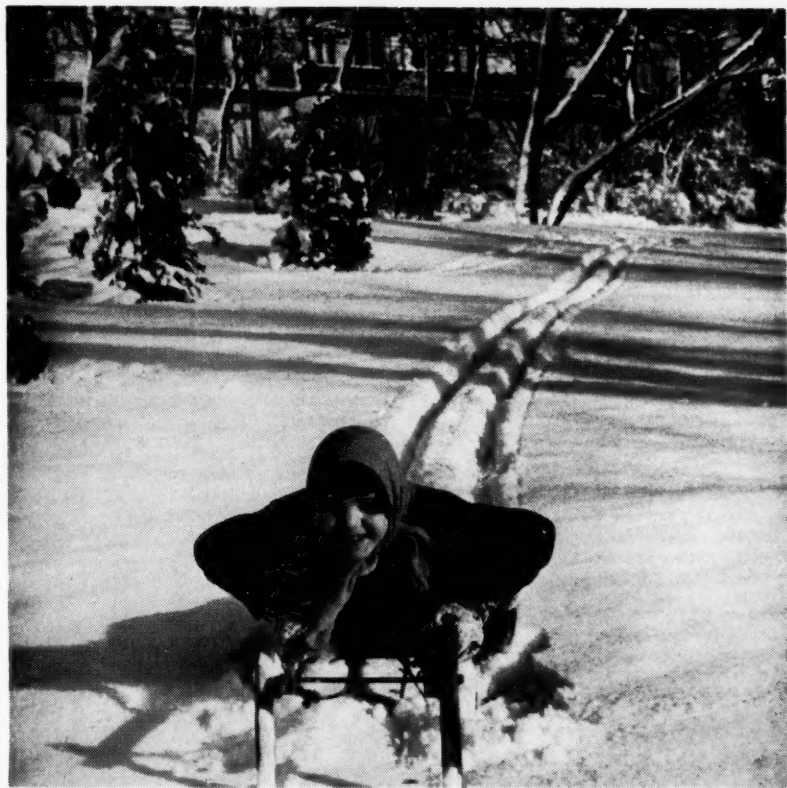


DECEMBER, 1955



Winter fun in Hungary

On the Moscow Express • Peking's New
Feeling • Yugoslavia Today • Meaning
of Geneva • Conversations in Poland

NEW WORLD *Review*

DECEMBER 1955

On the Leningrad-Moscow
Express *Ralph Parker* 3

Peking's New Feeling
Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley 7

Conversations in Poland
Beatrice King 11

Music and Brotherhood
Sidney Finkelstein 15

The USSR Reviews Its Past
Year 18

A Scientist in China
Kathleen Lonsdale 23

China's Growing Industries,
photos 26

UCLA Student Visits the
USSR 28

Who Is Holding-Up
East-West Exchange? 32

Soviet Journalists in Yugo-
slavia
*L. Slepov and
V. Platkovsky* 33

The Second Geneva
Jessica Smith 38

Book Reviews 47

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WE WOULD LIKE to make this Christ-
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NEW WORLD REVIEW

On the Leningrad-Moscow Express

by RALPH PARKER

THERE were four of us in the carriage when the train left Leningrad—two up, two down—but my neighbor in the lower birth slipped out quietly during the night at Bologoye and in the morning we were three, the engineer, the fruit-buyer and I, the foreign journalist.

We were traveling "hard," in one of the new metal coaches with separate compartments, a table and a loudspeaker you can switch on and off. The conductor provides a mattress, linen, blankets, and glasses of steaming tea from an electric samovar. Clean, comfortable, and very cheap.

"I do a lot of traveling," said the fruit-buyer. He was a short, middle-aged man with sharp eyes, a sharp nose and a highly-polished shaven head. Everything about him was shiny, like an apple. "I bought grapes in Moldavia, went to Astrakhan for watermelons, and now I'm on my way to Tbilisi to buy 2,000 tons of apples for Leningrad."

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.

"I travel a lot, too," said the engineer, gray-haired but with a lithe, youthful figure. He wore a gold medal pinned to the right side of his coat. "I've seen Kakhovka, Stalingrad, Zhiguli, the Kama and a few places in Siberia where they're building power-stations this year."

When the train reached Kalinin, others joined us from the corridor—a young sculptor from the Academy of Arts in Leningrad and an Azerbaidzhanian couple on their way back to Baku. The sun was shining brightly—that late October sun which draws the last drops of color from the birch leaves and licks up the puddles. Enjoy me, enjoy me, it calls, the frost is on its way.

And, as the November celebrations were approaching, our talk turned to the things we had seen and experienced during the past year.

"There's a new spirit on the collective farms," the fruit-buyer said. "For one thing there's more money about, now the state's paying more for surpluses. Much more produce coming into local markets from the peasants' own gardens, too. That's the result of cutting the tax."

"Yes. I noticed that in the Ukraine," I put in. But what had struck me most there was the new

sense of self-reliance I found among collective-farm chairmen and their colleagues on the boards of management. I recalled the parting words of farmer Semyon Khasan, 23 years chairman of the Stalin Kolkhoz near Kiev: "Give us five years more and you'll not recognize our village."

Five years! More than enough, Minister of State Farms Ivan Benediktov told us, for the state to get back in wheat and fodder grain its vast investments in the new 50,000 acre farms of the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia. Five years! Another planning period to succeed this current one whose main targets were reached fully six months ahead of schedule.

The engineer chuckled. Rebuilding villages, indeed! He lived and worked among men who were harnessing the Volga and the Dnieper and building a "cascade" of power stations down the gorges of the Irtysh and the Angara. At Kakhovka he had seen a township for tens of thousands of building workers grow beside the new dam from where water will flow to the dry coastal steppe of southern Ukraine.

"Speaking of new villages," said the young woman from Baku. "I had a letter from my sister. She's a trained nurse. Works on a new state farm in the Kulunda Steppe. She went with the first lot of volunteers in March last year.

"There was a Russian nurse too. At first, they lived at one end of the van that served them as the First Aid Station. She sent us a picture. Not a tree in sight—just some tents, a notice board, trucks and tractors and the frames of the new houses. Of course we worried.

"And now I've had this letter," she dug into her bag. "May Day

was something special for us,' she writes: 'We opened our first *street*. Proper ceremony—with a brass band. We had the offices and quarters for the married ready last year, but now everybody is out of tents and vans. Next thing is the club. It should be ready for November 7, and that means we can have proper picture shows and dances next winter.'"

As the young Azerbaidzhanian woman read on my mind went back to our visit to the Altai steppe a year ago. For days we drove in the Russian equivalent of a Landrover over land that man had hitherto no more than scratched. It took us two or three hours hard driving to cover the distance between each new farm center, yet this was only a single patch on the great black and green quilt—black the ploughlands, green the new sown areas—that stretches south of the Urals across Kazakhstan and the Altai region.

Over half a million young people, many of them with technical education in addition to seven or ten years general schooling, have gone as volunteers to this new land. They go trained and prepared for the jobs that await them and are distributed according to the requirements of scientific farming.

Our tour of the Altai brought out most clearly the difference between this internal migration and the pitiful flow of impoverished peasants driven by famine, disaster or the whim of a landlord, that was "migration" during tsarist times. Old Ukrainian peasants working as watchmen in the orchards outside Rubtsovsk or driving carts to the markets told us of the shattered hopes and backbreaking toil that had awaited their fathers in the Altai fifty, sixty years ago after the great

Volga famines. Today the pioneers of the virgin soil are honored creators of a firm agricultural basis to a society where in two generations the population of the industrial towns has been doubled, trebled. And to their farms comes the most up-to-date machinery, the most advanced agricultural science. North Kazakhstan has been covered with a network of new roads and railways; great elevators are being built, and in the new villages and settlements life goes on at a cultural level that no collective farm, however rich, has attained.

The year 1955 has seen a great stride forward in Soviet agriculture.

The engineer drew me out of my reverie. "When I was in Sweden . . ." he was saying, and went on to tell us of the lessons a Soviet delegation of electrical engineers had learned from the Swedes. Sweden, it appears, has built the longest high-voltage transmission line in the world and its engineers were happy to give their Soviet visitors the benefit of their experience; for in the USSR pylons are being erected which will soon carry transmission lines bringing the 400,000 volt current from the new power station on the Volga near Kuibyshev to the Central Russian grid.

When this link is completed, it will mark the first step in connecting two of the three grids that at present supply most of European USSR with electric power. And it will not be long before the completion of the Stalingrad hydroelectric station will enable all three grids to be linked.

But that it not the end of the story. Georgi Malenkov told us at the Indian Embassy one day that the construction of an all-Union system was now a practical possibility. The

great advantage of this, he said, lay in the time factor. While Siberia slept, European Russia worked and vice versa. A central panel could distribute current to supply each peak period as it arose anywhere over the Soviet Union. And the answer, how it could be done most efficiently, lay with the scientists at work in the institute for studying problems of direct current transmission.

But it was the engineer's reference to Sweden that caused me to prick up my ears. This year has seen a remarkably fruitful extension of co-operation between Soviet science and technology and that of other lands of advanced methods. Nikolai Bulgagin's report to the Central Committee last July was the signal for a careful scrutiny of the state of Soviet techniques, and since then, in a spirit of give and take, the most outstanding example of which was provided at the Atoms for Peace Conference in Geneva, Soviet scientists and technicians have been in far closer contact than ever before with their foreign colleagues.

This year has seen a broadening of the cultural horizon in many directions.

Moscow has become a focal point for all curious-minded travelers of good intentions—and for some, too, into whose intentions it is, perhaps, better not to enquire too deeply. Wise people know that, difficult though it has been to drag the world out of the agony of the cold war with its alternating fits of nervous sweat and icy paralysis, it would be still harder to force it back. The anticipatory image of war which, in Jean-Paul Sartre's striking image, draws a cordon of fire between peoples—that "terror" which held the world in its grip—has been replaced

by an anticipation of a true peace.

And the harbingers of that peace came to the Soviet Union as tourists, sportsmen, artists, scientists, sailors, working men and women. . . . It would be invidious to attempt to say who have been the most popular of these heralds. Let it suffice to report that the crowds that filled the streets of Leningrad for Mr. Nehru were matched by those that greeted the men of the visiting British naval flotilla and that Chattaway has his admirers in Moscow as has Bernal. The *London Times*, bless its soul, finds "something unhealthy" in the excitement aroused by British visitors to the Soviet Union. But, on my way back from Leningrad, I found that the strongest impression that remained in my mind after five days of jostling amidst the crowds that greeted Jack Tar was not of the curiosity but of the friendliness of the Russians. And surely The *Times* editorial writer does not think that Anglo-Soviet friendship is a symptom of unhealthiness? Or does he?

As the Cold War wanes the cultural intercourse of the Soviet peo-

ple is growing richer. The field of choice is being extended. Literature counts for much in this country and the appearance of the new magazine *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature) with a print of many tens of thousands, must be considered a major event in the cultural field.

In the theaters of Moscow and Leningrad there is a variety of style to suit many tastes; the sharpest of satire, a revival of the grotesque, as well as the realism of the Maly and the Moscow Art Theater. Stravinsky has returned to the concert program. There is a permanent exhibition of Picasso at the Hermitage. And all this, too, are the fruits of the noticeable relaxation of international tension.

Klin was passed. Now we were running beside the electric line, through suburbs of Moscow, over the Canal, past Sokolniki Park, and then we were in the heart of Moscow, a Moscow that wore that busy, preoccupied look it gets just before the November celebrations. We said goodbye—"Happy journey" and each went his separate way.

MOSCOW EVENING OF AMERICAN CULTURE

AN EVENING of American music and literature was recently held in the Moscow Art Club, attended by a large enthusiastic audience. Readings were given by prominent actors of a selection of Walt Whitman's poems, and a Mark Twain short story.

Music selections included the playing of two of Carlos Salzedo's compositions on the harp, and five Gershwin compositions, among them "Rhapsody in Blue" and the lullaby from the opera "Porgy and Bess," soon to be presented by an American company in Moscow.

Peking's New Feeling

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

THERE has been a new atmosphere in Peking this fall, a new sense of confidence and of the strength of the people as builders of socialism. In previous celebrations of the anniversaries of the establishment of New China, one's thoughts were still occupied, to a great extent, with the magnitude and rapid consolidation of the victory over the backward past.

This year, one could already see the outlines of the tremendous future. Peking itself has a different look now from what it did even last year. The beautiful old city is losing its rural aspect; it is now clearly one of the great world capitals—not only the nerve center of a huge, tremendously busy, rapidly growing nation but also one of the world's focal points of attraction to all those who work for international peace.

That the change should have come in 1955 is understandable. This year has been the decisive one for China's first Five-Year Plan (1953-1957).

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

The daily papers have been announcing the completion of first this project and then that, of new reservoirs, of new railways and highways, of the manufacture of new machines never before made in this country. Everyone in Peking can actually see the forward movement because new buildings are springing up everywhere. By the end of this year, the built up area will be nearly twice what it was at the time of liberation in 1949.

Perhaps the most obvious impact on every-day life in the capital was made by a huge six-story department store on the main shopping street, opened on the eve of National Day, October 1st. Only two months before one could see brickwork and scaffolding behind the boarding that lined the street. Then suddenly there it stood, set back behind a square of trees and flower beds with its well-dressed windows and gleaming fluorescent lighting.

Ten thousand people poured in on the opening day to look at the 20,000 kinds of goods with which it is stocked—nearly all of them made in China. It has fine high ceilings, special flooring, central heating, snack bars and lounges where you can rest. You can travel all round China at

the counters and buy not only industrial products but embroidery from Hunan, lacquer from Fukien, silk umbrellas from Hangchow, hams from Yunnan and a host of other famous specialties. Going in for the first time, people gasped with surprise. "Just think," I heard one woman say, "From the caves of Yenan to this!"

And the best of it was that there had just been a general salary-and-wage raise, so people had extra money in their pockets for toys, musical instruments, photographic equipment and other things not in their ordinary budgets.

Other buildings completed this year in Peking include three colleges, 12 secondary schools and a huge gymnasium. The big, ultra-modern Capital Theater, opened at the beginning of November, has a revolving stage and perfect acoustics which engineers from Democratic Germany came to install, and a huge marble-floored foyer. Among buildings under construction are the Third State Cotton Mill, several hotels, an automobile parts factory, six hospitals with a total of 1,500 beds and a factory for wines.

The annual influx of foreign guests for National Day, who generally stay on for a couple of months and travel all over the country, was bigger this year and more widely representative. There were contingents from Morocco, Tunis, the Sudan, Egypt, Lebanon and the Middle East; from Argentina and Venezuela as well as many other Latin American lands; from England, France, Italy and faraway Iceland and other countries of Europe; and from all the countries of Asia, including Japan and, for the first time, the Philippines.

On September 29, many of them met together at a huge banquet given by China's Premier, Chou En-lai. No less than 2,200 visitors from more than 50 countries, crowding all five banqueting halls of the vast recently enlarged Peking Hotel, toasted world peace and the friendship of the peoples, and virtually mobbed the Premier as he moved from table to table greeting his guests in Chinese, French and English.

One saw among them Pietro Nenni, General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party; D. N. Pritt, Q.C., the great British jurist and President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; members of the Japanese parliament belonging to many parties; members of a song and dance ensemble from Burma sitting near ensembles from Albania, Yugoslavia and Poland. There were artists, scientists, professors, students, trade unionists and farmers. This vast and varied international gathering, as the Premier said, was a reflection of the fact that "more and more people and countries in the world are calling for the relaxation of international tension and demanding peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation."

