarly oil, at well over 60 million tons, although only a quarter or less of U.S.A. production, is double pre-war and more than six times the level at the opening of the First World War.

Even more rapid has been the growth of non-ferrous metal production, and especially engineering (for whose output it is less easy to find a common denominator) with an extraordinary expansion both in range of products (e.g., type of machine tools) and in quantitative increase of particular products. Here virtually new industries have been founded and built up from scratch, such as aluminum and copper, motors and aircraft, and heavy chemicals.

To measure the change in industrial production as a whole involves difficult problems of valuation, which have been the subject of considerable discussion among economists. The official Soviet index of industrial production, until a few years ago, adopted the methods of valuing output for purposes of year-to-year comparison in terms of the so-called "constant prices of 1926-27." During the past five years there has been a change of basis to valuation in terms of the prices prevailing on January 1, 1952. According to this official index total industrial production increased by nearly fourteen times between the start of the First Five-Year Plan in 1928 and 1950 the closing year of the Fourth Five-

Year Plan which concluded the reconstruction period after the war. Since then, during the past quinquennium, industrial production has grown by a further 80 per cent.

Even much more conservative estimates, made by Western critics of the official index (e.g., Professor D. R. Hodgman, who in a recent Harvard publication has presented an industrial index of his own), show nearly a sevenfold increase between 1928 and 1950, and, leaving out the war and immediate pre-war years, the exceptionally high annual (compound) rate of growth of nearly 15 per cent—which amounts to a doubling each decade, and represents a growth-rate almost double what capitalist countries in the past have achieved in exceptional (and usually short-lived) boom periods.

A significant index of the social transformations attendant on this development from a relatively backward to an advanced industrial nation is the degree of urbanization. Over thirty years the urban population has doubled as a *proportion* of a total population which has itself grown by nearly 50 per cent. In other words, whereas at the time of the Revolution and in middle '20's (i.e., at the time of the 1926 census), less than one-fifth of the population lived in towns, today some 40 per cent live in towns and are engaged in some kind of urban (as distinct from agricultural) occupation. Meanwhile the total population has grown from rather less than 150 million to more than 210 million; which means that in absolute figures urban population has more than trebled (from 26 million to over 80 million). As regards population movement as a whole, while the birth-rate has fallen over the period from over 40 per thousand to 24 (a quite common result of ur-

banization and higher living standards), the death-rate per thousand has fallen more sharply, from over 22 to under 9.*

The result of these tendencies is that the population of the USSR is growing by some 3 million or more each year (or by one and a half per cent); while increased employment in non-agricultural occupations (i.e., industry, transport, building, etc.) has in recent years averaged between one and a half and two million annually.

The year 1917 may seem a long time ago, both to Russians and to ourselves. But to get these developments of which we have spoken into proper perspective, it is as well to bear in mind that pre-Revolutionary Russia was a mainly agricultural country with a relatively undeveloped industry (producing only a little more steel and pig iron than India does today and about as much coal) and a national income per head that was only a quarter that of Great Britain. With the exception of a few estates and "model farms," agriculture was generally primitive and ill-equipped and showed very low yields compared with European countries. East of the Urals, in the Asian part of the country, there was little or no industrial development at all—simply a farming belt, rather thinly populated, on either side of the Trans-Siberian Railway, some mining (largely of precious metals) and on rail-river junctions a few market- and junction-towns for transshipment, very ill-

equipped with civic amenities. Even the Urals region, which had been the scene of some early developments in iron-making in the eighteenth century, was a center of mining rather than of industry (the old Urals iron industry having largely decayed). Although there had been considerable railway development towards the end of the nineteenth century, the railway network, in relation both to area and to population, remained the lowest in Europe; while modern-type roads were virtually non-existent outside a few of the larger towns. Even sewage and water systems were luxuries of the larger cities.

It is true that in the period of which we have been speaking heavy industry, producing capital goods, has increased much faster than light industry, producing consumer goods. More than four-fifths of all investment in industry in the pre-war period and in the quinquennium of post-war reconstruction went to the former, and heavy industry had the lion's share of the out-size industrial expansion of which we have spoken. This bias in favor of heavy industry was not only for reasons of policy: it was imposed on the country by the requirements of defense, which, as the war clouds gathered in the course of the 1930's, provoked successive revisions in the Five-Year Plans (alike in 1930-31, in 1935-36 after Hitler's aggressive designs had become plain, and again in 1938-39 after Munich).

During the past quinquennium, however, much greater attention has been paid to expanding the consumer goods industries than ever before, as I have shown in previous articles in *NEW WORLD REVIEW*. In the Five-Year Plan for 1950-55, although heavy industry still held the lead,

* *Economic Survey of Europe in 1954* (Research and Planning Division of the Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations, Geneva, 1955), p. 66. Part of this fall may be attributed to a change in the age-composition of the population. However, since 1938 "the composition of the population in broad age-groups has not changed," and half of the decline in the death-rate is due to a fall in the infant-mortality rate to one-third of its 1940 level—an eloquent tribute to the improvement in public health. (*ibid.*)

the rates of growth of heavy and light industry were much closer together than ever before; and in the course of 1953 and 1954 revisions were introduced which placed emphasis on accelerating the *tempo* of growth of the output of consumers' goods. Soviet planners are confident that this revised Plan will be fulfilled ahead of schedule (it seems likely that its main targets have already been reached and passed); and according to the report of Premier Bulganin to the Supreme Soviet earlier in the year, it was fully expected that the output of industry as a whole in 1955 would be 80 per cent above the 1950 level, with heavy industry 84 per cent above and the output of consumer goods 71 per cent above 1950.

According to the official report on the economic results for the first half of 1955, industrial output in the 12-month period from May 1, 1954 to May 1, 1955 had already reached the target set by the original (un-revised) Five-Year Plan (namely, a 70 per cent increase), so that "the Fifth Five-Year Plan for gross output of industry was fulfilled ahead of schedule . . . in four years and four months." Details were not given in this half-yearly report of the respective increases for capital goods and consumers' goods, except to say that the Plan for the first half of the year for consumers' goods was over-fulfilled for a number of products, which included fabrics, clothing, boots and shoes, hosiery products, canned foodstuffs and dairy products.

There can nowadays be no doubt that, as a result of these developments, the supply of consumers' goods and the general standard of life are very much higher, not only than in the shortage-years just after

the war, but much higher also than they were in pre-war days. This has been expressed in the successive price reductions that have occurred since 1949, as a result of which retail prices (which more than trebled during the war) are apparently back to a level only higher than pre-war (1940) by about 20 to 30 per cent. Meanwhile money wages have approximately doubled; with the result that the real income per worker has increased by two-thirds or three-quarters (or by more than this if free services are included).^{*} According to an editorial in a recent number of the Gosplan (State Planning Committee) monthly organ, real wages in 1955 are above the 1940 level by as much as 90 per cent (*Plannovoe Khoziaistvo*, No. 4, 1955, p. 8).

Speaking of the past four years only (1951-54), the Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech last February stated that "retail prices for consumer goods have been cut by more than 25 per cent," and that "already by 1954 real wages had gone up by 37 per cent as against 1950—the target for the whole period of the Five-Year Plan being 35 per cent."^{**}

Perhaps it is hardly necessary for me to remind readers of *NEW WORLD REVIEW* in conclusion, that apart from such quantitative changes, there have been gigantic *qualitative* changes over the period of which we have been speaking—and economic and social transformation of the whole country which will doubtless cause future generations to look back on these three or four decades

^{*} See *Soviet Studies* (University of Glasgow), July, 1955, p. 42; and *Politicheskaya Ekonomiya*, ed. K. Ostrovitianov (Moscow, 1954), p. 462.

^{**} Speech by A. G. Zverev to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, February 3, 1955.

as constituting one of the greatest landmarks in human history.

In the middle 1920's Russia was still a "mixed economy," with considerable private trade, even some (mainly quite small-scale) private industry, and with agriculture predominantly small-scale individual peasant-agriculture. Today all industry and commerce (not to mention banking and finance, insurance, transport, public catering) are socialized;*** and not only has socialist industry grown in extent and in productivity as we have described above, but agriculture has been transformed, virtually 100 per cent, on to a collectivist basis—organized, that is,

in State or collective (cooperative) farms.

Meanwhile a whole new generation has grown up under these new conditions, and knows of the old world only through books or from the mouths of parents or grandparents. In assessing the significance of these historical changes over so large a part of the earth's surface the experience and psychology of this new generation, their novel outlook, ideas, conventions and manners are very important to understand.