In honor of the sixth anniversary, factories had been trying to fulfill their monthly quotas ahead of time—and, one after another, the announcements of their success came in.

The vast People's Square was widened and paved for the parade, red slogan towers and white flag poles erected and Tienanmen (the Gate of Heavenly Peace) which is the reviewing stand, newly painted.

On September 30, there was a scene never to be forgotten as chil-

dren from all the nurseries in the city poured into the square by bus to see the decorations. They wore paper hats, carried flags and waved small handkerchiefs. That night my three-year-old daughter ran to meet me in great excitement: "Mama, I went to Tienanmen today. I shouted 'Long live Mao Tse-tung.' Mao Tse-tung wasn't there but I saw his picture. He will be there tomorrow upstairs" (meaning the rostrum). And she pranced away full of joy and happiness.

The parade itself was the most exciting, the most colorful and the most jubilant I have ever witnessed. Beside Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the heads of government on the rostrum were the ten newly appointed marshals in ultramarine uniforms. The decorations they wore told the whole story of China's epic struggle—they were the freshly instituted orders awarded for the Long March, the Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation.

The military parade which came first drew thunderous applause as each unit passed in perfect formation and with absolute rhythm of step. China now has a first-class, modern army; and the new uniforms with their badges of rank are an outward sign of this. Up to now, all uniforms have been the same, with no markings; it has been impossible to tell a general from a private soldier. This was a leftover from the days of guerrilla war when officers and men fought together and knew each other personally; when it was better not to identify the commander with special insignia. In the complex, specialized military organizations of today this is unnecessarily confusing, hence the change.

Marshal Peng Teh-huai, Minister

of Defense, in his order of the day emphasized the concern of the Chinese people for the preservation of world peace, and referred with satisfaction to the progress made in this regard on the international scene. He said that China had on many occasions "stated its willingness to remove, through the holding of direct talks with the United States, the tension in the Taiwan [Formosa] area." He reiterated China's determination to free Taiwan and thus complete the liberation of the national territory; and stressed that the task of the army is to defend the country's independence, security and socialist construction.

The huge civilian parade which followed was remarkable for contingents and floats which showed the great increase in the number of factories, of workers, and of the variety of goods produced in the capital. Conspicuous among the new products was a model of the harvesting combine of the Soviet Stalin-6 type produced by the Peking Agricultural Machinery Plant—an important development for the mechanization of Chinese agriculture. The clothes of the paraders were gayer, of better quality than previously adding to the general atmosphere of growing prosperity. School children and teen-agers not only released a cloud of doves and multi-colored balloons, but also sent hundreds of little model airplanes soaring into the sky.

The celebration ended on a high note when the cultural troupes came into the square with twelve pairs of "lions" tossing their heads and shaking their manes in the movements of the popular lion dance; followed by dragons rearing their heads and diving into a sea of blue waves (made up of fluttering flags) and a group

of acrobatic cyclists. Then at the close the men and women athletes, in much greater numbers and much better trim than ever before—showing the truly mass character that sports are now assuming in the New China.

At the end of the parade Chairman Mao walked the length of the rostrum gallery to greet those on the stands and in the square below. People cheered, laughed, cried and waved their hats and scarves. I saw a Japanese woman standing near members of the Kabuki (Japanese traditional theater) company which had come to perform in Peking. She had been alternately waving her kimono sleeve in an ecstasy of joy and then using it to brush away the tears from her eyes, all through the parade. The China that the Japanese militarists had tried in vain to enslave is now a beacon of hope for the Japanese people.

Many people felt sorry that Americans who had been invited for the big Chinese celebration of the centenary of the publication of Walt

Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" were not able to come. Among those asked were Carl Sandburg and Paul Robeson, Pearl Buck and Howard Fast.

But things are different from what they were. Who would have thought, a year ago, of an all-party French parliamentary group in Peking, yet this year they arrived—in the wake of Italian public leaders and businessmen including Christian Democrats, of Egyptian ministers, of personalities from West Germany and of Japanese politicians. None of these countries, as yet, have diplomatic relations with the New China, but the interest of the peoples in good relations and trade, in knowing instead of fighting each other, is making its force felt in all quarters.

So it will not be too long, we all feel here, before Americans of good will, whatever their political views, will be coming too—to see, to understand, and to rejoice as all decent folk must in the rebirth of one-fourth of the world's population under the banner of peace, prosperity and human welfare.

RUSSIAN SCIENTIST ON NEW ANTIBIOTIC

A UNITED PRESS dispatch from London, November 11, reported "a new antibiotic claimed to be ten times more effective than penicillin was described in the British Medical Journal today by a Russian scientist."

The author of the article referred to was Dr. G. F. Gause, deputy director of the Institute for Antibiotic Research of Medical Sciences in Moscow. He wrote that in tests during the last three years the new substance, albomycin, had:

Proved effective in treatment of pneumonia, especially in young children; in the septic complications of dysentery and measles, and in meningitis, due to penicillin resistant pneumococci.

Conversations in Poland

by BEATRICE KING

IT WAS so easy. It only needed for our foreign speech to be heard or for me to say my few words in obvious foreign ungrammatical Polish. There was an immediate response, uninhibited, unrestrained. I have generally found people friendly whether in east or west Europe. Even in Hitler Germany people talked, though in a lowered voice, accompanied by repeated glances over the shoulder. But here, in Poland, this autumn, the readiness of everyone to talk to a foreigner surpassed anything I have experienced.

I am fortunate that with a knowledge of Russian, French and German, and a smattering of Polish I needed no interpreter for casual conversations, and not often for the formal visits either.

It began in the shops where I acted as "interpreter" for two members of our delegation. The shop assistants were too busy to talk much. The crowds of customers, housewives, work people, grandfathers and grand-

mothers doing the family shopping all demanded attention. But shoppers were not too busy to talk. "Oh yes, food and goods were much more plentiful this year and better too. But we still haven't enough of manufactured goods. Prices high? Yes, they are, but we can afford to buy. Yes, most of our income goes on food. We pay very little for rent, at most 5 per cent of the basic income. And education and other social services are free—non-contributory. We'd like better and cheaper materials for clothes, and more household goods." "It's the fault of the bureaucrats." "Not so much. It's rebuilding all that Hitler destroyed."

"We haven't enough shops—that means queues and it's a great waste of time." "Isn't this hard on the women who are working and haven't got relations to do their shopping?" "Yes it is, but in big factories they have stores where the women leave their order and collect the goods on the way home, at wholesale price, too."

"A shortage of meat, butter, etc.? Well, some of us rarely get it, and we are annoyed. Who does get it? Well, the peasants now eat much of it themselves. In the old days they couldn't afford it." "Yes, but they

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, is known to our readers for her articles on Soviet education. This article is based on a recent trip to Poland

might think about us in the towns a little more."

In the train from Warsaw to Gdansk, I chummed up with an elegant, petite Polish woman, going on holiday with her son. Any idea that people might even hesitate to criticize was blown skyhigh by her. Her father had been immensely wealthy. "It's very sad. Before, he always ordered people about, now he has to take orders, and from former workers too. Yes, he had a good job. but he has to take orders. His business has been taken over. His wealth has gone. He is not happy. He's too old to change." She? "Well, her husband had taught her to cook, to clean. It was still strange to have to soil her hands." She missed beautiful clothes. She dreamt of going to Italy, chiefly to buy twenty woollen sweaters. Of course she accepted the new regime. Her three-year-old son would certainly benefit. "But one couldn't help missing things, could one?"

Going up and coming down in the funicular at Zakopane, in the High Tatra mountains, one talked to miners, to textile workers from Lodz, to railwaymen. They were full of eager questions about England, wages, the availability and the quality of goods, the price of one's dress, everything interested them. "Were they content?" "Yes and no. Yes, not only because there was more than full employment, but the fear of unemployment had gone for ever. They had social services undreamed of before—high school and university for their children. They had a real say in running their plants. No, because things were still short and the quality wasn't good enough. There were still too many bureaucrats. But that's only a matter of

time," chimed in one textile worker.

In Zakopane too I met a number of teachers. "Oh, yes, we're not as well paid as we should be, though there is no comparison with the shocking pre-war salaries and conditions. Our classes today are much too big, between forty and fifty. It makes it hard for teachers, but we'd rather do that and have all the children at school. And it's wonderful to be as free as we are and to have such friendliness and cooperation among the staff. Yes, we sometimes suffer from inspectors, but we hope to educate them."

One evening, at a very mixed party, a youngish professor of a provincial university, who spoke very good English, sat down by my side and began with the usual questions about England. This was soon followed by a lament for the old days. "For intellectuals life is hard. The pleasant amenities, the endless discussions of the latest in the arts, philosophy or literature are things of the past. There is little time for cherishing one's own individuality. One has to teach to fit in with a plan. One has to consider the many instead of the select few. We suffer from too many regulations."

"Would you say," said I at the end of this lament, "that the majority of people in Poland would like to return to the old regime?"

He considered for a minute or two, then answered emphatically, if a little regretfully, "No, they would not. They have got used to the regime, and they believe its promises of betterment."

That was general. Even the English lecturer of another university who told me how easy it was to get ten times as many zloty for my English pound as the official rate, didn't

think a return to the old regime was likely or worth trying for. Even the important official from the Ministry of Technical Education, was not for a return.

It began with "Can people own a house in England?" According to him, his large house had been confiscated and he and his wife were living in cramped quarters. In actual fact he had handed the house over to the municipality because the low rents prevailing, and that he got from tenants, were not sufficient to pay for repairs. The practice of building a house for oneself, in the suburbs or in the country, receives all encouragement.

His salary of 1200 zloty a month he considered very inadequate—in truth it did not allow for luxuries so his wife worked as well. "For the mass of the people, the workers and peasants, life is much better. For us, intellectuals, life is much harder than it was."

"What sort of an intellectual is he!" said my friend who is a writer. "Our intellectuals, writers, artists, musicians, ballet dancers, scientists, are cherished as in no other country. I earn 5,000 zloty a month, and I'm not unique. And we are not interfered with if we are not enemies. Of course we support our government in its socialist aims and in our way we are helping to realize them. But it is in *our* way. They can't tell us *how* to write or paint. That's our business. And we experiment when we want to. Do we criticize the authorities? Go to the Sirena and see."

I went to the Sirena, the satirical theater. It was true. Nobody and nothing escaped their biting wit, and the audience loved it.

One of my very enjoyable talks

was with two boys at the old established Art and Craft School in Zakopane. Through the holiday feeling at this health resort, the arrangements for the visit lacked the usual efficiency. We were not expected when we arrived and there was no one to receive us.

But on the veranda we became acquainted with some of the students. Two of them were German-speaking; moved east from the western regions. From them I learned all about the school as well as about themselves. They were both Catholics from religious families. They had regular religious instruction, officially, going to the church for it in school groups. They were both boarders and receiving stipends. Their parents could not have afforded the fees. When they finish at 18, in another two and three years, they hope to go on to the Academy of Art in Warsaw. Things at home were difficult "but mother was beginning to get used to the new life." Both fathers died in the war. The traces from living under Hitler had not yet disappeared from their faces or their bearing.

When we finally did go through the workshops we noticed a preponderance of religious sculpture, some very beautiful indeed, in wood.

Standing on the sidewalk one Sunday, watching the national harvest festival celebration, I exploited being a foreign visitor to get a front view, which started a conversation with two sister-tutors in a college for nurses. One of them spoke some French and translated for the other. For both of them the difficulties of life, which they recognized, were of minor importance. They looked forward, not backward, and the prospect was good. I had a warm invi-

tation to visit the college, which unfortunately I could not accept owing to lack of time.

These are some of the casual meetings. At the more formal meetings, often arranged at an hour's notice, the formality evaporated after the first five minutes, and one immediately felt at ease. There was always a frank acknowledgement of shortcomings, much questioning about how it was done in England, hoping always to profit from our experience.

Pervading everything and everywhere was a genuine optimism and confidence in the future. Had they not rebuilt Warsaw in five years? Gdansk in less than that? Built Nova Huta, a whole new industrial city planned for the people's well-being, spiritual as well as material? Had they not succeeded in having all children of school age in school? Had they not succeeded in abolishing hunger for ever?

They believed they had good grounds for optimism and confidence.

INTERNATIONAL VIOLIN COMPETITION

A WORLD-WIDE competition for violin works with piano accompaniment has been announced by the Union of Polish Composers in conjunction with plans being made for the Third Henryk Wieniawski International Violin Competition to be held in Warsaw in December, 1957.

Prizes totalling 10,000 zlotys (\$2500) are to be awarded for the three best works chosen by a jury made up of prominent Polish and foreign violinists and composers.

In making the announcement the Composers' Union and the organizing committee for the Wieniawski Competition said that the closing date for entering compositions is March 31, 1956. Only works hitherto unpublished and not given a public performance are to be accepted for consideration.

The last Wieniawski international contest for young violinists was held in Poznan in 1952. It was won by Igor Oistrakh, son of the world-famous Soviet violinist, David Oistrakh. Poland's Wanda Wilkomirska took the second prize.

A year-long Mozart Festival to begin next January in honor of the bicentennial of the composer's birth will be a central feature of Polish musical life during 1956. A series of Mozart concerts and operas are to be given by Poland's leading symphonic, opera and chamber groups. Plans include the publication of works about the composer as well as a nationwide competition in the schools for the best performances of his music.

Music and Brotherhood

**Some reflections on the concert visit
of the great Soviet pianist Emil Gilels**

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

THIS is being written about three weeks after the concert at Carnegie Hall in New York, where the Soviet pianist, Emil Gilels, performed the Beethoven Third Piano Concerto and Rachmaninoff Third Piano Concerto along with the Symphony of the Air, conducted by Victor Alessandro. The music continues to sound in my ears. And it is not only the music of Beethoven and Rachmaninoff; although its greatness was done full justice to by the splendors which Gilels drew from the piano. It is also the music made by the audience; the hush when the Beethoven Concerto started; the applause which could not be repressed while the last chords of the first movement were still sounding; the thunders of hand clapping at the end; the excitement and laughter during the intermission, with knowing and happy smiles exchanged among total strangers; the pandemonium that broke out at the close of the concert, with foot stamping,

cheers and whistles. Not a person seemed to be moving from the packed hall. The first thing they were saying, without words but unmistakable, was, "Please, Mr. Gilels, you cannot leave us, you must play some more." And so he did, tossing off a Chopin *Fantasia Impromptu* that was a miracle of singing melody and disembodied loveliness of sound, and then the thistle-down Mendelssohn *E minor Scherzo*.

The people speak, and it is thrilling to hear. The tones are not in musical pitch, but the feelings are those which a Beethoven struggled to capture in the "Ode to Joy" of his Ninth Symphony. For what the people say when they are aroused is the most profound message that a work of art or an artistic event can contain. It is that of the brotherhood of peoples, no matter how different and distant their nations; of the common desire of the masses of people for peaceful and friendly relations; of their joy at seeing a historic step in friendly world relations taking place in their presence, knowing that every step in this direction means that life will be better for themselves and their children.

Of course, had Emil Gilels not

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN'S books include "Art and Society," "Jazz: A People's Music," "How Music Expresses Ideas," and "Realism in Art."

played so magnificently, the people would not have answered as they did. For the playing of the Beethoven and Rachmaninoff music spoke with great eloquence. What it said was that regardless of all of our different views on this and that, on politics, social systems, economics and history, we have a common love for the great heritage of music, as an expression of humanity's growth and steps to freedom. Or, put it another way, Gilels was saying, I know that Beethoven was born in the Rhineland and lived in Vienna, but he is also "one of ours," just as he is "one of yours." and Rachmaninoff who was born in Russia and left it, is also "one of ours," just as he is "one of yours."

And this inevitably brings up the counter-thought in people's minds. It is that this precious heritage which can make all of us richer human beings, is far from unassailable. In fact there are brutal and malignant forces today trying to tear it down, for fear it down they must to brutalize people themselves and bring on the havoc of war. But together, we can find the way to conquer these forces.

What sort of pianist is Gilels? Some people were heard, while walking out of Carnegie Hall, saying "the greatest pianist in the world." It is an understandable statement for an inspired performance of a masterpiece has a tendency to erase all other performances out of mind. No doubt, however, as Gilels comes here again and becomes a familiar figure, there will be reservations made about this performance or that, and critics will be reminded that Pianist X has things to say about Mozart or Schumann that are different from Gilels, and also com-

mendable, and so does the Pianist Y.

What made Gilels' playing so exciting was first of all that it evoked memories of the giants of the keyboard of an older generation, of a Hoffmann, Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Friedmann, Rosenthal. Such playing is rarely heard in the West these days. It is not a matter of simply sheer speed and strength. There are always plenty of fleet-fingered and hammer-handed pianists. It is a matter of producing the most glowing tone colors, of making the piano responsive to every subtlety and shading of mood, so that the piano seems to be an extension not only of the fingers but of the human voice. But at the same time Gilels is not of that old school. In its time it was an expression, through style of performance, of a musical high romanticism, and sometimes suffered from excesses of personal temperament, or from a kind of miniaturist, precious passage by precious passage approach to a musical work.

In Gilels' playing, this romantic feeling rises over a base of a solid study of different historical musical styles, and a sense of a classical line. Thus the Beethoven Concerto did not proceed with firm, unflagging rhythmic drive to the goal of the last notes. The music seemed to ebb and flow, to go through the most evanescent changes of mood to be always singing with a human voice. And yet there was always the sense of the binding architecture, of the effect that the whole work must make. Even more of a revelation to me was the performance of the Rachmaninoff Concerto, the music of which can so easily be lost in a display of pianistic conquest over technical difficulties. Gilels pene-

trated to its lyrical heart, and I have never heard it done that way.

What sort of person is Gilels? I had the good fortune of spending an hour with him, with me at first trying to put my broken German to use, and then resorting to the interpreter. I am afraid that the questions I had in mind evaporated as I sat down, and he told me that he was eager for writings on music by Americans to be reprinted in the magazine *Sovietskaya Musica*, of which he is a member of the advisory board. He asked about the American schools of music, and regretted that while he had visited some, he could not get to see more of them, especially the "little" schools as well as the big conservatories. He himself is a teacher and musical educator, a role which he regards easily as important as that of a concert pianist.

We discussed American piano music, and he confessed that while he was familiar with some American works, he was "afraid" to perform them on his first tour, wanting first to make sure that he had really mastered their style. He asked how American composers live, get to-

gether, and discuss creative music and problems of composition. A new dimension appeared of Gilels' visit to the United States. I began to see that, for all the acclaim in the press of Gilels' pianistic attainments, this is somewhat of a meagre and narrow view to take of the possibilities of fruitful interchange that an era of peace is opening up.

Certainly other Soviet musicians are due to perform here, and United States musicians will be going to the Soviet Union. But there is far more to musical life than the concert hall.

There can be exchange discussions of musical education, composition, history and criticism. Two great countries, both of which have an extremely rich musical life, with many differences but with a common tie of mutual love for the great heritage of music, can have much to teach each other. And what Gilels' warm-hearted concerts indicated, together with the way in which they touched the hearts of audiences, is that we will find ourselves seeing eye to eye on a great number of matters, far more than some hysterical screamers think.

DAVID OISTRAKH WINS ACCLAIM HERE

AS WE go to press a second Soviet musician has won unanimous acclaim from the New York critics. David Oistrakh in two recitals in Carnegie hall, prior to a concert tour to other American cities, won thunderous ovations from the audiences that packed the house and even filled the stage.

"He quickly proved that he belongs with the best anywhere," said Howard Taubman, of the *New York Times*. And Louis Biancolli of the *New York World-Telegram* wrote "the more Mr. Oistrakh played the more it was obvious to everyone that this was a master of masters—a violinist of magnificent gifts, a virtuoso of the first order, and a poet and artist to his fingertips."

In our next issue we shall have a review of Oistrakh's recitals by Sidney Finkelstein.

The USSR Reviews Its Past Year

High Spots in Kaganovich's Anniversary Address

EACH YEAR the anniversary of the Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917, is celebrated by a gala meeting of the Moscow Soviet on the eve of the national holiday, at which one of the Soviet leaders sums up the road traversed since that date in internal and foreign affairs, and the road ahead. The address this November 6, marking the 38th such anniversary, was made by Lazar M. Kaganovich, a First Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. High spots of the address follow. We give a somewhat fuller version than was made available by the *New York Times*.

MR. KAGANOVICH opened his address with the declaration that there has been no event in history more important for the fate of mankind than the October Revolution, which differed from all previous revolutions in that it did not merely replace one form of exploitation by another, but eliminated all exploitation by the ending of private ownership of the means of production. He declared:

The 38-year-long experience of the multi-million Soviet people has proved in practice the advantages of socialist ownership over capitalist ownership, which has historically outlived its span of life.

The speaker noted that in working out a scientifically based plan for the building of a communist society,

Lenin had given prime importance to the electrification of the country, through which he had envisaged:

... the creation of a material base for communism, the development of large-scale, and above all, heavy industry, on the basis of advanced technology and high productivity of labor. With this was connected Lenin's plan for the cooperation of millions of small farm holdings and the carrying out of the cultural revolution. After the death of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, which he created, under the leadership of his true comrade-in-arms, the great Stalin, successfully carried out Lenin's plan.

Kaganovich illustrated with the following facts:

Formerly one of the last countries in electric power production, the

USSR now holds second place in the world. In the fifth 5-year plan, electric power increased 84 per cent. Since its inception the USSR has built and put into operation 300 large and medium electric power stations, including 90 hydroelectric stations. The Kuibyshev hydroelectric station, to begin operation this year, will alone produce 11,400,000,000 kilowatt hours of electric power, six times more than was produced in all pre-revolutionary Russia. Electrification will be developed on a still larger scale in the future.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan for industrial production has been completed ahead of schedule. The level of industrial production in 1955 will reach 184 per cent as compared with 1950, 318 per cent as compared with 1940; output of means of production amounts to 189 per cent as compared with 1950, means of consumption, 176 per cent.

Nevertheless, Kaganovich emphasized "the successes achieved cannot satisfy us," and shortcomings had to be revealed in order to overcome them more quickly. Important decisions had already been taken to correct shortcomings in both agriculture and industry. He continued:

Our shortcomings are many. They consist first of all in slowness to master and introduce new machinery and technological processes, failure to utilize fully our capacity reserves, lack of rhythm in work, defects in the distribution of productive forces. There are serious shortcomings in the quality of industrial production.

The speaker noted that it was especially necessary to increase the output of modern technical equipment for the mechanization of heavier processes to lighten human

labor and make it more productive:

Only by rapid and extensive introduction of the most up-to-date achievements of domestic and foreign science and technique shall we be able to reach a higher labor productivity, compared with capitalism, which is indispensable for the victory of communism. Labor productivity in our country has doubled in comparison with 1940 and increased 44 per cent as against 1950. But we have not utilized all our resources for increasing it.

In the field of railroad, sea, river and automobile transport, Kaganovich said there had been considerable growth during the five-year plan, which had been fulfilled in this sphere. Railroad freight turnover in 1955 was 60 per cent above 1954, but there were still serious shortcomings and technical standards were lagging behind rapidly growing demands, a situation which must be corrected in the near future.

Turning to agriculture, Kaganovich said new victories had been achieved, and important Party decisions for its improvement were already having their effect.

The sown area has increased by 27 per cent over 1950, including the opening up of 30,000,000 hectares (a hectare is 2.47 acres) of virgin land. The area sown to corn is four times that of 1954. Livestock is increasing. He noted that corn has a great future in the USSR, and was especially important for the development of animal husbandry.

In 1955, despite unfavorable climatic conditions, especially in Kazakhstan, the harvest as a whole was higher than the previous year. By November 1, 129,000,000 poods of grain more than last year was harvested. The speaker continued:

However, we are not satisfied with these achievements, because the present level of agriculture does not satisfy the growing requirements for food and raw materials necessary for expanding production of textiles, footwear and other consumers' goods. There remain serious shortcomings in the production and usage of agricultural machinery, in the economic organization of labor, and above all in the struggle for high crop yields. It is necessary to exert all our energies to liquidate these defects. We must first of all raise the yields of grain and technical crops, insure an increase in livestock and improve the application of technique. This will guarantee a rise in the well-being of the collective farmers and meet the growing needs of the country for raw materials and food. We believe that our powerful collective farm system is up to this task.

Stressing the concern of the Party and the Government for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people, Kaganovich said that along with the increase in purchasing power of the population and price reductions, goods turnover had increased and the five-year plan for retail sale had been fulfilled in four years, although trade organizations were not yet meeting consumers' needs as well as they should.

In 1955 real wages of workers and employees in industry have increased by 39 per cent over 1950 and by 91 per cent over 1940, and the income of peasants was 50 per cent higher this year than in 1950, and 122 per cent above 1940.

Government appropriations for social and cultural needs—including free education and stipends, free medical service and sanitarium care, payment for vacations, etc.—have

increased three and a half times since 1940. Kaganovich declared:

The Party and the Government do not close their eyes to the fact that in all these questions we have not yet reached the necessary level, i.e. the maximum satisfaction of the material requirements of the Soviet people. But with every year we move forward and the main thing is that within our system are contained all the possibilities for the uninterrupted growth of the material well-being of the people. These possibilities must be transformed into actuality.

The well-being of the people, Kaganovich declared, was related particularly to the housing question. During the five-year plan 150,000,000 square meters of new housing space had been provided. Yet the housing situation was still unsatisfactory and therefore improvement of housing construction was one of the most important tasks in the next Plan.

The network of schools and the number of students in middle and higher institutions continues to grow. The art and literature of the Soviet Union are flourishing, said the speaker, and "are the brightest expression of the general growth of the culture of the people."

With the coming Sixth Five-Year Plan, the government faces new tasks in the administration of the government economy, requiring an improvement of the work of the government apparatus:

Constant, uninterrupted ties with the people, the widest masses of the workers, their participation in the running of the government, is the most important means of improving the government apparatus. In this the trade unions play a great role and must play a still greater one.

as well as the women, who occupy such an important place in our construction work, and our glorious youth, who have not known capitalism in our country, but know very well how to build socialism successfully.

Speaking of the importance of close ties with all the countries in the socialist camp, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty from the point of view of competition with the countries of the capitalist camp, the Deputy Prime Minister ended this section of his speech:

We are convinced that in the competition of the two systems, victory will be on the side of the more progressive system of socialist economy.

In the next section, Kaganovich gave comparative examples of industrial growth in the socialist and capitalist world. He declared that the index of industrial production in the capitalist world in 1954 was 176, taking 100 as the level for 1929, while in the USSR the index of industrial production for 1954 as against 1929 was 1785—an increase of almost 18-fold. He continued:

The average annual rate of growth of industrial production in the Soviet Union for those years was more than five times greater than the rate for the same period in the capitalist world. Although it is well known that out of 38 years our growth has taken place in only 20, since 18 years were taken up by the wars thrust upon us and the subsequent reconstruction. We know that the Soviet Union occupies as yet second place in the total volume of industrial production following the United States, that in many respects we lag behind the United States, but

we are convinced that with our present rate of growth and the elimination of many shortcomings we shall fulfill the bequest of Lenin—to overtake and outstrip them in economic respects, that is in production per person. The Soviet socialist economy develops according to plan uninterruptedly and without crises without unemployment. The United States is rich, it has a powerful industry, but a capitalist economy develops according to its own laws with interruptions and crises.

Kaganovich declared that the growth of industrial production in the capitalist countries since World War II could be explained chiefly through the militarization of their economy and an arms race unprecedented in peace time; that the total sum of military expenditures of the NATO countries had grown from \$18,500,000,000 in 1949 to \$65,000,000,000 in 1953, whereas before World War II such expenditures had amounted to only \$3,400,000,000. He said that imperialist circles continued to seek a way out of their difficulties by the building up of military blocs and alliances around the world.

The speaker then listed the most important steps for the easing of international tensions that the Soviet Government and the Governments of the People's Democracies have taken in the past year alone:

The Soviet proposals of May 10 on reducing armaments, banning atomic weapons, and removing the threat of war; the restoration of friendly relations with People's Yugoslavia; conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty; the visits to the USSR of Premiers Nehru and U Nu and the strengthening of relations between the USSR and India and Burma; conclusion of the treaty on development of friendly

relations with the German Democratic Republic and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic; extension for another twenty years of the treaty with Finland; withdrawal of Soviet troops from Port Arthur and the liquidation of the Soviet naval base at Porkkala; reduction of the Soviet army by 640,000 men.

Mr. Kaganovich then declared:

We can say today that the forces of peace have increased and that the force of the peoples is a decisive force. And the peoples, including those of the imperialist countries, do not wish to perish or suffer in the interests of militarism. That is why the more reasonable part of the bourgeoisie, feeling that their policy is provoking more and more resistance among the people, has sought a certain relaxation of international tension.

Kaganovich said that while previously the Western powers had not taken serious steps for the easing of international tensions, "Today we regard with satisfaction the active and beneficial participation of the heads of governments of the United States, Great Britain and France together with the Soviet Union at the Conference of the Four Powers at Geneva in July in this year." He spoke of the importance attributed by the Soviet Union to the question of collective security at the Foreign Ministers Conference at Geneva, and of finding the way to avert a new war and safeguarding the security of all Europe, and expressed the support of the Soviet Government for the restoration of the unity of Germany as a peace-loving, democratic country. He stressed the stand of the Soviet

Government for arms reduction and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

Kaganovich hailed the Bandung Conference of Asian and African Nations as an important step in the national-liberation movement and for the consolidation of peace and expressed confidence that the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, Burma and Afghanistan would assist in further strengthening the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of those countries and of the entire East.

In the final section of his speech Kaganovich declared that the development of international relations in 1955 had shown that the Soviet policy directed toward solving differences between states by way of negotiations and peaceful coexistence had fully justified itself, and that every possibility exists for the cessation of the cold war and the establishment of lasting, firm and peaceful relations. He continued:

No one will ever be able to break the close bonds linking the Soviet people with the broad people's masses, with the working class of all the countries of the world.

This does not, of course, mean that our state, created by the October Revolution, interferes in the domestic affairs of other states. The propagandists of such statements should know that our great teacher Lenin said on the subject of the export of revolution: "There are people who believe that revolution can be born by order in a foreign country. These people are either lunatics or provocateurs . . ."

Revolutionary ideas know no frontiers. They travel through the world without visas or fingerprints.

If the nineteenth century was the century of capitalism, the twentieth century is the century of the triumph of socialism and communism.

A Scientist in China

by KATHLEEN LONSDALE

Many of our readers will undoubtedly recall the article written for us by Kathleen Lonsdale, distinguished British scientist and a prominent Friend, on her trip to the Soviet Union. We are sure that our readers will now share our pleasure in reading this eye-witness account of her trip to China as reported in *The Friend*, publication of the Quakers in England.