*** Small-scale, chiefly handicraft, production is to a large extent organized in producers' cooperatives, which come under the control of Ministries of Local Industry in the various republics.

U.S. SENATORS ON TRIPS TO MOSCOW

Moscow, August 23: Senator Allen J. Ellender told Soviet leaders tonight that he proposed to organize a delegation of U.S. Senators and Representatives to visit the Soviet Union next year. . . .

Reminded that the American Federation of Labor opposes visits of Congressmen to the Soviet Union, the Senator replied: "I don't care about that. They can talk all they want." Perhaps, if those who oppose visits to the Soviet Union would come here, he suggested, "they might see things in a little different light." *New York Times*, August 24.

London, Sept. 17, AP—Senator George W. Malone was quoted by the Moscow radio today as having expressed surprise that the Soviet Union was free of debt while the United States was \$281,000,000,000 in debt . . . asked what had made the greatest impression on him: "Well, I don't think some of my countrymen come with entirely open minds. . . . The thing that has impressed me I think, the most, is the tremendous industrial program." *New York Times*, Sept. 18.

Paris, Sept. 29—Sen. John J. Sparkman (D-Ala), enroute home from a trip through the Soviet Union . . . told a luncheon meeting at the American Club of Paris that "we are just whistling in the dark if we think that Russia will collapse internally." . . . Sen. Sparkman said any hope of economic or political discontent overthrowing the Soviet Communist regime "is just wishful thinking." *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 30.

Senator Ester Kefauver (D-Tenn.)—"We should insist upon an exchange of missions, dissemination of information, a free exchange of mail and parcels. The interest and information which would follow the sale of a few automobiles, washing machines, etc. in the Soviet Union, would far offset their war potential." *Washington*, October 19, in first press interview since his return from trip to USSR.

EAST-WEST TRADE

by THEODORE BAYER

"... Those who think trade is properly a tool of politics must explain how they square their theory with the Western belief and experience—that the expansion of trade is and always has been good for the world. And curiously enough, the more trade has expanded in freedom from politics, the better it has served the political goal of peace"—*The Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 1954.

"Trade is another thing which cannot be restricted indefinitely regardless of our wishes in the matter. . . . In this situation the unnatural is opposed to the natural and in such a conflict sooner or later, the natural is bound to prevail. . . . Now let us make no mistake, the alternative to peace is war."—Ernest T. Weir, Chairman, National Steel Corporation, address before the National Industrial Conference Board, December 17, 1953.

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA has brought some relaxation of international tension and is manifest in many areas of international relations. But, it seems to have stopped short of penetrating the one area in which international cooperation could be demonstrated most tangibly—East-West trade. Although such trade registered an advance in 1954-55, this was in spite of obstacles which continued to be set up. Demands by American industrialists and traders for East-West trade have so far failed to move the Administration in the least.

The vital need for East-West trade is apparent, for despite all the restrictions, Western European countries increased their trade with the

Soviet Union and the East European Democracies by as much as 22 per cent in 1954 over the volume in 1953, and 40 per cent over that of 1952. The Soviet Union's purchases from the capitalist countries in 1954 were 38 per cent greater than in 1953.

The People's Republic of China more than doubled the value of its trade with Great Britain in 1954 as compared with 1952. Chinese trade with France doubled in value in 1954, and tripled with West Germany. It also registered an increase of 50 per cent in its trade with Italy. China-Japan trade in 1954 tripled that of 1953. British Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan stated in San Francisco at the 10th UN Anniversary Session, that trade with China was profitable to England.

There is no doubt that East-West trade would be profitable to the United States as well, would have a beneficial effect on world trade gen-

THEODORE BAYER is Administrative Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

erally. Early this year the Gallup Poll reported that the overwhelming majority of Americans believe trade would facilitate closer mutual understanding with Russia and possibly help in establishing world peace.

While East-West trade has made some strides, it clearly cannot realize its potential until the blockade against it is lifted. It is to be hoped that the October conference of the Big Four foreign ministers will liberate East-West trade from the political handicaps it now suffers. Such a decision would be welcomed by producers, exporters and importers who are eager to trade. It would, of course, be welcomed by workers for it would insure a great many jobs in industry. And farmers beset by surpluses would be equally interested. Above all it would be welcomed by the peoples of the world as evidence that peaceful coexistence is gaining ground. The removal of trade barriers—a product of the cold war—would go a long way to ending the cold war.

True and False On East-West Trade

Apologists for trade restrictions argue on two levels: one in the sphere of international commerce and world market relations, the other, in the sphere of state relationships and diplomacy, which of course is removed from the problems of trade as such.

First they say that East-West trade cannot amount to much and isn't worth bothering about. But they are also the ones who seem most concerned to suppress it. For this purpose a blockade and once having mounted it, they cite its inevitable results to "prove" that East-West trade is unimportant. Thus, one third of the

human race inhabiting highly industrialized countries and countries in the process of rapid industrialization, is summarily read out of the markets of the world.

We are spared the chore of demonstrating the falseness of this position because its advocates supply their own refutation. For their second argument is that East-West trade could indeed be very important, but that the benefits of such trade should be made available to the socialist world at a price that the Western powers should exact. This price can be translated as meaning concessions from the socialist countries in the political relationships which do not relate to trade.

Obviously the trouble with these arguments is not only that they are contradictory to the point of mutual exclusion, but that they are false and illusory. They are false because the undisputed fact is that the foreign trade of the socialist world is already a great world trade factor—it is currently running upwards of twenty billion dollars annually. Statistics of the Economic Commission for Europe of the Economic Council of the United Nations reveal that such trade was already about seventeen billion dollars in 1953. The fact that most of this trade is among the socialist countries does not lessen its world importance, just as the fact that the overwhelming bulk of capitalist foreign trade is taking place within the capitalist orbit does not lessen its world importance. It is the artificially imposed barriers separating the two parts of the world market which circumscribe the trading areas.

In spite of the obvious tendency to minimize the East-West trading potential, the report of the Foreign Operations Administration for the second half of 1954 is obliged to note

that pressures for that trade come from within the Western bloc countries. "The economic problems of the crowded Japanese Islands are great indeed. They must increase their sales abroad in order to pay for the large imports which they must have. It is not surprising that Japanese businessmen are seeking bigger markets in every direction."

The same report indicates that the Soviet Union is now trading with 58 countries and that much of this trade is regulated by trade agreements now in force. These agreements involve countries of the West as well as of the East. It further notes that the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies actively pursue trade ties with all countries, for which purpose they "exhibited in 40 and 50 fairs in 1952 and 1953 respectively."

Between 1948 and 1953, the foreign trade of the socialist countries registered an increase at the rate of 20 per cent annually, whereas the foreign trade of capitalist countries for the same period showed an increase at the rate of about 5 per cent annually. There can be no doubt that in spite of the blockade by the West, the Western countries benefited by the growth of foreign trade within the socialist world market and between the socialist and capitalist countries. The benefit resulted from the fact that some Western European countries obtained needed raw material in the socialist countries, which facilitated their export of manufactured goods in payment for American, British and other Western imports.

At this writing there is taking place in Geneva a meeting of the Trade Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, on which the United States is represented. The object of this meet-

ing is to devise means to facilitate payments for trade balances in order to further increase Europe's East-West trade.

To stem the tide of developing East-West trade, the apologists for the boycott of the socialist world use the extreme argument that such trade cannot be significant because the rapid industrialization program of the socialist countries calls for their using domestically the raw materials and foodstuffs they formerly exported in payment for imports. This argument flies in the face of well established facts in international commerce. The trading experience of the entire world bespeaks the fact that most of the foreign trade is conducted by the highly industrialized countries. The greater the industrialization of the country, the larger its participation in foreign trade. It is true that the contingent of goods exported by a given country changes with the degree of industrialization. It is however, quite obvious that the socialist countries will continue for a long time to maintain their traditional exports, but they will also be adding new categories of goods. It is equally true that the expanding economies of the socialist countries and the rising standard of living of their peoples will increase their import needs and capacities.

As to trade as a lever for exacting concessions, it is a dangerous illusion to believe that trade can be made such an instrument in the field of politics and diplomacy beyond what the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are willing to negotiate for on the basis of equality befitting sovereign states.

Now that the cold war is living out its days, it is high time to introduce objective, factual reasoning

into the negotiations for East-West trade. The way to international cooperation and to merging the two artificially divided world markets into one is now open.