TWICE I had been invited to join a delegation to China, but each time I had had to refuse. Nevertheless I was anxious to go: partly to attempt to improve scientific relations, partly to see for myself what was happening in China, particularly in universities, scientific research institutes and in religious circles; and partly to contribute my mite to international understanding and reconciliation generally. When, therefore, I heard that a "Goodwill Mission to China" was leaving in August and returning in mid-September—a time that would suit me admirably—I shamelessly gate-crashed, and asked if I could go too; and go I did.

I was the only scientist, but not the only Friend on the Mission, which had been invited by Mr. Kuo Mo-jo. Phoebe Cusden, formerly Mayor of Reading, and International Vice-Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Free-

dom, came too; but shortly after reaching Peking our party divided into two. She went with one group, I with the other. Our group visited Shenyang, Fushun and Changchun, in Manchuria, then back to Tientsin, Nanking and Shanghai. There I left them to fly back to Peking and thence home via Siberia, Moscow, Prague and Paris. Part of the journey was by transport aircraft, but most of our traveling and accommodation was quite luxurious.

We were met by representatives of the China Peace Committee, which is the body responsible for providing interpreters, arranging transport and complying with whatever requests visitors may make as to program or interviews. I had a long list of the names of scientists whom I wanted, if possible, to meet; and I think I did, in fact, meet most of them and many more besides. Some of these meetings were really moving: a

young Chinese physicist, whom I did not remember, assured me that I had helped him with his doctorate thesis in Chicago in 1947; another showed me a photograph of myself taken when he was a student and I was lecturing in Dublin in 1943; a crystallographer in Manchuria, whom I had last met in England in 1939, shook my hand with both his until I thought my arm would come off; many charged me with messages of all kinds for their British scientific friends.

I remember especially the Professor of Chemistry, now President of his University, who, when I spoke of the indignities that China had suffered throughout a century's contact with Western nations, and when I asked if there were much resentment on this account, said thoughtfully:

"No., I don't think so. Why should we hate? We try not even to hate the Japanese, although we have suffered more from them than from anyone. But if we are to have peace we must be friendly to everyone."

I did not meet quite this same spirit in general in regard to the Far Eastern policy of the United States; but I did not attempt to see any political leaders, as by this time I had heard that Friends had accepted the invitation that had arrived just before I left England, and I knew that this would be one of their tasks.

I did meet, both privately and publicly, a good many religious leaders; I worshipped in a Friends Church (pastoral) in Nanking and in a Friends Meeting in Shanghai; and Chinese Friends visited me in my hotel in Peking and in Shanghai. There are no Friends, I think, in Manchuria, but I visited a Presbyterian Church which had on its walls illustrated texts in Chinese and Eng-

lish, where I was given a Bible and a New Testament in Chinese. I asked how many of these had been sold or distributed in the last six years, and Dr. Y. T. Wu showed me the detailed figures. The biggest sales were in 1950 and 1951, but altogether nearly 3,300,000 Bibles, or parts of Bibles, have been sold, and a new printing is to be made next year.

Before leaving China on September 9, I agreed to be interviewed by a reporter of the *Kwangming Daily*, a newspaper of considerable influence, run by the non-Communist political parties and read by many thinking people. The questions were good ones: "What did I think of the results of the Four-Power Conference?" "What was my opinion about the prospects of disarmament?" "How could cultural relationships between our countries be improved?" "Would I care to comment on the position of the Churches in China?" And, finally—and inevitably—"What were my impressions of the New China?"

How shall I answer? Conditions of overcrowding, in mud huts in town and country, that have to be seen to be believed; combined with a dignity and a gaiety that are startling. Those may not be new; but if not, then they are still there. We saw many blocks of new flats and rows of new houses, both at close quarters and from the air; but to rehouse nearly 600 million people decently is a pretty stupendous task.

Babies, babies everywhere, but no flies. China's population is increasing at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. Unless this slows up, the population will be doubled, at least, by the end of this century. Only one Deputy seems to be seriously worried about this. But information about family planning is available to parents who

ask for it. All the same, the children are adorable. And a speech that I made in a huge Children's Cinema in Tientsin was applauded with a vigor that I have never experienced before. One of the tiny mites in the front row was so deafened by the noise that she held her hands over her ears; but then she could not bear not to clap with the rest, so she clapped her ears.

The complete absence of flies and blue-bottles is amazing. But even more surprising, after what I had heard of the bargaining in the Old China, was the fact that everything in shops, and on the stalls in the market, has a ticket with a plainly marked price, and that a receipt is given for the very smallest purchase. They might almost be early Friends! This campaign for honesty in shop-keeping was part of the general campaign against corruption, and it certainly seems to have succeeded.

China is determined to be industrialized and not to be too long about it. There is plenty of coal in the Northeast: open-cast and deep mines, with seams of a depth and thickness that made the ex-miners on our delegation gasp. But industry needs equipment and technicians. An industrialized country needs education, teachers, scientists, roads, railways. China has too much water in some places—the sight of the flood areas from the air is awe-inspiring—too little in others. Water-conservancy is one of the main subjects in the new universities of technology.

In every university I heard the same story: a rapidly increasing stream of science students; a determined attempt—sometimes successful, sometimes not—not to lower standards, even temporarily; and the difficulties of getting scientific apparatus—almost all that I saw had

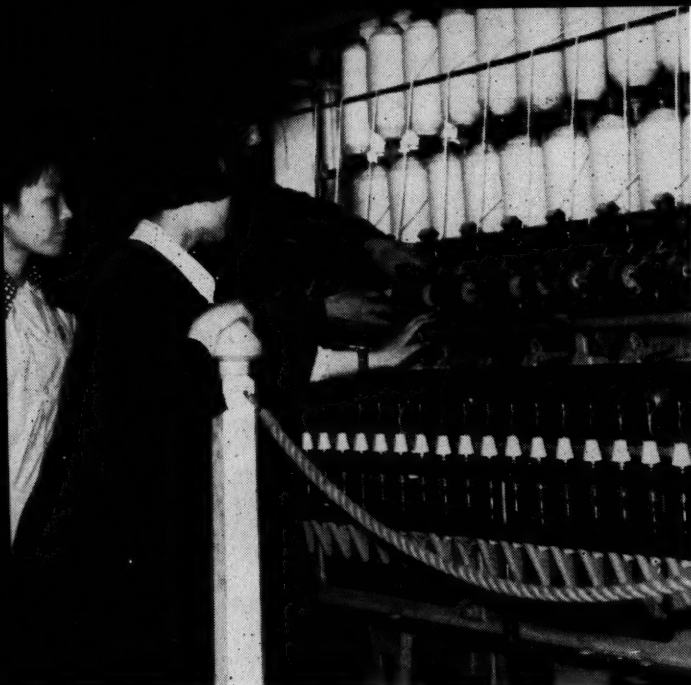
come from the USSR, Eastern Europe or Switzerland.

But what moved me most was the way in which young Chinese scientists would take me aside to tell me of their dreams for the China of the future. "Science," said one of them, "has a moral quality for us now. We often talk about this in our spare time. Intellectual curiosity is not enough when you live in a country whose needs are as great as those of China. We must relate our work to the needs of the people. The kind of research life we lived in the West was too easy. This does not mean that we shall engage only in applied science; it does mean that we must always have at the back of our minds that the ultimate application of our work shall be for the good of mankind."

"Does the West realize what has happened in China?" asked another. "Do people know that we have awakened? Do they think of us as people who matter?"

I asked a provincial Minister of Education, a Christian, if she thought that people could do without religion for long, even if they were taught morality? Her answer did not come immediately, but then she said: "We Chinese are not mystics like the Indians, you know. Our thinking is traditionally of a rationalist kind. But that is hardly the point. The point is that the conditions of life for most Chinese have been so hard that they have been almost without hope. What the new regime has given them is hope, and self-respect. I can't help feeling that that is the first step necessary before religion can even begin to mean anything to the common people."

What have we Western Christians to answer to that? I could not deny it.

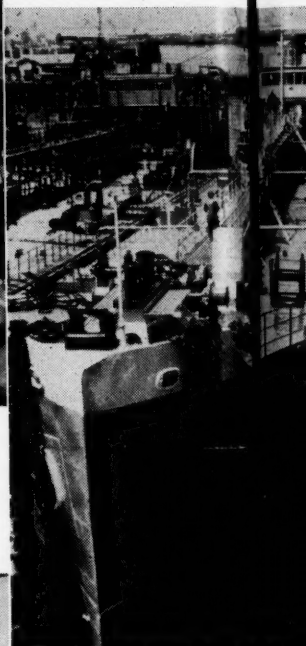


Spectators see new textile machine designed and made in China and on display at an industrial exposition

Steel for bridges made in the rolling mill department of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Northeast China

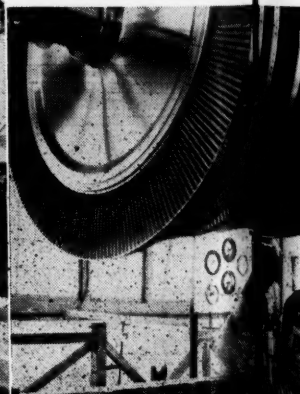


CHINA'S GROWING INDUSTRIES

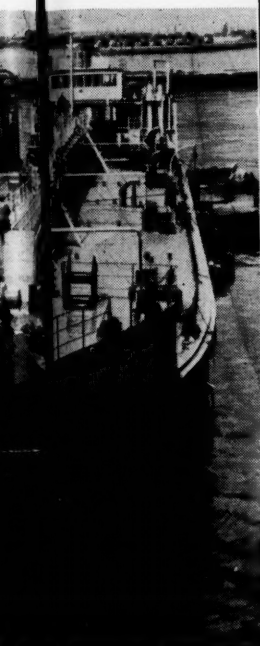


China completes her oil tanker at Dairen Shipyards. It is 3,000 tons.

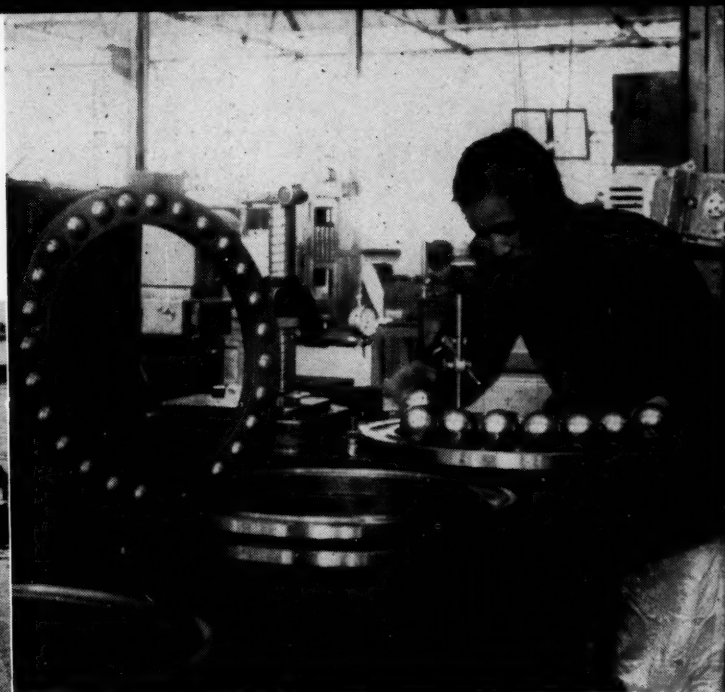
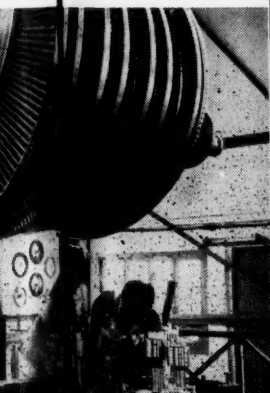
Workers assembling the second stage of a steam turbine in the Shanghai Shipyard.



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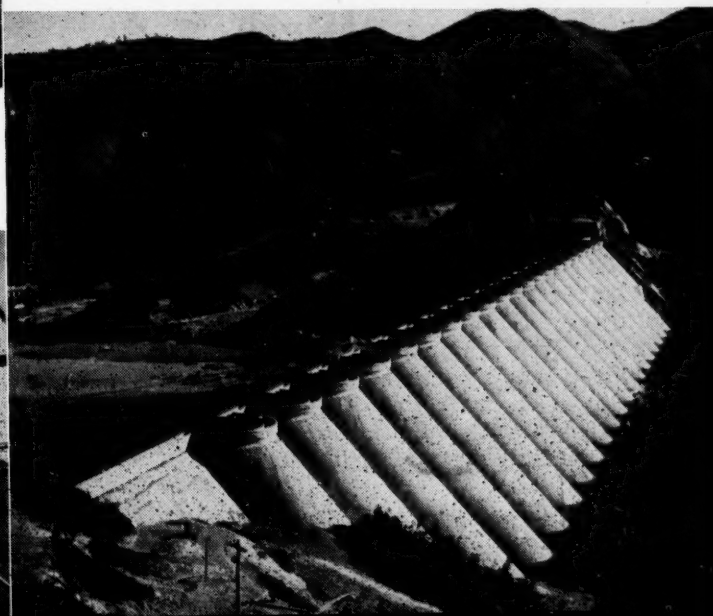


her oil tanker in the
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in the ghai Turbine Plant



An inspector in the Harbin Ball Bearing Plant, which
made 63 new products during the first half of 1955

Flood control also means power for industry. This is
Futseling Reservoir on Pilo River, in Anhwei province



UCLA Student Visits the USSR

Last summer UCLA student George Moore was one of 32 young Americans to attend the Fifth World Youth Festival in Warsaw, Poland, following which he joined a group of Americans and others invited for a two weeks visit to the USSR. On his return he wrote a series of articles for the UCLA campus paper, *Daily Bruin* (Sept. 21-Oct. 12), from which the following extracts were taken.

THE WARSAW FESTIVAL

The series opens with a picture of 32 young Americans singing "America the Beautiful" and "John Brown's Body" as they marched through the streets of Warsaw to join with 30,000 youth from other countries and an equal number from Poland for the opening of the festival in the Warsaw stadium. We omit Moore's account of the cultural and sports events that were part of this festival held under the slogan of "Peace and Friendship," since these were well covered in an eye-witness report by Frank Wheeler in the October issue of our magazine, but quote a few comments of special interest:

"What kind of people went to the festival? There is no simple answer. For instance there were representatives from every major youth organization in Japan . . . courageous young people from Portuguese East Africa who face long prison terms for attending the festival . . . a small, delicate girl from Viet Nam who sang

with an angelic voice and floored us all when she told us she was a soldier who fought at Dien Bien Phu . . . students from Indonesia who spend alternate months fighting and going to school . . . the thousands of spirited delegates from Great Britain, France and Italy, and the 3,000 delegates from Germany, half from the West . . . young workers and students from the USSR and China.

"Were there Communists? Sure and many non-Communists too. The 100,000 youth that participated in the Festival were no homogeneous mass—every non-fascist ideology, every religion, race, culture and profession was represented; there was but one unifying factor: the common desire for peace and friendship.

"And our delegation was no exception: we represented differing although not all, political opinions; we were white and Negro youth of every major religion; we were students, teachers, factory workers, secretaries and dancers. And we readily accepted the only requisite: the desire for peace and friendship; and we

set to work at the start to see how we could promote both. . . ."

IN THE USSR

Mr. Moore reports that on arrival in the USSR, the group met with representatives of the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, their hosts, and presented an imposing list of demands of what they wished to see, all of which were granted:

"In the course of our trip, we spent a week in Moscow, three days in Leningrad, four days in the southern republic of Georgia. While traveling we went through many other towns and villages. We visited factories, schools and universities where we attended classes; churches and synagogues, attending services; collective farms, children's camps, museums and art galleries, workers' resorts. We examined housing projects and entered apartments, hospitals and nursery schools.

"We saw *Swan Lake* at the Bolshoy (where I shook hands with Sen. Ke-fauver); the tomb of Lenin and Stalin; we ran through the Kremlin in the pouring rain (without guides). We shopped in different stores, although for the most part we only priced items; we swam in the Black Sea, traveled in the Moscow Metro, and danced with Soviet girls.

"Wherever we went, we were greeted by throngs of people, and without exception, the people ardently expressed their desire for peace and friendship, coexistence with the people of the United States."

Moore begins by describing the steps in the Soviet school system and discusses some things he found out about those young people choosing to go into industry.

"Since the jobs in heavy industry are the highest paid, and offer

the most benefits, a young person will usually go there, and, indeed these industries (i.e., iron and steel mining, auto, railroad and industrial chemical), have very high percentages of young workers.

"We visited Rustavl, a city built recently around a huge iron and steel mill. The majority of the workers were between 18 and 23 years old. We spoke to young apprentices there who told us they were taking a three to six month training program to become skilled workers. They spent from four to six hours a day, depending on their age, learning various aspects of steel work. While in training, they told us, they earned 600 rubles a month. [Moore had previously explained that while the official exchange rate is four rubles to the dollar, any attempt to convert rubles into dollars is misleading since while some items are more expensive in the Soviet Union than in the United States, others are less expensive.] The average wage in the Soviet Union is about 1,000 rubles a month.

"After the training period they would be considered skilled workers and would receive 2,000 to 3,000 rubles a month. Unskilled workers were receiving 700 to 800. Those workers who were working in high temperature locations, such as smelters, worked a six-hour shift; all workers had a six-day week. (In other heavy industries, where working conditions are difficult, there are sometimes four-hour shifts. Eight hours is the maximum.)

"For recreation, a young worker can participate in various sports. At Rustavl, 50 per cent of the workers were in the sport federation, and they had volley ball, basketball, tennis and boxing teams. There were

eleven soccer teams and the factory was equipped with its own stadium and swimming pool. Workers get a month paid vacation.

"Medical and maternity costs are paid for by the trade union, to which 99 per cent of the workers belong. In industries such as iron and steel and mining, medical examinations are compulsory every few weeks. Pregnant women get 45 days paid leave before and after giving birth, and a woman works only a six-hour shift for the first nine months after the child is born. . . .

"With his salary, paid monthly, the young worker pays 50-75 rubles a month for rent. We visited some typical housing and found that it is quite small, usually two rooms and a kitchen. Meals at the factory cafeteria run 3-4 rubles. . . . Food and clothing are the main expense items. . . .

"The social life of young people is somewhat different than ours. The girls look younger than their age, are often quite shy. . . . There is less individual dating, most social activities being conducted in groups—parties and so forth. At parties they dance, sing, play games. On a date, a couple may go to the movies or the theater, go for a walk, or go to parties and dances.

"At dances, women do not hesitate to ask idle men to dance. . . . We often heard popular American jazz numbers, as well as waltzes and tangos; all had a Russian flavor. Our impression is that folk dancing is preferred by the young people. . . . They loved our square dancing and the hop. One night we were eating in a restaurant and the band started playing an American tune. We formed a bunny-hop line, got others to join us, and the place fell apart."

A RELIGIOUS ACADEMY

The next article deals with a visit to the Academy of the Russian Orthodox Church, where they saw many worshippers, met a number of monks, and interviewed the Director. The Director told them that Orthodox Church attendance had risen since the war, and that he felt the future of the Church in the USSR was assured. Moore continued:

"He told us that there are many Protestant congregations in the USSR. In the Baltic Republics, mainly Congregational. Baptists were all over the country, and some had attended the world convention in London this summer. Presbyterian and Methodist groups were mainly among the English-speaking people. On the other hand, he said, there were many Jews, and in the southern republics, Buddhists, Mohammedans and Moslems. Baptist and Methodist delegations from the U.S. visited the USSR this summer, and he expressed the hope that further such exchanges would take place.

"Those members of our delegation who attended the Jewish services in Moscow said that the temple was full, that mainly old people were present, that the service was orthodox. In discussion with the Rabbi they learned that the temple was quite religious, and laid only small stress on the cultural aspects of Jewish life. The Jewish Autonomous Republic of Biro-Bidzhan, on the other hand, has lost much of its religious character, and stressed mainly cultural aspects. We spoke to many Jewish people, found that many speak Yiddish; we also saw books printed in Yiddish, as well as translations of these books into other languages."

"A NEW HORIZON"

In his final article, George Moore says he is still digesting his impressions, and therefore has limited himself to description rather than comment on what he had seen. He went on:

"I can say this: no one can understand the conditions of these countries without actually being there, particularly since, as Sen. Ellender remarked, they are often different from the impressions given by the State Department."

He felt that the trip had changed him, replacing hazy ideas by more realistic ones, and on his return felt a change in this country, too, a freer atmosphere, a greater readiness to ask questions. He concludes the series of articles with these paragraphs:

"True, there are people whom I once knew, who no longer greet me on campus, and there are also people who prefer to talk to me in private, but overwhelmingly I have found people not only eager to hear about my trip and ask thousands of questions, but anxious to make similar trips themselves. This to me is a great and wonderful spirit, indigenous to Americans."

"But another even greater change has taken place, here and all over the world, it seems. And that is that people are beginning to feel, for the first time since the beginning of the Cold War, that perhaps war is not inevitable; that perhaps this idea of 'coexistence' is more than an elusive abstraction."

"No longer do people seem satisfied with the existing stalemate that might annihilate the populations and civilizations of the world. I think people are looking for a more perma-

nent and basic peace—one built on friendship and confidence—not on hatred and suspicion.

"On the other hand, of course, we are a long way from a situation where the danger of war is eliminated. Therefore, I feel that we must, in light of new possibilities, take much greater initiative in building a lasting peace. And here, as Walter Lippmann said a few days ago, 'the frozen condition of our policies is our greatest weakness...'

"The exchange of farmer delegations, proposed by a small Midwest American newspaper, made an enormous contribution of real friendship both here and in Russia. It represented to me the kind of unfrozen thinking and initiative which Americans must expand if they are to realize their full capabilities in preserving peace."

"It is precisely in this way, that is (in the words of the official communique from the Big Four summit meeting at Geneva) by the '... progressive elimination of barriers which interfere with free communications and peaceful trade between peoples...' and the promotion of '... free contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of countries and people concerned' that we can make our greatest contribution."

"I shall prefer to think of my trip in this way. Perhaps future historians will come to write of this year as the beginning of the breaking down of barriers between East and West. I hope that my trip, and the similar trips that thousands of students will undoubtedly make, reciprocally, in the future, will further lower barriers and promote wider paths of international understanding."

Who Is Holding Up East-West Exchange?

A MERICANS seem to be all for East-West exchange, especially Roswell Garst, of Coon Rapids, Iowa, one of the world's largest producers of hybrid corn seed.

A few weeks ago the State Department announced it was "holding for consideration" a Soviet proposal to send Soviet hybrid seed experts to visit us. They had already applied for visas and were anxious to come as quickly as possible. The State Department "explained" that a "more orderly" procedure should be set up for such visits; that it would require months of preparation. Department aides, according to the *New York Times*, said "they thought the Russians were trying to 'embarrass' the United States by making proposals difficult to accept and equally difficult to refuse."

These "explanations" did not satisfy Mr. Garst and the seed firm of Garst and Thomas, which he heads.

Mr. Garst recently visited the Soviet Union (as well as Rumania and Hungary). There tentative arrangements were made for very large sales of hybrid corn seed to the USSR.

A spokesman for Mr. Garst's firm, Dr. Geza Schutz, charged the State Department with "deliberate, misleading distortion," and with jeopardizing "millions of dollars" in sales of United States agricultural products and machinery (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 12).

Contrary to the State Department implications, he said the proposed visit "was entirely at American instigation and initiative." Mr. Garst had issued the invitation while he was in the USSR.

"This was our own idea," said Dr.



Roswell Garst, Iowa seed producer who invited the Russians, with a little friend that he met while in Rumania

Schutz, who had accompanied Mr. Garst on his trip. "It is strictly a business proposition. The State Department has known all about this from the beginning. We consulted them before we went to Russia. We reported fully to the embassy in Moscow, and to the embassies in Bucharest and Budapest" [where similar tentative arrangements for sales were made].

He said negotiations were on behalf not only of the Garst firms but of other Mid-West seed companies.

"It was our idea that they should come in a hurry," he said, "before snow could cover the fields where we wanted to make certain demonstrations."

(After intervention by Mr. Garst, the State Department finally permitted 5 of the 10 Soviet experts come.)

While in Rumania, Mr. Garst said that though he always advocated private ownership, one could not ignore the achievements made in Rumanian collectives. He said the farmers had obtained a dignity they had never before achieved and were much better off than they were when tilling their own private lands (*New York Times*, Oct. 16).

Soviet Journalists in Yugoslavia

by L. SLEPOV and V. PLATKOVSKY

In response to a number of requests from our readers for material about Yugoslavia we are publishing a translation of an article in *Pravda* which reflects the renewed friendly relations between the people of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, as well as presenting some interesting facts about agricultural and industrial developments in the latter country.

THIS SUMMER a group of Soviet journalists visited Yugoslavia as guests of the Union of Journalists of the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia. At the time of our visit the peasants were finishing their harvest of abundant crops from fields, gardens and vineyards. The sun shone brightly from a blue sky, pouring its rays over the valleys and fields of Serbia and Croatia, the craggy mountains of Montenegro, Bosnia and Dalmatia and the forests and groves of the Slovenian Alps.

We covered all six republics of the Federation: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Montenegro. We visited factories, village cooperatives and cultural organizations and met with state and public workers, journalists and ordinary city people and villagers. Everywhere we were received cordially and hospitably as old friends.

We were warmly welcomed by the

workers at the Serbian tobacco plant in the city of Nish, the factory named for Tito in Macedonia, the Zenitsa metallurgical plant in Bosnia, the shoe factory in Slovenia, by the members of the Doni-Kokoti Village Cooperative near Titograd in Montenegro, and in the other places we visited. All those with whom we had the opportunity to talk expressed great satisfaction over the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and told us of their deep feelings of friendship for the Soviet people.

"We were all happy about the Belgrade declaration," said Slavka Mikhailovich, an outstanding tobacco worker in Nish. "We felt in our hearts that the misunderstandings which existed among friends would disappear sooner or later. And now we are again together!"

On our trip from Belgrade to Nish we became acquainted with two Macedonians. It was good to see

how happy they were to find that we were going to Macedonia. Their conversation was interspersed with Russian words. They were returning from an international trade exhibition in Zagreb, where they especially liked the USSR commercial pavilion. One, a young mechanic who had taken part in the partisan struggle, said simply: "We love Soviet Russia. I learned during the struggle with the occupationists of the fine qualities of the Soviet people—they are our brothers."

Practically every adult participated in the partisan movement during the occupation of Yugoslavia in the war years.

In the village of Doni-Kokoti we met a mother with four sons and one daughter. The whole family had fought in the partisan ranks from the very first days. One of the sons, Velko Asanovich, is now chairman of an agricultural cooperative. We spent a full day in this cooperative, talked with the peasants and had our evening meal together. The peasants frankly and spontaneously expressed their desires for strengthening friendship with the Soviet people. Young boys and girls, mature men and women sang their favorite folk and partisan songs. Here we heard the song dedicated to the legendary hero, Sava Kovachevich—the Yugoslav "Chapaev" as he is called. When we began the song of Preamur Partisans, they all joined in immediately. Russian and Serbian words blended into one friendly melody.

The partisans, headed by the Yugoslav Communists, fought heroically against the fascist occupationists, joining the Soviet Union in their common struggle. The Yugoslav workers and peasants, while build-

ing their new life, guard and cherish their revolutionary traditions. We saw museums, monuments, memorial tablets, which were reminders of the people's war of liberation which gave birth to such mass heroism, and of the years of fascist occupation when so many patriots perished at the hands of fascist murderers.

Five thousand persons, out of a total population of 30,000 inhabitants, were shot by the occupationists in the Serbian city Kraguevats on October 26, 1941. The invaders shot all the students of the city's high school. Near a small Slovensk village, Begunie, 1,700 partisans lie buried in a common grave. Not far from the grave of the unknown soldier in Avale, where fierce battles for Belgrade took place, and where Soviet soldiers also fought, there are two monuments—a reminder of the death of over a hundred thousand Yugoslav patriots.

We, Soviet people, who had lived through the trying days of the Patriotic War, reverently bowed our heads over the graves of the fallen heroes in tribute to the fighting spirit of the brave and industrious Yugoslav people.

There is much that is unique in the organization of the state and economy of Yugoslavia. The most important thing is that Yugoslavia has put an end to capitalist domination and made deep democratic changes. Two friendly classes—workers and peasants—are establishing their political authority in the land through People's Committees and consumer cooperatives. Public ownership of the basic means of production, trade, commerce and transport dominates the economy of the country. The workers labor with enthusiasm, are learning how to

manage their factories, manufacture good and cheap products, and take good care of their plants—the property of the whole people.

The workers of Yugoslavia are building a new life, increasing the country's material and cultural wealth. Having restored the destroyed economy, the people set about the creation of heavy industry—the foundation of national independence. The total production of industry for 1954 amounted to 208 per cent of pre-war. During the years 1946-54, over 200 plants were constructed and put into operation among them many electric power plants, metallurgical and machine construction plants.

Large heavy industry enterprises have been constructed in Zenitsa, Esemitsa and Sisak. A big new factory in Iliash will go into full operation in 1956. Machine construction plants have been completed in Lubliani and Zagreb, a plant in Zaječar specializing in the production of generators and transformers, a machine tool plant in Zagreb and numerous others.

We visited a number of these plants, some newly constructed, some outgrowths of small work shops. Take for example the metallurgical combine in Zenitsa. Previously there was a workshop, small rail rolling units and open hearth furnaces. This has grown into one of the largest metallurgical combines, having large light workrooms and modern equipment, and employing 11,000 workers. Its projected capacity is 800,000 tons of cast iron and 700,000 tons of steel per year.

The Pervomajski plant also arose from workshops, and now employs about 2,000 workers. It produces forty types of machinery for work-

ing metal. We saw the big modern lathes produced there. A whole city—a new Zagreb—is rising on the plain where this plant is located.

Great attention is paid to the construction of electric power stations; construction of over 50 has begun. During our visit the hydroelectric station in Vinodol went into operation, and the first two aggregates of the hydroelectric station Zvornik on the River Drina with a capacity of 310 million kw. hours per year. Eleven large hydroelectric stations are in process of construction.

We visited the construction site of the largest of these at Mavrovo which will produce up to 400 million kw. hours per year. A hydroelectric station is being built in the area occupied by three villages where the first partisan detachments were formed. The fascists burned all three villages, which now have been rebuilt. The director of construction Gerga Chupich, formerly commander of the Garibaldi anti-fascist division, and the secretary of the local Communist Party, Savo Janevski, told us enthusiastically that the collective is preparing to turn on the first current next spring.

"We are happy," said Chupich on parting, mixing Russian words with Serbian, "that Soviet journalists have been with us and could see our new life."

In farewell, the builders of Mavrovo, as well as the workers and peasants of Serbia, Macedonia, Hercegovina and Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia asked us to convey warm greetings to the Soviet people.