To Reopen US-USSR Trade

What could be done to reopen American-Soviet trade? The Administration could take immediate steps to encourage such trade by rescinding some of the executive orders now in force against it. Treasury and Commerce Department regulations which have practically dried up the flow of trade between the two countries can be removed. Here we refer to such arbitrary proceedings as lengthening the list of proscribed items, of adding to the nomenclature of goods for which no export licenses are issued.

Trade is a two-way arrangement. Accordingly, in order for the Soviet Union to buy in the American market, it must also be able to sell in it. The Administration could make that possible by discontinuing the application of discriminatory duties on Soviet goods entering the American market. At the present time Soviet goods are subjected to American duties when similar goods originating elsewhere are entering free of duty. Such discrimination creates a dilemma for Soviet export organizations, which relates to the stability of world markets, for in order to meet the import duties and sell here, the Soviet Union would have to undercut the world price on some of its export commodities. This could open the Soviet Union to the charge of dumping. To avoid upsetting the markets, the Soviet Union is forced to refrain from selling goods discriminated against here. The Administration could easily eliminate this situation by restoring to the Soviet

Union the most-favored-nation clause which it enjoyed in the past.

Of course trade with the Soviet Union could best be regulated by renewal of the trade agreement with it. This would automatically solve many problems of trade requiring normalization. Congress could and should, in line with the cessation of the cold war, repeal the Battle Act of 1951, which would completely free East-West trade. Further the Administration would contribute to the normalization of world foreign trade by obtaining ratification of the International Trade Organization's Charter, which was adopted by 53 nations at Havana in 1948.

Lastly, as is well known, the Soviet Union is advocating the convocation of a World Economic Conference. The support of the United States would be necessary to bring that about. Such a conference would undoubtedly contribute to a great increase of the entire volume of foreign trade. Primarily it would find ways and means in which countries with advanced industrial development would contribute to the various areas of Asia, Africa and the Middle East, wherein many countries are struggling against great odds to begin the process of industrialization as a prerequisite to elevating the standard of living of great masses of the people. The vital interests of our own industrial workers and farmers are involved in the successful outcome of such a global effort. It is high time that the discussion around East-West trade be freed from the clutches of the cold war philosophy and be placed in proper relationship to the needs of the United States and the world at large. Most importantly the discussion concerning foreign trade needs to be crystallized into creative action.

A MAN AND HIS COUNTRY

From orphaned shepherd boy to Deputy Prime Minister. From a backward tsarist colony to advanced statehood. The roads are parallel

by ANDREW VOYNOW

HOW MANY Americans ever heard of Kazakhstan? Or to give it its official name, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic? But, it is an immense country—nearly as large as Western Europe. It is a great producer of the world's metals—lead, copper, gold, zinc, antimony, nickel and tungsten. It is a rich coal and oil center, an enormous granary, a cotton country—in short, an advanced economy. Yet how many of us even know where it is on the map?

Its people, in their own language, read the world's classics—Shakespeare, Schiller, Dickens, Goethe, Heine, Mark Twain. And their children read Grimm's fairy tales, and Hans Christian Andersen. Yet how many of us know these people?

Unfortunately, too few. Perhaps there is a reason. For although Kazakhstan is a very very old country, the Kazakh Republic is very very young. Within the fleeting space of a single generation it has leaped from the backwardness and oppression of a tsarist colony to the position of an economically, socially and culturally advanced state. The old countries don't always pay too much attention to the new and their upward advance toward statehood. And, before we have become acquainted

with them, they are suddenly among us, doing a full-size job of developing their economy, enriching their people and moving ahead to full maturity as nations.

The Kazakh Republic is just such a country. But there is no reason why we can't know something about it. A substantial body of Soviet literature is available giving its history, describing its development, projecting its plans for the future, and telling about its people and their culture. Recently an opportunity to learn at first hand presented itself through a meeting with one of its representatives, a quite remarkable man whose entire life mirrors the growth of his people and his country.

T. T. Tazhibaev, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of the Kazakh SSR, is in New York as a member of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. He is a quiet-spoken man, very courteous but so cordial in his greeting that you are immediately at ease with him. There seems an enormous hidden power in his square stocky frame, yet his movements and gestures are soft, unhurried and graceful. His black eyes are intense and expressive, literally lighting up when he



T. T. Tazhibaev, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of the Kazakh Republic (right) at a previous session of the UN General Assembly. With him are John Sherman Cooper, of the U.S. (left), and T. F. Cook, of Britain.

describes some new exciting achievement of his country. He has the broad face of the Kazakh people and his teeth are brilliantly white in his swarthy, smooth-shaven face. His mien is generally serious, but when he smiles there is such open friendliness that you are compelled to smile with him.

Tazhibaev spoke of the vastness and variety of his republic, which is the second in size and the fourth in population (6,140,000) among the sixteen Soviet republics. Starting at the Volga in the west, it extends some nineteen hundred miles eastward to the Altai mountains. And from the Trans-Siberian railroad in the north, it spreads southward for nearly twelve hundred miles to the great Tien-Shan mountains.

When the sowing of grain begins in the south, winter is still in its prime in the north; and when the tender shoots of grain begin to appear in the north, harvesting is already well under way on the southern collective farms. In the foothills of the mountains sheep and cattle

and horses graze. There are lush lands in the Kazakh Republic, as well as desert areas; extensive plains, and ice-capped mountain peaks.

It seems that all the natural resources that man requires are contained within its borders—as Tazhibaev puts it, “We have all the elements of Mendeleyev’s periodic table in our territory.”

And the Kazakh people, with the fraternal help of the other peoples of the Soviet Union and direct aid and guidance of the Government of the USSR, has devoted its energies and talents to the exploitation of this enormous wealth. This was not always so—in tsarist days some of these resources (coal, copper, gold) were worked, but the methods were wasteful and the output comparatively slight. Today, Tazhibaev said, the Kazakh Republic leads the USSR in the production of lead, holds second place in output of copper, and third place in coal and oil.

These achievements were won through the technical education of the people, through scientific me-

thods, mechanization and over-all economic planning that was highly coordinated.

Tazhibaev illustrated the latter point. On a pad of paper he quickly sketched a rough map of Kazakhstan, indicating the rich Karaganda coal fields and the Balkhash copper mines in the central part of the country, the non-ferrous metal areas in the east, the oil fields to the west, the capital, Alma-Ata, in the south. He put in the agricultural sections of the country, and marked the centers where entirely new industries are arising. These potentially rich areas, so dependent upon each other, were actually isolated because, as he showed with a sweep of his pencil, the antiquated system of communications compelled traffic to swing in a

A children's chorus and orchestra of national instruments in the coal mining town of Karaganda, in Kazakhstan.



huge arc through Siberia before these areas could be linked.

Coordinated economic planning rectified this. Even while new industries were growing (like the large iron and steel works in the Karaganda area) an improved railroad network was in project. So that last year, the Chu-Monti line was opened, giving direct southward communication from Karaganda and Balkhash and eliminating hundreds of miles of useless freight haulage. This is extremely important today, for not only the coal and copper from these areas, but now iron and steel can be moved to Alma-Ata, which has a new and thriving heavy machine-building works and is planning construction of an automobile and tractor plant. Chimkent will benefit too, for there is now a large automatic punch-press plant at work. It will benefit other areas in Central Kazakhstan as well.

And in the north, connecting the two centers of Akmolinsk and Pavlodar, another railroad line was recently completed. This will move coal from a rich new field, proper exploitation of which has hitherto been slowed down by lack of efficient communication.

In addition to the new railroads, a growing network of highways are being laid to connect the vital centers of the country.

Electric power is another asset that has come to the Kazakh people only since the Revolution, Tazhibaev told me. Small power units dot the country, and in 1953 a giant hydroelectric station, the Ust-Kamenogorsk, was put into operation on the Irtysk river. In capacity, it is the second station in the USSR, after the Dnieproges station in the Ukraine. At present another giant station is being constructed at Ulbinsk, on the Bukhtarma river.

fore
ning
in-
arge
ara-
road
last
ned,
ica-
hash
miles
s is
not
hese
n be
new
ding
ction
lant.
here
ress
ther
well.
the
avlo-
re-
coal
ploi-
been
com-
ads,
are
nters
asset
eople
baev
the
ydro-
eno-
n the
the
after
Uk-
sta-
insk.



Harvesting wheat grown on virgin soil. By cultivation of extensive tracts of unused land, the Kazakh Republic expects to quadruple its wheat crop.