Of course the economic development of Yugoslavia has its difficulties, which our friends discussed frankly. Many large enterprises have

not begun to operate fully due to lack of capital investment. Yugoslavia lacks raw materials, electrical power, foreign currency and the like. These circumstances, our Yugoslav comrades told us, are responsible for slowing down the rate of development of large scale trade. The balance of trade between Yugoslavia and the USA especially was unfavorable for Yugoslavia.

The agricultural economy of the republic has in general reached the prewar level, but still lags behind industrial development. Small trade based on free market relations is still in many ways in the domain of individual artisan production, which predominates in the village economy. Production and output for the market is still low and Yugoslavia is compelled to import considerable quantities of food. To eliminate this disproportion, the government and the Union of Yugoslav Communists are giving attention to the increase of village production, working out a broad program of assistance to the peasants.

The workers of Yugoslavia lead a better, more cultured life than they did under the rule of capitalists and landlords, though much remains to be done in raising the standards of living of the people. Prices for certain commodities of consumption, particularly foodstuff, are still high and affect the workers' budget.

The President of Yugoslavia Comrade Tito, said on September 26, the day of the opening of Zvornik hydroelectric station on the River Drina:

The people of our country deprive themselves of much in order to acquire all that is necessary for the construction of our factories, mills,

our hydroelectric stations and the like, and this is the reason why life with us is not yet what we would desire and not what we had planned to have in a very short time. However, we now have the foundation on which we can build further. The time has already come when our working people should have things considerably easier and when at least in some measure they will be able to perceive the results of our efforts and sense the meaning of socialism.

The people of Yugoslavia are working with energy and determination to overcome difficulties and to obtain new successes in the development of their economy. The reestablishment and strengthening of ties between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies will prove to be of great significance in the future development of the economy of Yugoslavia and in raising the living standards of her people. The Yugoslav working people welcomed the reestablishment of these ties. The successful conclusion of the trade treaty in January, 1955, and signing of the documents governing economic relations between the USSR and the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia in September of this year, as well as the reestablishment of economic ties with the People's Democracies open up broad perspectives for further development of the Yugoslav economy.

During our three weeks in Yugoslavia, we saw many picturesque places: magnificent landscapes, the Croatian seaside—"the land of a thousand islands"—with its health resorts and fine ports, the famous Postojna stalactite caves which extend for dozens of miles underground, the beautiful lakes of Bled

and Okhrid, the winding mountain roads, roaring rivers, gorges and valleys. But what stirred us most deeply was the industry of the Yugoslav people, their militant traditions, their warm love and sympathy for the Soviet people.

Friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union is growing stronger. It has deep historic roots. It is welded in the struggle for a better life and a united will for peace and cooperation among

peoples. The trip of the Soviet journalists to Yugoslavia, as well as the visit of Yugoslav journalists to the USSR, and their meetings with Soviet workers, peasants and intelligentsia serve the great goal of strengthening the ties of friendship between our people in the spirit of the principles of the Belgrade declaration.

Translated from the Moscow Pravda, October 14, 1955, by Anna Roger.

QUAKER DELEGATION TO THE USSR

THE BULLETIN of the American-Friends Service Committee, September-October 1955, carries an interesting report of last summer's good-will mission to the USSR of six American Quakers, headed by Clarence Pickett, Honorary Executive Secretary of the AFSC.

The report said that they left the USSR "with a memory of the warmest, friendliest reception most of them had ever received anywhere." They covered 12,000 miles, were able to talk freely with the people everywhere, and had numerous opportunities of achieving their main purpose of carrying "a message of friendship and encouragement to their fellow Christians of the Soviet Union."

The Quakers found things both to criticize and to praise. While they felt certain aspects of freedom in American terms was lacking, they were surprised by the freedom with which the Russians were ready to debate all manner of "touchy" subjects. While they felt that there were still defects in the planning of distribution of consumers' goods, the report stated: "Russia is showing increasing concern for the needs and desires of its people; Moscow's largest department store polls its customers twice a day on their opinion of its goods."

The Quakers felt that the Russians were not sufficiently well-informed about the United States, and that the answer to this is more goodwill trips in both directions.

"Russians are better equipped to come to this country, the group found, than Americans to travel in the USSR. . . . Three million Russians are now learning English." Yet such visits, from which the U.S. has everything to gain and nothing to lose, are not likely to come, declares Clarence Pickett, until the United States revises its "benighted restrictions on foreign visitors."

Mr. Pickett made an outstanding contribution to the November anniversary meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship on November 16, in showing, with running commentary, a beautiful collection of slides of photographs taken during the trip. He stressed particularly the warmth and friendship of the people.

The Second Geneva

Facts versus fantasies. What really took place at the foreign ministers' conference

by JESSICA SMITH

WHILE the four foreign ministers reached no agreements during their conference at Geneva, October 27 to November 16, what is all-important is the fact that they took no backward steps.

The single great achievement of the July conference, the agreement not to permit the unleashing of a mutually destructive nuclear war, and to find other ways to resolve differences, however long and difficult the path, remains in force.

Yes—there was a failure at the foreign ministers conference. But it was not the failure that the newspaper headlines proclaimed. It was a failure for those forces who sought to return to the pre-Geneva situation through reliance on the very means which the first Geneva rejected. What happened at the second Geneva was a successful holding operation, which gives the forces of peace time to strengthen still further the determination and the power through which the questions on the agenda will in time be solved, as well as other important international issues.

The summit conference set in motion the processes which will lead to these solutions, and they are continuing and will continue, through negotiations between governments, through the pressure and the actions of the people, irrespective of the fact

that differences are wide and deep.

Walter Lippmann, Republican commentator, displays a recognition of the realities of the world situation which many sober diplomatic observers in Washington share.

In a series of articles on Geneva, Mr. Lippmann pointed out that the terms Mr. Dulles took to Geneva for a German settlement, namely unification on the basis of a rearmed Germany within NATO, were obviously not negotiable. He declared that if the spirit of Geneva meant that our terms were going to be accepted, then of course the spirit of Geneva is dead, but that in fact it never existed in that sense. In his article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 15, he continued:

The real spirit of Geneva is, however, very much with us . . . and it affects very deeply and radically the relations between the Soviet system and our own. It has been said before, and it cannot be said too often, that at the summit meeting in July a public accord was reached that neither side would, because neither side could, resort to thermonuclear war . . .

This was the true spirit of Geneva—a realization and an acknowledgment that the big armaments were at a stalemate and were neutralized. The necessary consequence of this was that the unsettled questions like Germany, could not be settled by at-

tempting to force one side or the other to give in.

The terms that Mr. Dulles took to Geneva would have been excellent if the Soviet Union had surrendered unconditionally. His terms ignored entirely the true spirit of Geneva which was that since nothing can now be settled by force, it is necessary to maneuver and to bargain and to trade. The Western terms at Geneva had in them no room for maneuver, no material for bargaining, no chance for trading.

Mr. Lippmann said that unless the West can find a way to make its German policy negotiable, it is likely to be elbowed out of negotiations for a settlement, because the West Germans themselves, among whom there is strong opposition to the unifying of Germany as an armed state within the Western military alliance, are bound to negotiate, with or without our support. He concluded:

We have had a very bad setback from which we can recover only if we make a thoroughgoing reappraisal of our position and our prospects in the post-Geneva world.

This opinion is gaining strength among America's allies. Raymond Daniell reported in the *New York Times* on November 20 that Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Secretary for External Affairs had returned from an official diplomatic mission to the Soviet Union "convinced that the people of the Soviet Union hate and fear the idea of war and that the Soviet Union is convinced it can gain its ends without resort to war," and that on this basis, Mr. Pearson believes "that a reappraisal of Western policy is needed . . . and that the forthcoming meeting of NATO is the place for its start."

Secretary Dulles seems to some extent to have profited by the realistic

approach of Lippmann and others. In his November 18 report on the Geneva conference, he too affirmed that if the spirit of Geneva were taken as a beginning and not an end it could be considered as still surviving. He declared that nothing that happened at the second Geneva conference required a change in the estimate that the first had reduced the risk of a general war. He declared, with the concurrence of President Eisenhower, that our nation would pursue its policies "without resort to violence and without the use of hatred or perversion of truth which are characteristic of war," that "it is our purpose to continue to seek the friendship and understanding of the Russian people as a whole" and that the Geneva conference need not be considered to mean an end to future negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Mr. Dulles gave no slightest indication of even the beginning of the kind of reappraisal of U.S. policies that Mr. Lippmann considers essential. On the contrary, he asserted his determination to continue to press for these policies, and getting the Soviet Union to accept them, placing the entire blame for failure to reach agreement at Geneva on the latter:

The Soviet leaders appear to want certain results in terms of European security, in terms of disarmament and in terms of contacts of a sort. *But they are not yet willing to pay the price needed to get these results.* (Emphasis added)

That price, of course, as Mr. Lippmann pointed out, being unconditional surrender to U.S. terms!

Throughout the conference the newspaper headlines sought to convey this same impression given by Dulles that all obstacles to agreement

came from the Soviet side: "Molotov's Speech Dims West's Hope," "Molotov Breaks Pledge on Geneva Agenda," "Molotov Declares All Germany Must Be Communized," "Red 'NO' on Arms Issue," "Molotov Attacks Eisenhower Plan," "Molotov Asserts Iron Curtain Is Here to Stay."

Such headlines were a deliberate falsification of what took place.

What inspired them was revealed in a remarkable dispatch by Harold Callender to the *New York Times* of November 11. He reported that the various diplomatic planners and strategists of the three Western delegations were rushing around from early morning until late at night conferring, drafting, giving instructions. His efforts to find out what they were so busy about brought the following explanation:

As one official expressed it, it takes a lot of collective talent to arrange to put the blame on the Soviet Union for the expected failure of the conference.

European Security and Germany

The main attention of the conference was centered on the first agenda point, European Security and Germany. The West insisted that the latter point take precedence, despite the fact that the directives placed it second.

Through the press and Mr. Dulles the Soviet Union was portrayed as insisting on the permanent division of Germany in order to maintain its hold on its "satellite," the German Democratic Republic, and to create the conditions for the "communization" of all Germany. It was on this basis that the Western powers maintained that the continued division of Germany is the greatest threat to

European security and that German unification must be settled first.

Any understanding of Soviet policies, any careful reading of the speeches and proposals made at both Geneva conferences, show the falsity of this picture.

The Soviet Union has all along taken the position that the greatest threat to European security, as shown by the experience of two world wars, is represented by the plan for the remilitarization of Western Germany under former Nazi generals, and its incorporation into NATO as the latter's strongest military power.

The Western Proposal

The Western proposal on the first agenda point called for free elections to be held for the formation of a single government for the whole of Germany by 1956. Concurrently with the agreement on the reunification of Germany, a treaty would be concluded comprising undertakings "to refrain from the use of force and to withhold aid from an aggressor, provisions for the limitation and control of forces and armaments, and the obligation to react against aggression."

In the light of Secretary Dulles' oral assurances that a reunited Germany would be free to join or not to join any alliances it desired, it should be noted that the Western proposal contained the following paragraph, specifically spelling out the fact that the whole plan is contingent on a unified Germany's entry into NATO:

The treaty would enter into force only in conjunction with the reunification of Germany. It would be carried out by stages. Its signature would be concurrent with the signature of the agreement on the Eden plan. *The final stage would become effective when a reunified Germany decides to enter NATO and the West-*

ern European Union. (Emphasis added)

The Eden plan included in this proposal calls for "free and secret elections throughout Germany" at the earliest possible date, under conditions of "genuine freedom." "Genuine freedom," means under an electoral law prepared by France, the USSR, Great Britain and the United States in consultation with German experts and "taking into consideration" the electoral laws already drafted for this purpose by the Bundestag of the Federal Republic and the Volkskammer of what is called the "Soviet zone," (failing to acknowledge the existence of the German Democratic Republic.) Supervision of the election is to be carried out under a commission composed of the four powers, "with or without the participation of neutrals," and assisted by Germans in a *consultative* capacity. There is no provision for the withdrawal of foreign troops in either West or East during this process, which of course negates any idea of free elections.

That this plan envisages the extension throughout all Germany of the remilitarized Bonn regime, committed to military alliance with the West, is clear from the fact that the Western powers would be in the majority on the electoral commission and that no official recognition is given to the German Democratic Republic by either Bonn or the Western governments.

The Soviet Proposal

The proposal presented by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, took the position that the primary need was a system of all-European collective security instead of groupings of some European states directed against others, and that such a sys-

tem would facilitate unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The USSR proposed a collective security treaty open to all European states, irrespective of their social systems, and including the United States. Pending the formation of a single German state, both existing German governments could be parties. The parties to the treaty would refrain from aggression and threats or use of force in their relations; would undertake to settle any disputes by peaceful means; would jointly undertake not to participate in any coalition or alliance contrary to the purposes of the collective security treaty.

Molotov countered the Western insistence that NATO has no aggressive anti-Soviet purpose, with the cogent question as to why, if this were so, the USSR's offer to participate in it had been refused.

The Soviet proposal expressly provided that in the first stages of the treaty, (two or three years) the parties to the treaty should not be relieved of their obligations under the Paris agreements and the North Atlantic and Warsaw treaties, but that on the expiration of this period these should become ineffective. Meantime parties to these treaties should refrain from the use of armed force and settle disputes by peaceful means, and pending conclusion of agreements on reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons and on the withdrawal of foreign troops from European territory, should undertake not to increase their armed forces on the territories of other European states.

In a later proposal on European security, Mr. Molotov made further concessions to the Western point of view. He omitted any time limit on the question of continuing adherence

to obligations under NATO and the Warsaw pacts, stating simply that they should remain in effect until replaced by a more extensive treaty on European security, and he accepted Prime Minister Eden's proposal for a zone between eastern and western Europe in which armament levels would be frozen subject to mutual inspection.

This led Mr. Dulles to take specific note of the fact that Mr. Molotov's new proposals represented a narrowing of the gap between East and West on questions of security.

Before introducing the Soviet proposal on German unification, Mr. Molotov asked that representatives of both the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic be invited to take part in the consideration of the German question, calling attention to the fact that this is necessary since the Soviet Union has direct relations with both governments.

The Western nations immediately turned down the proposal to invite representatives of the German Democratic Republic to the Foreign Ministers conference, although in constant consultation themselves with the Bonn delegation at Geneva.

The German Democratic Republic submitted a plan for German reunification through the formation of an all-German Council composed of representatives of the parliaments of both German governments, and composed of "all democratic parties and organizations," conceding, on the basis of the larger population in West Germany, that the latter would have more members. This council would gradually increase cooperation between the two Germanys and prepare for German unity through free elections. Under this plan both the state-owned industries and land reform

in the East and the capitalist enterprises of the West would be preserved. It provided that the reunited nation would be a neutral, armed state, adhering to neither Western or Eastern military alliances.

Molotov's proposal on Germany followed similar lines. Taking into account the existence of the two German governments, it stressed that German unification must be a matter for the German people themselves. It proposed the setting up of an all-German Council with representatives from both parliaments to create the conditions for reunification on the basis of free elections. The function of this body would be to set up mixed committees to take up questions of trade and cultural ties, currency, financial transactions, customs, post and telegraph, etc., as well as reaching agreement on questions relating to defensive armaments and troops and on measures relating to European security.

Mr. Molotov specifically stated that this program was designed with the idea of "not infringing upon the interests of either of the existing German states, or interfering with the social systems which at present exist in the Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic."

Mr. Molotov emphasized that "free elections" could not be held under the continued presence of foreign troops. He declared that as long as representatives of the German Federal Republic refused even to meet with the representatives of the German Democratic Republic the mutual confidence necessary for the establishment of Germany's unity was lacking. He stated:

As to the proposals which have been submitted here on behalf of the three Western powers, they in effect lead to the revival of an imperialist

Germany; that is, to the extension of the Paris agreements to the whole of Germany and to the reestablishment throughout Germany of the rule of the big monopolies, junkers and militarists, to the liquidation of the democratic and social reforms and freedoms which were won by the working masses of the German Democratic Republic.