This planned coordination of electric power, communications network, exploitation of resources and development of new industries is a guarantee of the further rapid industrial development of the republic. The speed of this growth is already visible in the economic statistics for last year. Compared with 1953, the gross output of industry had increased in 1954 by 11.7 per cent; during the same period, output of consumer goods grew 13.1 per cent.

Kazakhstan's role in total Soviet agriculture is also a very important one. This is especially so in connection with the USSR's plans, recently outlined by Nikita Khrushchev, to raise its grain harvest by 1960 to some 10 billion poods (this is about 160 million long tons; a pood is about 36 pounds) and to double its livestock and output of livestock products.

It has been decided to accomplish this task in two ways: by increasing agricultural output to the maximum through the adoption of advanced scientific methods and through the use of modern machinery, and by vastly expanding the cultivated area by opening up immense tracts of virgin and long un-used lands.

Kazakhstan has a major share of

the latter aspect of this plan. For example, in 1954 it was planned to open up some 13,000,000 hectares* of such virgin lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga district and the North Caucasus. Of this area, 6,300,000 hectares were in Kazakhstan. Actually, the plan for the entire country was exceeded. Kazakhstan, alone, plowed up more than 8,000,000 hectares, Tazhibaev said. To do this the republic organized ninety-three state farms with an average sown area of 20,000 hectares each. This year the Kazakh Republic plans to reclaim an additional 9,000,000 hectares and this plan is successfully being completed. By 1956, the republic will have some 27,000,000 hectares under cultivation, 23,000,000 of which will be grain. This can be compared with 4,600,000 in 1953—in other words, within three years the grain area will have been increased fourfold.

This enormous and rapid growth of the agricultural sector of the Kazakh economy means the formation of literally hundreds of new state and collective farms and all that they entail. Help, of course, has come from all parts of the Soviet Union.

* A hectare is 2.47 acres.

Youths from every corner of the country have gone to Kazakhstan to take part in the adventure of turning these virgin areas into flourishing farmland. Thousands of young men and women are in this way building up the country, young men and women skilled in every possible trade essential to the purpose, not only in farming techniques but in other techniques necessary for modern living today. For each one of these many farms is fast becoming a busy community, with its own schools and hospitals and clubs, its repair shops and stores, its libraries and nurseries.

And with these tens of thousands of people have come enormous quantities of agricultural machinery. Tazhibaeв points out that in 1954 alone, the various agricultural factories of the USSR delivered as many tractors, combines and other farm machinery to Kazakhstan as that republic had received in all the years previously.

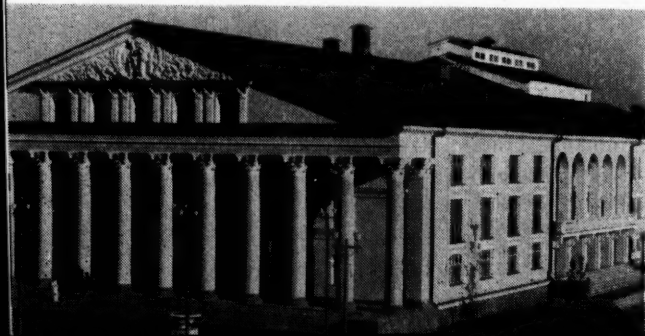
The increase in the livestock herds of Kazakhstan is progressing hand in hand with the expansion of grain production. Before the Revolution there were no fodder reserves. The livestock lived the year round in open pasture, the herds being moved from the plains to the foothills, and from there to the mountains, and gradually back again following the seasonal appearance of the natural grass crops. The end of the winter

and early spring were the worst periods, for the scarcity of pasture grasses took immense toll of the herds.

In some areas of Kazakhstan this method still remains. But even in those districts grass is planted and cultivated, and there is now hay fodder.

Tazhibaeв described a recent innovation that has proven a boon to the livestock farmers. Heretofore, the herds lived in the open, or at best, in crude enclosures. Buildings could not be constructed in many places because of the lack of timber. But in these very places, along river banks and in the marshes, there is an abundant growth of reeds. These are now tied in bundles several inches thick and bent into a broad arc. When these arcs are laid side by side (sometimes with the support of a mere skeleton of wood), lashed together and covered with clay, they make ideal barns (large enough to house 500 sheep), technical buildings and even homes. And the cost is only one-third or even one-quarter the cost of a pre-fabricated wooden structure. This year the Kazakh Republic will build some 50,000 such structures; next year, 100,000. These are only the buildings constructed by state enterprises and do not include the thousands that the collective farms are putting up.

Since the Revolution, Kazakhstan has more than doubled its head of



A Palace of Culture for iron and steel workers in Balkhash.



Sheep grazing in the mountain pastures, in Kazakhstan. Construction of barns and a growing fodder supply are a factor in increasing the herds of sheep.

livestock. Now, with warm barns, the planting of grass pasture, the availability of hay and the assurance of more than adequate supply of grain fodder, Kazakhstan is certain of becoming the main region for livestock and livestock products in the eastern part of the Soviet Union.

In addition to grain and livestock, Kazakhstan is a substantial grower of cotton, sugar beet and tobacco.

The striking advances enumerated above have been accomplished by a people that just a generation ago was a tsarist colony, oppressed, poverty-stricken and compelled to live in the darkest ignorance. Before the Revolution of 1917, only 2 per cent of the people of Kazakhstan were literate, and these fortunate few were to be found only among the wealthy minority. With the Revolution came an independence and freedom—and a consequent flourishing—that in their dark past would have seemed like a fairy tale.

In 1920, the area became an autonomous republic, and in 1936, with the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR, Kazakhstan became one of the sixteen constituent republics of the USSR—the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Today, Tazhibayev said proudly,

the republic is nearly 100 per cent literate, there is universal education with more than 8,000 elementary and secondary schools attended by 1,400,000 pupils. Before the Revolution there were no higher educational institutions. Today there are twenty-five, including a university, a mining, three medical and several pedagogical institutes.

Women, formerly so oppressed in this once-oppressed colony, treated no better than chattel, are today finding a role in every aspect of Kazakh life. To encourage them to enter fully into the economic, scientific and cultural stream of their country a special women's institute has been opened for girls of the Kazakh nationality.

There is now a Kazakh Academy of Sciences, established in 1946, with dozens of institutes and affiliates especially organized to study the resources of the country. The Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Moscow has an affiliate in Kazakhstan which is occupied primarily with new agricultural methods for the republic, the study of new products, and the development of new strains of more productive livestock.

Before the Revolution there were no theaters—now there are 25, in-

cluding an opera and ballet theater, a dramatic theater, youth theaters, a philharmonic, special orchestral ensembles composed of national instruments. There is a music conservatory, dancing schools and art schools.

Kazakhstan has its own moving picture studio, and this year there were more than 1,500 motion picture houses and mobile projection units. There are 2,500 libraries, more than 2,000 rural libraries and reading rooms, over 1,000 rural clubs, 200 houses of culture and 20 museums. The Kazakh people receive their news through 285 newspapers and 29 magazines.

A population almost totally illiterate in the past, the Kazakh people of course had no books. Now reading is a part of the fabric of their lives and book circulation has grown with seven-league strides. In 1954, for example, 779 titles were published with a total printing of nearly 13,000,000 volumes. Of this number, 527 titles were in the Kazakh language (a total issue of nearly 10,000,000 volumes). All the classics mentioned earlier, in addition to many others and including, of course the best Russian and Soviet literature, is now translated into the Kazakh language. And the Kazakh people are beginning to develop their own literature (and music and art) as well.

Symbolic of this flourishing of a once-backward people, and certainly a tremendous force in helping his people to advance, is Tazhibaev.

The year of the 1917 Revolution, his parents died leaving him an orphan at the age of seven. For the next three years the little boy herded his neighbors' sheep until he was taken to an orphanage where he lived and went to school for another three years. At 14 he went to Chimkent to attend a middle school for training future teachers. At the age of 18 he was graduated and taught school for three years.

In 1931, Tazhibaev went to Moscow to attend the Krupskaya Pedagogical Institute. Several years later he did graduate work in psychology in Leningrad. By 1938 he was appointed head of the psychology and pedagogy department of the Alma-Ata Pedagogical Institute and the following year he received his Candidacy of Science in Psychology.

In 1940, he went into government work in Kazakhstan in the department of education, later becoming Minister, and then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is now also acting Minister of Culture of Kazakhstan, and last year he became a member of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences. Tazhibaev told me that his wife is a Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, and that he has a son, 16 years old, who is a student.