Mr. Molotov made clear the Soviet position that German unification is necessary, but that under present conditions, it can be accomplished "only gradually, step by step, through bringing closer together the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic and through their cooperation," and not through any mechanical merger under terms which would lead to Germany becoming again a militarist state.

The West flatly turned down all the Soviet proposals and decided abruptly to adjourn discussions of Germany, refusing even to discuss Mr. Molotov's further proposals for an immediate reduction by 50 per cent of all Western and Soviet troops now in Germany, a reduction in the armed forces allowed for Western Germany under the Paris agreements and of the armed forces of Eastern Germany, and a peace treaty between the NATO and Warsaw treaty members.

It was significant that the delegation of the powerful West German Social Democratic Party, including its leader, Erich Ollenhauer and foreign affairs expert, Herbert Wehner, recommended that the West and East German governments make a beginning in cooperation on technical problems, trade and travel. The Social Democrats also made clear to Secretary Dulles their views that West German military obligations under NATO should be replaced by a security pact for Europe, including a unified Germany. Leaders of the

Refugee Party and of the Free Democratic Party (which belongs to the Adenauer coalition) also asked for a new look at NATO.

Secretary Dulles accused the Soviet Union of "not negotiating seriously" at Geneva. But the people of Europe, who have reason to fear the resurgence of German militarism, felt differently. The Paris *Le Monde*, November 8, said that the Western proposals had been put forward only to be rejected, while the *Manchester Guardian* called them "cynical and hypocritical."

Gaston Coblenz wrote in the *New York World-Telegram*, November 20, that the

... eloquent speeches on unification by the Western foreign ministers, including Dulles, did not prevent many influential quarters in West Germany from asserting subsequently, that the West had not really negotiated seriously with the Russians at Geneva. They said the Western powers had shown that they were only interested in reuniting Germany if they could bring the entire country into the Western military camp.

It is an open secret that feelings of discontent with this plan reached into very high quarters in the West German government. It is known that a considerable number of the top men in Chancellor Adenauer's Foreign Ministry, for example, felt that the West should—this time—have made a clear offer of German neutrality.

Disarmament

On the second agenda point, disarmament, Mr. Dulles and the press sought to give the impression that agreement was lacking because while the Western nations insist that any effective disarmament must be effectively supervised and controlled, the Soviet Union continues to urge agreements with no way to check up

whether they are being fulfilled, and rejects President Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan.

The facts are somewhat different.

While the Soviet Union had previously, in its May 10 proposals, made a major concession in accepting the levels of armed forces proposed by the Western nations, the new Western plan disregarded all its own previous proposals for disarmament, made concrete recommendations only on the matter of immediate agreement on President Eisenhower's proposals for the exchange of military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection and the Soviet proposal for establishing control posts at key points. This amounts to a plan for inspection only, with the arms race continuing in full force.

The Soviet Union proposed agreement on the need for the earliest possible conclusion of an international convention on the reduction by stages of armaments, proceeding from that to prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. It proposed that before such prohibition comes into effect the four nations pledge themselves not to use nuclear weapons except for defense against aggression, and only with the approval of the UN Security Council, and that meantime tests of these weapons be discontinued.

The Soviet Union specifically urged the consideration of President Eisenhower's plan. It did not reject this plan. It asked that it be part of an over-all disarmament program. It also proposed consideration of the French plan for the allocation of resources released from armament programs for peaceful purposes.

When the Soviet plan was rejected, Mr. Molotov urged that there be a four-power declaration of readiness to continue to seek agreement on the

basis of all the plans for disarmament, control and inspection that had been presented by each of the powers.

The statement on disarmament appended to the final communique was vaguer than this, but did state that the four foreign ministers were convinced of the need to continue to seek agreement on a comprehensive disarmament program and were transmitting the record of their discussions to the UN Disarmament Subcommittee to aid it in its efforts.

On East-West Contacts

On the final point on the agenda, Secretary Dulles and press headlines and reports gave the impression that the Soviet Union rejected all the Western proposals for freer exchange of "ideas, information and news" through fear of the effects on their own people of "freer contact with the free world." The *New York Times* (November 15, 1955) went so far as to carry the lying headline "Molotov Asserts Iron Curtain Is Here to Stay."

In fact, the West turned down the Soviet proposal for the elimination of existing trade barriers imposed by the United States, while the Soviet Union turned down a series of Western proposals which it considered interference in its internal affairs.

These proposals included such questions as exchange and free public sale of all publications, ending of censorship, discontinuance of jamming of broadcasts, a change in the ruble rate to facilitate tourism, further exchanges of delegations and individuals in various fields, etc.

Mr. Molotov declared that a number of the Western proposals had to do with matters concerning the legis-

lation and administrative regulations of the states concerned, thus constituting interference in internal affairs, and not appropriate for international agreement. He gave as an example the proposal to change the rate of exchange of currency.

This, of course, is a matter that concerns the Soviet trade agreements with many countries as well as its internal affairs. As a matter of fact, the USSR makes special arrangements for tourists whereby it is possible to make a certain payment in their own currency covering hotels, food, travel, and tours on a reasonable basis irrespective of the rate of exchange.

As to instituting at once completely free exchange of all publications, one has only to bear in mind the hostile, anti-Soviet, war propaganda that appears in many American publications and to remember that the Soviet Union has legislation against the circulation of war propaganda.

Similarly, on the question of jamming foreign broadcasts, it is well known that radio broadcasts such as the American-sponsored programs "Radio Free Europe" operated by the Crusade for Freedom and the programs of "The American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" have had as their main purposes incitement to revolt against their governments by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European People's Democracies.

We have only to consider what the attitude of the United States Government would be if either official programs from the Soviet Union or from groups permitted to operate from its territory, incited United States citizens to revolt.

Mr. Molotov declared that the allegations that the Soviet Union tried to isolate their people from contacts

with the outside world were groundless, adding:

We do not conceal, however, that the Soviet Union did not grant previously and will not grant in the future such "freedom of the exchange of ideas" as would mean "freedom" of propaganda for war or propaganda imbued with a hatred of mankind calling for atomic attack.

This is incompatible with the interests of the maintenance of peace. We cannot agree to such "freedom" as would lead to the unleashing of subversive activities of all kinds of scum of society thrown out by the peoples of the countries of socialism and people's democracy, though, as is known, many millions of dollars are sometimes spent to this end. . . .

Every honest man must admit that such radio stations [Radio Free Europe, etc.] serve not the cause of freedom but the ends of arch reactionaries, the instigation of hatred among nations, the undermining of peace and the preparation of a new war.

The Soviet proposals for eliminating existing obstacles and restrictions in East-West trade as the most essential step, were based on the summit conference directives which placed this question first in the matter of developing East-West contacts. The USSR also proposed measures to facilitate movement of merchant ships and to remove existing restrictions in sea communications with certain states [i.e. the Chiang Kai-shek blockade against Chinese People's Republic].

Other Soviet points included widening of international exchange and cooperation in science and technology and particularly in peaceful uses of atomic energy, with the specific proposal for an international conference in 1956 on the use of the latter in the field of public health and the

participation in the work of the specialized UN agencies of all states desiring to cooperate.

Further points included measures to facilitate strengthening of East-West contacts in the sphere of industry, agriculture, cultural relations and development of tourism, such as mutual exchange of delegations and individual visitors in specialized fields; broader intercourse of people of science and culture; expansion of mutual exchange of publications (books, periodicals, etc.) between the institutions of scientific research, libraries, scientific and cultural associations, social organizations and individuals; broader development of international tourism and sports relations.

Does this sound like insistence that "the iron curtain is here to stay"? Many of these points came very close to some of the proposals made by the West. Certainly they would seem to offer a solid basis for negotiating. Yet Mr. Dulles declared the Soviet proposal contained practically nothing

designed to permit the exchange of ideas or information, accusing the USSR of fearing any ideas not conforming to their own.

In the light of the thought-control Smith and McCarran Acts and the persecution of so many people in our own country for their ideas alone, it was rather odd to hear Mr. Dulles speak of "the ideas about communism which are freely spread in the United States today" and lecture Mr. Molotov on how much more healthy it is "to permit freedom of ideas, rather than to attempt government regulation of ideas."

* * *

It should be emphasized again that despite lack of concrete agreements by the foreign ministers, the great currents of peaceful intercourse set in motion by the summit conference cannot be held back. They will gain momentum, enriching the lives of all nations, and life itself, the will of the people everywhere for peace, will in the end compel fruitful negotiations and peaceful solutions.

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An Artist and Fighter for Man's Rights

A review by ALVAH BESSIE

IT'S ME O LORD, by Rockwell Kent.
Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1955.
617 pp., \$10.00

THIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY of Rockwell Kent, written at the age of 73, has already been the despair of reviewers, for it has as many facets as the man himself, and they are numberless.

Kent is one of the most unusual men of our times. An outstanding and prolific artist, he has also been an explorer and a farmer, architect and contractor, home builder and writer of books, illustrator and fisherman, organizer, public speaker and fighter for civil liberties and peace. His life has been full and rich, crammed with experience, with joy and sorrow, with accomplishments in many fields.

Considering Rockwell Kent purely as an artist, there are those who may prefer the faultless draughtsmanship of his black and whites, and others who prefer his brilliant canvasses of glowing landscapes of Newfoundland, Greenland, New England and Tierra del Fuego.

But Rockwell Kent cannot be confined within the framework of his canvasses or drawings. He is himself larger than life and he has encompassed multitudes.

From the time he was twenty-one, and despite a family background of considerable affluence, Kent has been a dedicated socialist. And this is the key to his personality, his achievements and the anger with which the witch hunters and the more outspoken reactionaries have attacked him.

For Kent is on the side of the vast majority of human beings, wherever they may live, whatever they may do for a living.

Let him put it in his own words. Denied an opportunity to explain his position to Senator McCarthy's committee, Kent released a statement to the press. Among other things, his statement said:

"I am forced to the conclusion that a conspiracy exists for the purpose of overthrowing our democracy in favor of a Fascist government. I have no hesitation in charging that this Committee plays an active part in that conspiracy and that its Chairman, Senator McCarthy, is its leader. Moreover, and in view of the forces at the disposal of this Committee, I charge the conspiracy to be one to overthrow our form of government, if need be, by force and violence."

As a direct result of the defiance of McCarthy by Rockwell Kent and other principled people, McCarthy has been cut down to size, but the proponents of his conspiracy are still operating, perhaps in less obvious and more subtle ways.

Rockwell Kent cites Victor Hugo to "explain" his own dedication to the cause of the oppressed: "Help from the great for the small, help from the free for the slaves, help from the thinkers for the ignorant, help from the solitary for the multitudes—such is the law, from Isaiah to Voltaire. He who does not follow that law may be a genius, but he is only a useless genius. By not handling the things of the earth, he thinks to purify himself; he annuls himself."

So the artist whose name is Rockwell Kent has been involved for over 50 years in the concern of his fellow men. As a spokesman for that common man this very uncommon man will survive. And as an artist with a passionate love of the beauty of the

world around him, the remarkable images that he has created will live and enrich many lives to come.

Kent was one of those who recognized the importance of American-Soviet friendship and he was energetic in promoting it, even when such activity was considered nearly treasonable—and very recently President Eisenhower himself has been compelled to promote it.

This activity and his unflagging efforts for peace and human welfare resulted in a diminution of his income. But this has not fazed him at all. For now there is a greater reward, something more to be made than money: it is peace.

The long and delicious reading of this book, it is 617 large pages and contains hundreds of the plastic images the artist has created, will give the reader an accurate measure of this man. For it is far more than an autobiography of an individual: it is the spiritual biography of our time and it deals with an issue central to our time—the struggle of an artist for integrity and identification with his fellow men.

Here, in black and white and color is a Paul Bunyan of art and politics, of public affairs and private loves and hates, of militant struggle for the rights of all peoples, of all colors and conditions.

A Fascinating Report

U.S.A. WELCOMES SOVIET FARMERS: The Dramatic Record of a History-Making Tour. *Published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York, 1955. 64 pp. 25c.*

LAST SUMMER it seemed that a large part of America was talking about the Soviet farmers who were visiting our Mid-West. Rarely have foreign guests to our shores evoked so much attention.

The press, avid to tell us their every reaction to what they were seeing, followed their every move, reported their consumption of sundaes and hot dogs, the color of the shirts they bought, the jokes they told, the speeches they made, the quantity of notes they had written down, the farms, factories, ranches, slaughter houses, private homes, picnic grounds and chambers of commerce that they visited.

But the press also reported another side of the story—how the American hosts extended a warm welcome to their guests and really enjoyed their visit.

In many ways this visit was a re-

markable event, and *U.S.A. Welcomes Soviet Farmers* is a remarkable document of that event. For it follows the Soviet farmers from their arrival to their departure and carefully reflects, in minute detail, everything they saw, they did and they said and how the people of America embraced them as friends. And all this is done through excerpts from the local papers in the areas they visited.

Since these are newspaper reports the reading is fast, for it is good journalism. And there is much beauty in it, too, the beauty of spontaneous friendships, of the warmhearted mutual coming together of people, of the growing understanding between peoples that is always possible if given the chance.

What the visit proved, and this booklet reveals so clearly, is that the American and the Soviet people want to be friends, and that they can be friends, and that it is simply a matter of meeting—as simple as that.

Fascinating reading, a splendid report, a clear lesson in human understanding. Be sure you get a copy.

A. V.

A Scholar on Peaceful Co-Existence

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, by Andrew Rothstein. Penguin Special, London, 1955, 192 pp., 50c.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN'S *Peaceful Co-Existence* is a work of first importance. Rothstein is a scholar with unique knowledge of life in the USSR, but also with profound knowledge of the traditions of the West and their point of view.

In the first part of his book, he deals clearly and convincingly with the peaceful significance of the socialist revolution in the USSR. He illustrates every point with quotations and examples, most useful material for the ordinary man and woman who wants in simple form a summary of internal Soviet developments. In Part Two, Rothstein deals factually with the main items of anti-Soviet propaganda, such as "Russian Imperialism," "You can't trust the Russians," "Peace is Communist propaganda," etc.

In Part Three Rothstein gives thirty pages to a closely reasoned survey of the obligation which peaceful co-existence imposes on the peoples of Britain and of the Soviet Union. Mistrustful tolerance of each other's social system is not enough. It is too negative and ineffectual. Peaceful co-existence is positive and constructive, and must lead quickly to some active cooperation in world affairs.

Rothstein ends his book on the note of hope and confidence. The magnitude of the world crisis demands, and gives opportunity, for East-West cooperation on a scale hitherto unknown in world history.

He appeals to the individual British and Soviet citizen, to press their governments to consult together at last, not against the rest of the world and each other's allies, but to give joint leadership for peaceful coexistence and international cooperation.