From orphaned shepherd boy to Deputy Prime Minister. From a backward tsarist colony to advanced statehood. The roads are parallel, for they are part and parcel of the same great forward movement discernible throughout the Soviet Union.

DEAN W. V. LAMBERT, NEBRASKA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE

"The Russian people are very friendly, much like Americans. They have something of the same pioneer spirit. Everywhere we went the people had one universal message—'We want peace.' And we reassured them that America, too, wants peace."

—Speech to Alliance, Neb., Chamber of Commerce, Oct. 20.

The Soviet Union and China

*A new kind of brotherhood
in relations between states*

by SUSAN WARREN

BROTHERHOOD—of men and nations—has from time immemorial been a dream of mankind. But its achievement has always remained in the realm of the vague and ideal. Today there is something new under the sun. In the lands of socialism and people's democracy there have for the first time in man's arduous history been created the scientific and human conditions which are transforming the dream to reality. The essence of colonial relations is the plunder and exploitation practiced by "advanced" countries against the "backward" countries, their conversion into the former's monopolized markets, sources of raw material, places of investment and military bases.

The essence of the relations between the socialist USSR and the People's Democracies has been described by Stalin as "the sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all."

As great as is the warmth and friend-

ship among these nations it is science, not sentiment, that motivates the new relationship. Not seeking foreign investments for excess capital, with no one to profit from exploitation at home or abroad, they do not need other people's lands and territories.

Thus the new brotherhood is based on deep respect for other peoples, their rights and contributions to world culture. Equality and mutual benefit is a paramount principle. Interference in the internal affairs of other nations is a cardinal offense and aggression from any source is neither practiced or tolerated. Trade and cultural exchange are encouraged as the source of mutual material benefit and of human knowledge, understanding and peace.

These principles inherent in the nature of socialist and people's democratic countries have since been subscribed to in various official statements by the Prime Ministers of China and India, China and Burma and the Soviet Union and India. They are, moreover, the heart and core of the 10 points guiding the relations among nations as adopted in the Final Communiqué by the Asian-African countries at the historic

SUSAN WARREN has long been a student and writer on Far Eastern affairs. She was formerly the editor of the publication "Far East Spotlight."

conference at Bandung. Because they reflect the desire of people the world over for progress and peace they unite those who adhere to them with all ordinary men and women everywhere.

Nowhere is this new "brotherhood" more dramatically expressed than in the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

On the conclusion of the first Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in February 1950, Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China said:

It is hard to put into words the complete mutual understanding and profound friendship which are founded on the fundamental interests of our great peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Everybody sees that the unity of the great Chinese and Soviet peoples sealed by the treaty is lasting, inviolable and inseparable. This unity will inevitably make its influence felt not only in the prosperity of the two Great Powers—China and the Soviet Union—but also on the future of all humanity, the victory of justice and peace in the world.

The Joint Declaration of the two governments on October 12, 1954, underscored and enlarged the scope of this "mutual understanding and profound friendship." Consisting of five separate Declarations it covered Soviet-Chinese relations in the broad field of international affairs, relations with Japan, withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Port Arthur, the transfer of Soviet shares in jointly held stock companies to China, scientific and technical cooperation, construction of the Lanchow-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway and the Chining-Ulan Bator Railway. In addition, there was an agreement on the granting of a long term credit of

520 million rubles by the Government of the USSR to China and a protocol covering assistance in the building of an additional 15 industrial enterprises and increasing the supply of equipment for the 141 enterprises already covered in a previous agreement.

It was around the Sino-Soviet joint use and defense of the great naval base at Port Arthur that eager Western exponents of "red imperialism" thought they had found an issue. The Chinese whose experience with imperialism has been long, bitter and concrete felt otherwise. When the People's Republic came into existence it is no secret that she had powerful enemies anxious to reverse their "loss of China." Across the Yellow Sea Japanese militarism was being revived, developments in Korea were foreboding and China's Northeast territories, the historic path of foreign invasion, were menaced. Ravaged by years of the anti-Japanese and civil wars the young Republic's national defense was relatively weak. In these circumstances an agreement was concluded between the Soviet Union and China whereby the naval base at Port Arthur was jointly used and defended by the two countries. Later, at China's own request the Soviet Union agreed to postpone withdrawal of her troops from Port Arthur. With the Korean armistice, peace in Indo-China and the rehabilitation and rapid growth of China's national economy, conditions changed in the Far East and the world. The USSR proposed that Soviet troops should withdraw from Port Arthur before the end of May, 1955 and that all installations "in the area" should be transferred to China without compensation. This transfer was completed on May 25th. In all of China's hundred-odd years history

of relations with foreign nations never had a neighboring power given aid in defense of her sovereignty and territorial integrity and voluntarily withdrawn when the need no longer existed. If this is imperialism words have lost their meaning!

Another pretext for slander had been the four joint-stock enterprises in which both China and the Soviet Union held shares. Established by agreement in 1950 and '51, two in Sinkiang Province, were concerned with extracting non-ferrous and rare metals and petroleum, the third was the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co., the fourth was joint operation of the Dairen Shipyard.

These developments have nothing in common with the self-perpetuating exploitative "joint enterprises" which capitalist countries impose on their "backward" neighbors. Whereas the latter jealously guard and monopolize the engineering and managerial posts for their own nationals and siphon off huge profits to be taken out of the country, the development of the Sino-Soviet joint stock companies shows a diametrically opposite process.

In the unprecedented tempo of China's economic rehabilitation and industrialization these joint stock companies played an inestimable role. They helped create key industries that were decisive in getting the whole economy rolling and which China, alone, would have been incapable of launching at the time. They trained technicians and workers and helped the Chinese to acquire technical and managerial experience. They were organized on a basis of equality and mutual benefit and when the time came that the Chinese had accumulated the necessary experience to operate these enterprises themselves, they were turned over—with

no strings attached. The October, 1954, agreement provided for this transfer to start January, 1955, and for Soviet shares to be "repaid . . . over the course of several years by supplies of goods which are usual export commodities for the People's Republic of China."

Since the U.S. practices a total ban on all trade with China, the value of which many Americans question, it is of special interest to note the amount and nature of Sino-Soviet trade.

While the United States embargo created difficulties for China it failed in its prime objective of preventing China's rehabilitation and rapid industrial development. What it did help stimulate, however unwittingly, was a historic shift in the direction of China's trade. In 1950, China's trade with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Democracies was 26 per cent of her total foreign commerce. Today it is over 80 per cent. Moreover, in contrast to her past patterns of trade with capitalist countries, 97 per cent of China's imports from the Soviet Union in 1954 consisted of capital goods. All the principal items needed by the 156 big industrial enterprises which stand at the center of China's first Five-Year Plan are being supplied by the Soviet Union. Soviet assistance in their construction includes site surveys, designs, installation, training of personnel and help in actual operation.

At the present time the Soviet Union is providing China with scientific, technical and industrial aid in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is difficult to estimate the degree to which this can accelerate China's progress toward her goals of industrialization and socialism.

While this mammoth aid is freely

given by the Soviet Union and warmly and publicly acknowledged by the Chinese it is interesting to note a comment of Minoru Yakota, vice-president of Sanzyo Keizai a leading Tokyo financial journal, as reported in the *New York Times* (Oct. 3, 1955). He expressed "amazement" at the "unobtrusiveness" of the Russians. Significantly, "he contrasted this with the aggressiveness with which Japan had attempted to extend her influence in China before the war."

There is nothing exclusive about the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. It conceals no aggressive intent towards any nation. While warmly affirming the strong, unbreakable ties which unite them, both nations have and continue to offer the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence as the basis for "brotherhood" with all lands.

CRITICS ACCLAIM EMIL GILELS

Gilels was phenomenal . . . a temperament both fiery and poetic. . . . breathless pacing and beguiling lyricism. . . . *Miles Kastendieck, New York Journal American, October 5.*

Simple, direct and unassuming at the keyboard, he encompasses the command of a titan with the soul of a poet . . . a master of both the light and the profound mood, which altogether places him among the greatest living pianists. . . . *Harriet Johnson, New York Post, October 12.*

Gilels combines superb technical command with the reflection of a poet and philosopher. . . . Part of Gilels' greatness is the rich imagination he contributes to lyricism. . . . *Harriet Johnson, New York Post, October 17.*

. . . Stupendous performance of Rachmaninoff's 3rd Concerto. . . . One of the most clamorous ovation I have ever heard—and one of the most deserved. . . . A truly poetic and inspired reading of Beethoven's 3rd Concerto. . . . *Louis Biancolli, World Telegram, October 17.*

. . . A "little giant" played last night in Carnegie Hall. . . . By nature Gilels is a romantic. But his romanticism is tempered by logic and musical sensitivity. . . . One can disagree with some of his ideas, but never is there any doubt that a major pianist, one of today's great ones, is at work . . . the technical and musical authority that is the mark of the master. . . . *Harold C. Schonberg, New York Times, October 12.*

Is it possible to hear a pianist for the first time and immediately rate him as one of the greatest in the world? A most positive answer was provided by the Russian virtuoso, Emil Gilels, in his American debut with the Philadelphia Orchestra last night. In the face of the near-hysterical audience excitement he generated, one would have to exercise tremendous restraint indeed to keep from calling him the very greatest. . . . *J. Cartin McKinney, Philadelphia Daily News.*

(For other critical acclaims, see page 17)

Report from the United Nations

***The world clamor for an end of colonialism
is echoed in the General Assembly Session***

by ESLANDA ROBESON

TODAY the death rattle of colonialism can be heard around the world; the death moans of the victims of ruthless colonial wars can also be heard, mingled with the cries for justice and humanity, self-government and independence, and over all the universal shouts for peace and freedom in our world.

This world clamor is echoing in the world organization, the United Nations.

The colonial powers are trying desperately, using their terrifying superiority of modern weapons of destruction, to maintain colonial rule in the territories they still hold. But they are finally beginning to see the handwriting on the wall.

The formerly quiet, assured, and occasionally arrogant voices of the colonial powers are not so confident these days. The often meek voices of the smaller nations are taking on new courage, determination and dignity. Already, with the Tenth General Assembly session just begun, the colonial powers are not having things their own way. Some of their followers have already abandoned them. They can no longer marshal the full Latin American bloc. The Bandung nations are on the march, together,

intent on hastening self government for Asia and Africa. With the votes of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and others, they are now enjoying a sizable initial bloc of votes.

Colonialism is making its last desperate stand in the UN now.

Already one colonial power, France, has "walked out" of the General Assembly because she cannot, or will not, face a discussion of the situation in Algeria.

There is a war going on in North Africa which is inflaming the whole of the Arab world. NATO forces and equipment are being used (unsuccessfully) to subdue the Algerian people. But because, in 1947, the French made a law declaring that Algeria was an Overseas Department of France, and that the Algerians were French citizens, France now insists that the war in Algeria is an internal domestic affair in which the UN cannot intervene. But the Algerians themselves maintain steadfastly that they are Algerians; that they are not now, and have never been, French.

In order to stop the fighting in Algeria, where men, women and children are being killed and property

destroyed, 14 member states asked that the "Question of Algeria" be inscribed on the agenda of the current Assembly session in the hope that discussion of the situation would lead to fruitful negotiation and solution.

There was a bitter, hard fought battle in the 15-member General Committee, which first discusses agenda matters, over the Algerian Question. The colonial powers won the fight in this less representative body, and the item was rejected for inclusion on the agenda by a vote of 8 to 5 with 2 abstentions:

Against: France, Great Britain, United States, New Zealand, Norway, Chile, Haiti and Luxembourg

In favor: Egypt, Mexico, Poland, Thailand, USSR

Abstentions: Ethiopia and China (Formosa).

The 14 nations who sponsored the item and many other member states considered this rejection by the General Committee a slap in the face. They therefore appealed the decision in the General Assembly, and, after another bitter battle, defeated the colonial powers and won inscription for the item on the agenda by a vote of 28 in favor, 27 against, with 5 abstentions.

The vote was fascinating: The Bandung nations stood solid; 15 of them voted for inscription; Liberia stood up on her two feet and was counted; Ethiopia faltered and abstained; Turkey was the only real defection, taking the side of the colonial powers, as always. The USSR and the People's Democracies were naturally for inclusion of the item.

The discussions in both the General Committee and the Assembly revealed the breaks in the walls of the fortress held by the colonial

powers. The role of the smaller nations as "followers" of the big powers was challenged. The interpretation of one of the most controversial Articles in the UN Charter was challenged. The discussions reflected the spirit of Bandung, and the inexorable trend against colonialism in the world today.

Much of the discussion centered around the interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter which states:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter.

Herve Alphand (France), Sir Pier-son Dixon (Great Britain), Henry Cabot Lodge (U.S.), C. W. A. Schurmann (Netherlands) and others insisted that Algeria was an integral part of Metropolitan France, that Algerians were French citizens, that therefore the whole question was one of domestic jurisdiction, and that discussion of the situation in Algeria would be "intolerable interference" in France's affairs. Paul Henri Spaak (Belgium) proceeded to lecture the representatives of the smaller nations and to tell them what statesmen are made of and how they should behave:

The first virtue of the statesman who wants to become an international statesman is to endeavor to understand. The second is that of moderation. . . . What then should be done? This very simple thing: We must place our trust in France. . . . I was profoundly shocked when I heard some speakers contend from this rostrum that France is imperialistic, colonialistic, bloodthirsty and

cruel. . . . I do not claim that all the pages in the annals of French history are equally glorious. . . .

I should say not. In Madagascar 80,000 or more Africans were massacred by the French in putting down a rebellion nearly 10 years ago. In Algeria in 1945, approximately 45,000 Algerians were massacred by the French. Only recently the French, supported by her colonial allies, fought desperate and unsuccessful battles and spilled a lot of blood, trying to put down the revolt in Indo-China. Today France is continuing her pattern of ruthless colonial suppression and repression in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and the French Camerouns.

The 14 sponsoring nations refuted all the cold legalistic arguments of the colonial powers on "domestic jurisdiction," and denied that Algerians are truly French citizens.

V. K. Krishna Menon (India) declared that according to the French Constitution (Article 60), Algeria was not a part of Metropolitan France, but belonged to that part of the French Union clearly defined as "Overseas Departments and Territories." Therefore, the Algerian Question "is not a question of intervening in the affairs of a Sovereign State. It is merely a discussion on what is a plain straightforward colonial question."

The representatives of Pakistan, Yemen and Saudi Arabia documented the falsity of French claims that Algerians enjoyed the right of French citizens, pointing out that they in fact remain subjects, denied full rights, representation and equality in the administration of their country and the benefits of its natural resources and trade.

France cannot make Algeria part of Metropolitan France, nor the Al-

gerians French citizens by conquest, by laws, nor by the continual use of force and violence, declared the sponsoring nations. Algerians are Algerians.

The statements of some of the Latin American countries were especially revealing. Francisco Urrutia (Colombia), always a vigorous supporter of the colonial powers, said that the "Latin American countries have been fervent anti-colonialists, but have also been decided non-interventionists. . . . My delegation will vote against inclusion of the item."

Then the Reverend Benjamin Nunez (Costa Rica) countered that Urrutia's statement did not represent the common way of thinking of Latin American nations. He declared:

. . . Costa Rica will vote for the inclusion of the Question of Algeria on the agenda. . . . For smaller countries this forum represents the last recourse of hope in their efforts to achieve independence. . . . We must not shut our ears to those nations which come to us for help. To do so would be an indication of complete international moral bankruptcy. I turn to the Latin American nations to support a principle which is our guarantee for the future that the UN will remain an open forum for all the countries of the world.

And Germán Quiroga-Galdo (Bolivia) also spoke:

More than a century of military and political occupation of Algeria and the consecration of French domestic law to the subjection of a whole people to a foreign yoke does not constitute, in our opinion, an irrevocable title of ownership and domination. . . . We hope that the Moslem peoples of Africa . . . and France . . . can bridge their differences within this international organization . . . so that there may

be in future that fruitful cooperation to which geography and history open the way for these two peoples. . . .

Six Latin American nations voted for inclusion of the item on the agenda: Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico and Uruguay.

The sturdy sponsoring nations declared that the UN's life, future and prestige would be seriously endangered if the Algerian Question were not put on the agenda:

Mahmoud Fawzi (Egypt): This question transcends by far the mere matter of whether we should include just another item on the agenda. It is indeed a challenge to the vision of the UN and a vital link in the chain of events which will form its history and decide its future.

V. K. Krishna Menon (India): In this room there are at least 20 to 22 states that would not be here . . . that is to say, if an empire cannot be overthrown, if a conqueror cannot be displaced, if lost liberty cannot be re-won, then very few of us would have a place here.

Rafik Asha (Syria): The inscription of the question of Algeria on the agenda . . . raises some of the fundamental issues at stake in the present world and reflects all the cleavages, conflicts and stresses of our time. . . . The inclusion of this item has been requested by 14 member states, representing almost one-quarter of the membership of the UN. They speak in the name of a large segment of the people of the world. . . . To those delegations which oppose the inscription of this item . . . I must in good conscience tell you. . . . If you cast your vote in favor of the exclusion of this item you will cease to be, in the eyes of Africans and Asians, the champions of freedom and the enemies of op-

pression. The people of Africa, supported by those of Asia, will say that the white men are all the same, all to be feared and fought.

Anak Agung Gde Agung (Indonesia): How can this Assembly refuse to consider an issue which concerns one of the most important facts, if not the most important one, of our times, namely, the re-awakening and re-emergence of Asia and Africa and the need that presents for establishing a new relationship with the West? This is the basic problem in Algeria today. This is the challenge.

The Soviet Union has on many occasions given evidence of its support of this re-awakening and re-emergence of the peoples of Africa and Asia.

Mr. V. V. Kuznetsov, delegate of the USSR, speaking in support of the Arab-Asian request in the course of the debate, stressed the role of the UN in helping to find a peaceful solution of the issue. He said that the Bandung Conference had appealed to France to settle peacefully the question of Algeria; no attention was paid to this appeal and nothing was done to lessen the tension; the situation therefore threatened the peace and security of the area and the Assembly should consider the question in order to promote its peaceful settlement, taking into account the lawful interests of the Algerian people.

Mr. Josef Ullrich, Czechoslovakian delegate, declared that a "calm and objective" consideration of the Algerian question could do no harm, and since an important part of the world had asked the Assembly to discuss this question, it must do so.

In answer to these and many other powerful statements, the colonial powers, making their last desperate stand, said:

Antoine Pinay (France): In my country's opinion, the decision taken by the Assembly will be more serious for the UN than for France. The very future of our organization will be at stake. . . . There would be many who would lose confidence in it and who would be tempted to give up their interest in the organization (if the item is inscribed). I must state directly that France might be among these. [She was not "among"; she was the only one.]

Henry Cabot Lodge (U.S.): Of course this Assembly can vote as it wishes, but we should be completely clear in our minds as to just exactly what it is we are doing. The U.S. will vote that this item not be included in the agenda.

Sir Pierson Dixon (Great Britain): It would be a sad day for the UN and for the world if it came to be accepted that each and any of the members of the organization could claim a right to debate here, and by this means intervene in the domestic affairs of a member state. It would shake the very foundations of the organization.

A sad day, indeed. But a sad day for whom? Sad for the colonial powers, who for so many years have imposed their powerful minority will upon the majority of the peoples of the world. But it is a great day for the United Nations, when a decision of the General Assembly of this world organization reflects the will of the majority of the peoples of the world.

At the end of the very thorough and very frank consideration of the Question of Algeria in the General Committee and on the floor of the General Assembly, the colonial powers stood defeated.

France flagrantly violated the "spirit of Geneva" when she angrily walked out of the General Assembly. The "spirit of Geneva" means in essence that nations can and must resort to friendly discussion and negotiation on the question at issue between them. What the debate brought out was that the spirit of Geneva must merge with the spirit of Bandung if it is to prevail on a world scale.

PROF. HAROLD J. BERMAN OF HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

Moscow, Sept. 12—A leading United States authority on Soviet law said today that a "tremendous law reform movement" was under way in the Soviet Union. Prof. Harold J. Berman, of the Harvard Law School, said that the proposed reforms would revolutionize Soviet legal practice in many fields. He added that if the changes were adopted they would enhance the rights of accused persons and "liberalize" the concept of criminal responsibility under Soviet law.

Professor Berman . . . has conferred with eighteen leading Soviet jurists and addressed the Institute of Law of the Soviet Academy of Science. "I have learned that the new draft code of criminal procedure is very close to completion," Professor Berman said.

New York Times, September 13

British Clergy Visit the USSR As Guests of the Church

by REV. STANLEY EVANS

SINCE THE WAR there has always been rather more contact between the Church of England and the USSR than has been generally believed, although it has not been widely publicized. If official relations have not always been cordial they have at least been correct. A good example of this is to be found in the message of condolence sent to the Patriarch of Moscow by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion of the death of Stalin. It was not released to the press in this country and neither its text nor the fact that it had been sent appeared in any western publication. Only the handful of people in this country who read the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy* knew of its existence. Nevertheless it is perfectly clear that no official church leaders here have ever really believed the stories which have appeared in the more popular press about the non-existence of the Russian Church.

This last year, however, has seen

a big step forward in relations between the Church of England and the Russian Orthodox Church (and between other church bodies and their counterparts) starting, as such relations invariably do, at a non-official level and moving to the official one. First a small group of Pacifist Christians, including Dr. C. E. Raven, went to Moscow. Then a delegation from Christian Action went and, in June a group of seven Anglican clergy, of whom I was privileged to be the Chairman, paid a visit to the Russian Orthodox Church on the invitation of the Holy Synod. This was followed almost immediately by the visit to England and Scotland of a group of Russian churchmen, who had an enthusiastic reception, on the invitation of the British Council of Churches. It was during this visit that the Archbishop of Canterbury announced that theological negotiations between the Church of England and the Russian Orthodox Church were about to begin.

To be in the Soviet Union as a guest of the Church was a fascinating experience and naturally we were learning all the time. The high point of the tour was a visit to the Patriarch himself at his summer residence outside Odessa. Odessa itself

REV. STANLEY EVANS was editor of the former "New Central European Observer" published in London. He is Vicar of Holy Trinity with St. Philip's Church, Dalston, England.

is a delightful town set on a broad bay in the Black Sea and rising above it in terraces which display the French influence which played a considerable part in the growth of the town. But even the charms of Odessa fall into the background when you visit the Patriarch. You drive out of the city up a winding road to a little peninsula on the Black Sea. There you enter the grounds of a monastery. Beyond this, in a special part of the grounds, is a long white building, the house of the Patriarch, and beyond this again is the house which is reserved for the Patriarch's guests. Here we were installed for some days living on the simple and charming food provided by the monks with wine made from their own grapes and, when time permitted, engaged in endless discussion, we would stroll through the vine-covered paths, stopping, maybe, to pick a handful of strawberries or cherries, or we would slip down the Patriarch's private funicular to a private beach below to swim in water of a temperature which in England we never know. Before we went to Odessa a Moscow Archpriest had said: "You will find that the Patriarch's dwelling is a little corner of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth." He was not far wrong.

Nevertheless these were but background charms and the real charm was that provided by our hosts themselves. The Patriarch combines in his person grace and ability and the wisdom of many years. The outstanding thing about our conversation with him was the readiness of the Russian Orthodox Church today, in the interests of peace and of Christian unity, to examine any question. Their desire to talk with the Church of England is sincere and deep-rooted and, although there are important differences between the two churches,

given goodwill all around, there is no basic reason why unity should not be achieved in a very short space of time. The importance of the discussions now beginning is far-reaching for were this unity achieved not only would it give a world wide impetus to the movement for Christian unity but it would, in itself, be a major contribution to world peace.

It was fascinating to talk to the Patriarch, nice to linger in his grounds, and refreshing to swim in the Black Sea. But we did more than this in Odessa for we were under the tutelage of the most active and sprightly sixty-year-old it has ever been my good fortune to meet, that is to say the Archbishop of Odessa who would permit no wasting of time. Under his vigorous leadership we learned much and any misconceptions still in the minds of any of us were swept away. Does anybody think that the Russian Orthodox Church is a tender plant divorced from the people? Such an idea cannot survive Odessa. Does anybody think that the Russian Orthodox Church is simply the home of the untutored and the elderly? Again let them go to Odessa and this illusion too will be swept away.

Let us start with ability. Said the Archbishop one morning "You had better see Filatov, I will telephone his clinic." He telephoned. "Filatov is out for a day's relaxation but I have asked them to get in touch with him and get him to the clinic. We are due at 11:00." Does anybody murmur, "and who is Filatov?" There were those among us who did. He is, of course, the world famous eye-surgeon whose work in grafting parts of the cornea of corpses to the eyes of the living in certain types of disease has restored sight to the blind and brought him world-wide scientific

fame. We saw him, and he was kind enough to explain his work and show us round his institute. I hope it helped, although we were not a scientific group. But for our purpose it has a quite different importance. Filatov came in to see us from his day off because a good Orthodox churchman does go out of his way to oblige his Archbishop, and Filatov, world-famed scientist, Academician of the USSR, member of the Supreme Soviet, is a good Orthodox Christian. (So here, too, is the answer to the question, can a Christian be elected to the Supreme Soviet?) Many of the staff of this clinic, both doctors and nurses, are practicing members of the Orthodox Church, and certainly all of them treated the Archbishop, who walked round the wards as he would and was well-known to the patients, with deep respect.

Now let us take the question of youth and age. It is answered in the churches on Sundays, it is answered by the choirs, it is answered outstandingly by the theological colleges, of which Odessa has a fine example, but Odessa also provided another example in—its nunnery. The nunnery of Odessa is a fine group of buildings to which recent additions have been made. The nuns have their church, their dining hall, their separate and very comfortable rooms, their own hospital and dentistry, their bakery, and a good deal else. They have extensive gardens in which they grow vegetables of all kinds. They occupy themselves not merely with their very delightful singing, but with milling flour and making bread which they do for all the churches in the area, by making church vestments, by embroidery, and by other good works. They make bed covers for the general market. There are 137 nuns

here and some of them are very young indeed. On the background of the enormous opportunities the USSR offers women for careers this is very striking indeed. It means that not only does the church have contact with young people but that from many of them it has a wholehearted and sacrificial allegiance.

Some other figures about Odessa may be of interest. The Theological College has 120 students in four years. The monastery has 80 monks. There are two other monasteries in the district and a second nunnery with 60 nuns. The monastery has a further 25 monks who are not resident but are out working in parishes. The Diocese of Kherson and Odessa has a population of some millions. It has 400 churches. The churches are packed with people and on Sunday morning there were 5,000 in the cathedral for the Liturgy.

Odessa was only a part of our visit. We spent time also in Moscow and Leningrad and in the country outside Moscow. Unfortunately space does not make it possible to describe what we saw or the effect it had upon us. (Some of the details I have recorded in a little brochure called *The Russian Church Today* which is obtainable from Arlesley Vicarage, Bedfordshire, England).

Let me then make one or two points in conclusion. In the towns church-going seems about comparable with England (where the figures are much lower than in the U.S.A.); in the country it is a good deal higher. The people join fervently in the worship and the daily services are attended in a way which simply does not exist with us. The clergy are paid from a special collection which is taken in all churches and are very well paid, many of them have their own cars. In general they are very well housed.

The clergy and many of the laity read their Bibles daily and a new edition of the Bible is just coming off the press.

Relations between church and state are cordial. Christians and Communists are, of course, deeply divided on the question of theism as on other

questions, but the church has a deep appreciation of the great social advances that have been made in the country and is a fervent supporter of them.

The Russian Orthodox Church has not only a past and a present—it also has a future, and it should be watched with interest.

ANNUAL RALLY

OBSERVING THE

NOVEMBER ANNIVERSARIES

**38th . . Founding of Soviet State
22nd . . Diplomatic Relations
Between USA and USSR**

Wednesday, November 16, 7:30 p.m.
The Pythian, 70th St., East of Broadway
Speakers: Dr. John A. Kingsbury,
Chairman; A cultural representative of
the Soviet Union; Clarence E. Pickett,
Honorary Secretary of the American
Friends Service Committee; Eslanda
G. Robeson, the Rev. William Howard
Melish, and Sylvia Atkins.

Admission \$1.00

**NATIONAL COUNCIL
AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
114 East 32nd St., New York 16**

USA WELCOMES SOVIET FARMERS

**"... they came, they saw, they
liked it."**

The story of what happened in the American Midwest, and in Texas and California, when the Russian agricultural experts visited here—a dramatic record taken entirely from the stories of newspapermen who made the historic-making tour.

With pictures—64 pages— 6 x 9
Single copy 25c; 5 for 1, 10 for \$1.75;

20 for \$3.00

order from

**NATIONAL COUNCIL
AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
114 East 32nd St., New York 16**

A VALUABLE REFERENCE ON AN HISTORIC MEETING

BANDUNG, published by *Far East Reporter*. 103 West 93rd Street, New York City. 64 page. Price fifteen cents.

THIS valuable pamphlet contains the texts of selected speeches and the final communique of the historic Asian-African conference of twenty-nine nations held at Bandung, Indonesia. April 18-24, 1955. It also contains an additional Report on the Conference by Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in Peking.

The Far East Reporter has rendered an invaluable service in making available this material which constitutes the Declaration of Independence of the Asian and African peoples, a turning point in world affairs, and a vital contribution to the peace of the world.

TODAY

**Anna Louise Strong's newsletter,
of which she writes:**

"TODAY is a personal letter on how things look to me. It appears about once a month. If you want it, send in your name. If you want to pay your way, send in \$1. We send TODAY to anyone who asks, whether they can pay or not."

The address is:

Box 87, Altadena, California

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF NEW WORLD REVIEW, published monthly at New York, New York, for Oct. 1, 1955.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers, are Publisher, SRT Publications, Inc., 23 W. 26th Street, New York, 10, N. Y.; Editor Jessica Smith, 23 W. 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.; Managing Editor, Andrew Voynow, 23 W. 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.; Business Manager, none.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) SRT Publications, Inc., 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.; Frederick V. Field, 23 West 26th Street, New York, 10, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mort-

gagees, and other security holders, owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers only.)

(Signed) JESSICA SMITH,
Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of September, 1955.

(Seal) WILLIAM SCHNEIDER
(My commission expires March 30, 1957.)

The American People Want Peace

A SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION

by Jessica Smith

A comprehensive survey of the peace expressions and actions of every section of the American people from the beginning of the crisis in the Formosa Strait to and including the Geneva Conference. It shows the power of public opinion for peace.

25c 5 for \$1

order through

NEW WORLD REVIEW

**EXTRA COPIES
OF THIS ISSUE**

Order extra copies of this special
issue at the rate of 10 per \$1

BOUND VOLUMES

Of 1953 New World Review

Indexed

\$4.00

Index alone, 35c

**NWR SAMPLES
FOR FREE
DISTRIBUTION**

We have a limited number of copies of
recent issues of New World Review for
free distribution. Your friends and
acquaintances might like to see a copy.
Just let us know how many you can use;
we shall be happy to send them along.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

NEW SOVIET FILMS

All in Spectacular Sovcolor

RUSSIAN HOLIDAY

TIGER GIRL

DEVOTION

A BIG FAMILY

THE LAND

THE SAFETY MATCH

COMING

BORIS GODUNOV

Artkino Pictures, Inc.

723 SEVENTH AVE., NEW YORK 19

Telephone: Circle 5-6570

**PEACE
PAMPHLETS**

**WHAT REARMING
GERMANY MEANS**

by Jessica Smith
24 pp., 10¢

**EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

by Elizabeth Moos
64 pages, illustrated. 25¢

CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR

20¢

WE SAW FOR OURSELVES
**Americans report first-hand
impressions of USSR**

100 pp., 25¢

WHERE MINERS ARE HONORED

Report of a Scottish miners' delegation
to the USSR on living and working con-
ditions of Soviet miners.

32 pp., 5¢

**NEGOTIATIONS—THE WAY
TO PEACE**

**The Berlin Conference and
What It Means to You**
by Jessica Smith

64 pp., 25¢, 5 for \$1

For single items, add 3¢ postage and
handling charge, 1¢ more for each
additional item ordered.

Order from:

NEW WORLD REVIEW
23 West 26th St., New York 10

YOURS FREE

We Saw Socialism

A PERSONAL REPORT BY

CHARLOTTE and DYSON CARTER

**If you are among the first 100 to subscribe
or to send in a new subscription for someone**

This 200-page illustrated book is a fast reading exciting account of a trip to the Soviet Union by Mr. and Mrs. Carter, well-known Canadian peace workers. They have described their visit in two volumes, of which this is the second. This volume covers such fascinating aspects of Soviet life as Healing Sick Minds; Motherhood and Careers; Science for Living; Courts, Laws and Slavery; Youth and Morality; and many other phases of Soviet life.

Through the generosity of a reader, Mr. D. I. Todd, we are able to announce that this book can be yours—FREE—if you are among the first 100 to send in a new subscription to New World Review for yourself, or a new subscription for someone else.

Act now to receive this outstanding premium.

\$2 a year

\$3.50 for two years

NEW WORLD REVIEW • 23 W. 26 St. • New York 10, N. Y.

I am enclosing \$. to subscribe to New World Review. I am rushing this to be among the first 100 and be entitled to the free premium "We Saw Socialism."

My Name

Name for whom I am subscribing

Address of subscription

City Zone..... State.....

(Send in or refer to this coupon to be counted among the first 100)