E. V. TEMPEST

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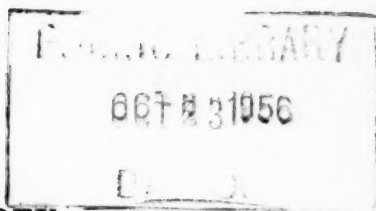
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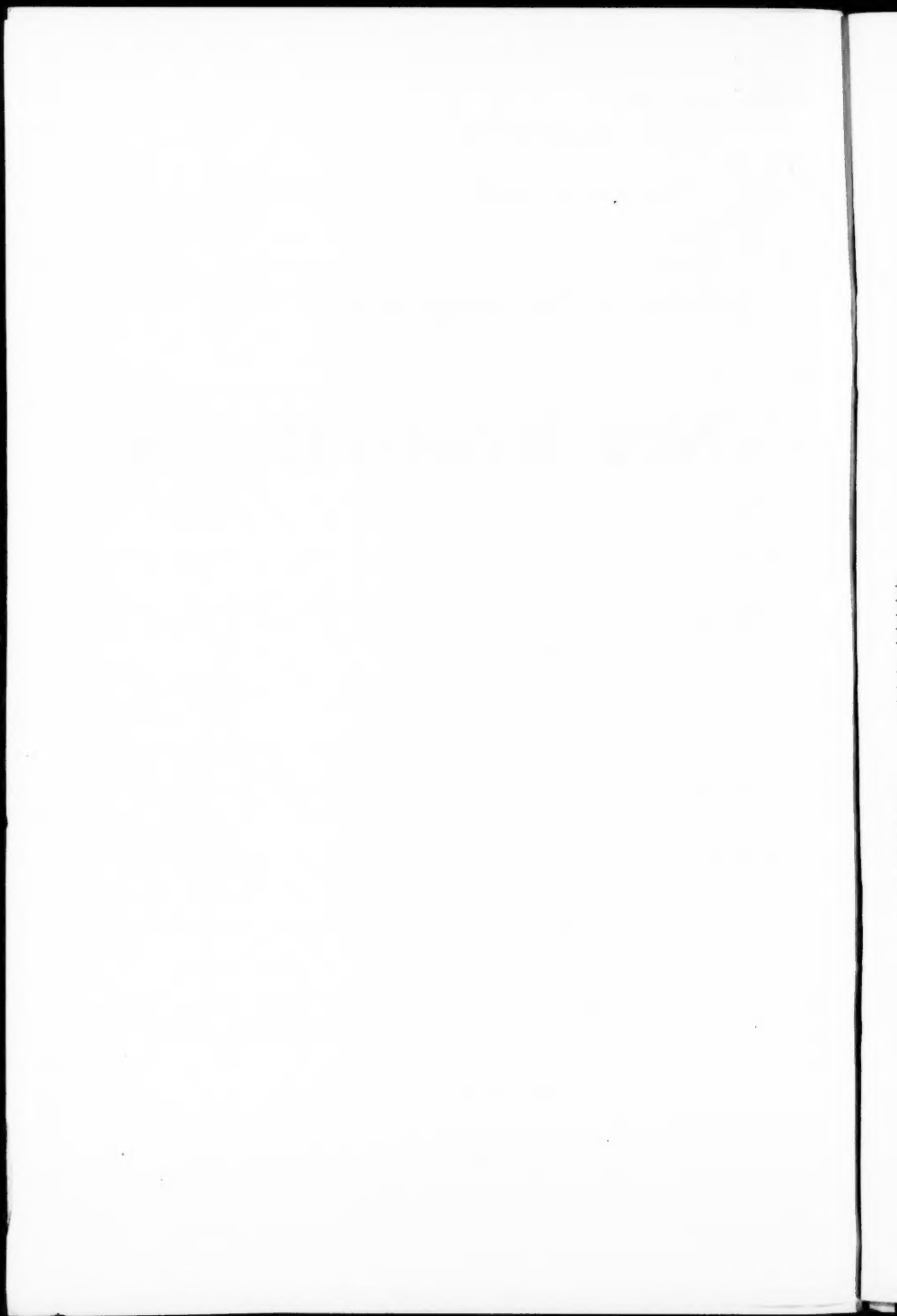
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1955 INDEX

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

1955 INDEX

Material is indexed both under subject and under country to which it relates. Reviews or discussions of books are listed under "Book reviews" as well as under the author of the book. Reviews of individual movies are listed under "Moving picture reviews" as well as under the title of each.

A page standing alone indicates that the material appears only on that page. If the letter "f" follows the page number (as 14f) it means that the material referred to runs over into the following page. If it covers more than two pages the inclusive paging (as 41-47) is given.

An alphabetical list of the titles of articles (exclusive of book and movie reviews) is given at the end of the index.

A

Abel, Elie, Oct., 5
Accidents (industrial), in USSR, Aug., 12
Acheson, Dean, on Formosa, March, 12
Adenauer, Konrad, Apr., 8, July, 7, Oct., 5f
Africa. *See* Morocco; Somaliland; Tanganyika; Tunisia; Union of South Africa.
Africa, French West, Apr., 31
Agafonova, Maria, Apr., 17
Aged people, in USSR, July, 43
Agriculture: in Inner Mongolia, March, 31; in Latvia, July, 22; in Yugoslavia, Dec., 36; in Slovakia, Apr., 20; in USSR, March, 4f, 39-43; Apr., 15-17, June, 12f, 13f; Aug., 39f, Nov., 49, Dec., 19f
Agronomy, in USSR, Oct., 13f
Ai Ching, Oct., 18f
Akramova, Bakhri, Oct., 26-31
Albomycin, Dec., 10
Algeria, Nov., 57, 60
Alien registration act. *See* Smith act.
Allen, Robert S., March, 10, Apr., 9
Alsop, Joseph, July, 19f, 21
Alsop, Stewart, July 6
American Federation of Labor and peace movement, June, 18
American Friends' Service Committee: Oct., 7, Dec., 37; "Speak Truth to Power" (review), July, 45f
American Hebrew Congregations, June, 20
American Institute of Public opinion, June, 8
American Labor Party, June, 21
American music and literature, in Moscow, Dec., 6
Alphand, Herve, Nov., 58
American Peace Crusade, May, 14, June, 20f
American Russian Institute: (San Francisco), June, 22
Americans for Democratic Action, June, 17
Amnesty, in USSR, Oct., 6
Amu-Darya river, Sept., 44
Amu-Darya-Murgab River canal, June, 45
Andreyeva, Rimma, June, 25
Angara river, March, 27
Antibiotic. *See* Albomycin.
Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, March, 45
Anti-Semitism: in west Germany, Jan., 8f, 23f; nonexistent in USSR, Aug., 12f
Anti-Soviet activities, Nov., 10
Arakcheyeva, Alia, June, 26

Art, national character of, Oct., 9
Asanovich, Velko, Dec., 34
Ash, Rafik, Nov., 60
Asia: peace movement in, Aug., 15; UN economic report on, Aug., 39-42
Asian-African conference. *See* Bandung conference.
Asian and Pacific Peace Conference (1952), May, 12
Athletes, visit USSR, Aug., 22f
Atomic energy: conference, Geneva, Sept., 3-7, Nov., 26-30; Soviet proposals on use of, June, 36
Atomic Energy Agency (UN), Apr., 29
Atomic power: first USSR plant, Nov., 31-36; in USSR, July, 41
Atomic weapons, campaign against, Apr., 11; Soviet proposals on, June, 39, Oct., 23;
Attlee, Clement, March, 14
Automobile drivers' licenses, in USSR, Aug., 36
Austin, Maurine, "An Excellent Guide on Labor Issues," July, 46f
Austria: relations with USSR, July 6, March, 7; State Treaty, June, 3, 16, 35; Nov., 14
Azmi, Mahmoud, Apr., 29

B

Bader, Kate, "Soviet Women are . . . Women," Oct., 32-36
Baikal, Lake, March, 27
Balakirev, V., "Making a Dream Come True," Sept., 44
Balakova power station, Apr., 39
Balch, Emily Greene, "A Letter of Love" (poem) June, 31
Baldwin, Hanson, March, 17
Ballu, in USSR, July, 15
Bandung Conference: March, 21, June, 4, 9f, 16, July, 26-29, Nov., 54, Dec., 22; Bulganin on, Aug., 19; Nehru on, May, 22, Aug., 10; ten principles for peace, June, 10
Bangkok Conference (SEATO), Apr., 3f
Bartenyev, Ivan, June, 50
Bayer, Theodore, "East-West Trade," Nov., 42-45
Belfrage, Cedric, deportation of, July, 29, Sept., 6
Belgium, opposition to Paris Pacts, Apr., 10
Benediktov, Ivan, Oct., 16, Dec., 4
Benzvy, Louis, Sept., 31
Berezin, Seriosha, June, 26

Berlin conference (1945). *See* Potsdam Conference.
 Berlin Conference (1954), Apr., 26
 Berman, Harold J., Nov., 61
 Bernal, J. D., interview with Khrushchev, March, 39-43
 Bessie, Alvah: "American Tragedy of Our Time," Aug., 44-46; "An Artist and a Fighter for Man's Rights," Dec., 47; "The Atom 'Spy' Case Examined," July, 44; "The Meaning of Matusow," June, 52-53
 Biancolli, Louis, Nov., 17, 56
 Biderman, Morris, "Jews in the USSR," Sept., 30-33
 Big four conference. *See* Geneva Conference.
 Birth control, in China, Dec., 24f
 Birtok, Francis, Jan., 25
 Blokhintsev, D. I., Nov., 27
 Book publishing: in China, July, 37; in Kazakh SSR, Nov., 52
 Book reviews: "The Accident," by Dexter Masters, Sept., 46; "American in Moscow," by H. Salisbury, July, 30-34; "Atom Spy Hoax," by William Reuben, July, 44; "The Assault on Academic Freedom," by C. Lamont, Aug., 46; Bandung," Nov., 65; "False Witness," by H. Matusow, June, 52-54; "Fear, the Accuser," by D. Gillmor, Apr., 44; "It's Me, O Lord," by Rockwell Kent, Dec., 47; "The Judgement of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," by John Wexley, Aug., 44-46; "Labor Fact Book 12," July, 46; "Logging Mechanization in the USSR," by A. Koroleff, Sept., 45; "Me and my Russian Wife" by E. Gilmore, Apr., 45; "Morning, Noon and Night," by L. Lawrence, Apr., 46; "Peaceful Coexistence," by A. Rothstein, Dec., 49; "Philosophy of Peace," by J. Somerville, May, 47; "The Searching Light," by M. Dodd, May, 46; "Soviet Civilization," by Corliss Lamont, June, 54; "Speak Truth to Power," July, 45; "State Capitalism in China," by Chien Chia-chu, Sept., 46; "Transitional Economic Systems," by D. Douglas, Apr., 43; "U.S.A. Welcomes Soviet Farmers," Dec., 48
 Borzov, Anatoli, Apr., 16
 Boston Symphony Orchestra, Sept., 15
 Botvinnik, Mikhail, Aug., 23
 "Brainwashing," Sept., 29
 Brandon, Dorothy, Oct., 38
 Brandt, Raymond P., July, 6, 16
 Braverman, Michael, Sept., 32
 Brebner, J. Bartlet, July, 34
 Bridgman, Percy, Aug., 43
 Bridges, Styles, May, 4
 British Peace Committee, Apr., 10
 Brussels Treaty (1948), Jan., 7
 Buck, Pearl S., Dec., 10
 Budapest Peace Congress (1954), May, 13
 Bukhtarma power station, March, 27
 Bulganin, N. A.: joint statement with Nehru (excerpts), Aug., 9; Khrushchev on, March, 5; on big-4 negotiations, May, 6; on disarmament, Sept., 5; on Far East, Sept., 16; on Formosa, March, 8, Aug., 10; on Geneva Conference, Aug., 5f, Sept., 4; on heavy industry, March, 5; on Soviet foreign policy, March, 8, 10
 Bulgaria, foreign trade of, July, 36
 Bureaucracy, campaign against, Jan., 29-31, Nov., 8
 Burhop, E.H.S., "Soviet Scientists at Geneva," Nov., 26-30

C

Cairo Conference (1943), on Formosa, March, 11
 Callender, Harold, Jan., 13f, Dec., 40
 Cammer, Harold L., "Why Don't They Answer," Apr., 44
 Cancer, in USSR, Sept., 40-43
 Candy, D. C., Aug., 14
 Capital goods, in USSR, June, 14, Nov., 39f
 Carney, Robert, May, 3f
 Cartels, in Japan, Oct., 39

Cassini, Leonard, "Six in Search of Friendship," July, 12-16
 Catholic Church: and peace movement, Aug., 15; in Rumania, Jan., 26f
 Cattle, in USSR, June, 13
 Caucasus, vacation resorts in, Aug., 35-38
 Cernsa, John, Jan., 25
 Censorship, by US postal service, May, 30
 Centenaries, in USSR, July, 43
 Cerney, Isobel, Spring Song, 1955 (poem), Apr., 45; "Fateful Novel of America Today," Apr., 46f
 Chang Ting, Oct., 19
 Chao Feng, Oct., 21
 Cheboksary Power station, Apr., 39
 Checkett, Sylvia, July, 12
 Chess, Aug., 23, Oct., 45
 Chien Chia-chu, "State Capitalism in China" (review), Sept., 46
 Children: in China, Aug., 34, Dec., 8f, 24f; in USSR, Oct., 43f. *See also* Juvenile delinquency.
 China: and Formosa, March, 11, 13, July, 7, Dec., 9; and UN, Apr., 31f, June, 17, Aug., 15; army of, Dec., 9; book publishing in, July, 37; changing fashions in, Oct., 18-21; children in, Aug., 34, Dec., 8f, 24f; cotton textile industry in, Aug., 41; cultural growth of, Dec., 7f; currency reform in, Apr., 12-14; folk music in, March, 47; education in, Sept., 36, Dec., 8; foreign delegations and visitors, Dec., 8; foreign trade of, Nov., 42f; geological work in, July, 23; industrial growth of, Aug., 10, 40, Nov., 55; Lao Sheh on, July, 8-11; libraries in, Sept., 33; moving pictures in, Oct., 17; music in, March, 47; new developments in, Dec., 7-10; newspapers in, July, 37, Aug., 31; Peace Council signature campaign, June, 43-45; population, Dec., 24; radio broadcasting in, Aug., 31-34; relations with USSR, Apr., 27, Nov., 53-56; relations with US, May, 3, Aug., 6, Sept., 17; religion in, Dec., 24; scientist's impressions of, Dec., 23-25; state capitalism in, Sept., 46; steel industry in, Sept., 36; theatre in, May, 23-27, July, 10, Dec., 8; trade with USSR, Nov., 55; worker's life in, March, 29-31; writers in, July, 9. *See also* Formosa; Mongolia
 China Peace Committee, Dec., 23
 Chinese teletype machine, Oct., 21
 Chi Pai-shih, June, 44
 Chou En-lai: at Bandung Conference, July, 28; on Formosa, March, 13, July, 7, Sept., 17
 Chou Kuang-jea, Oct., 20f
 Chovanec, Pavel, Apr., 20
 Chu River, June, 48
 Chukovsky, Kornei, Aug., 21
 Chupich, Gerga, Dec., 35
 Churchill, Winston, Jan., 14
 Civil rights, growing concern for, June, 21, Sept., 7
 Clark, Joseph, "The Real Russia," (review), Apr., 42
 Clark, Mark, Jan., 18
 Clark, Ruth, "An American's Reply to 'American in Moscow,'" July, 30-34
 Clemens, S. L. *See* Twain, Mark.
 Clos, Max, July, 19
 Coal industry, in USSR, Nov., 38
 Coblenz, Gaston, Jan., 16f
 Coeducation, in USSR, Nov., 23f
 Coexistence of socialist and capitalist states, and cultural exchange: Aug., 18; Eisenhower on, Apr., 25; Kaganovich on, Dec., 21; Nehru on, May, 22; review of Rothstein's "Peaceful Coexistence," Dec., 49; Ward, Harry F. on, Nov., 6f
 Cohn, Roy, June, 53
 "Cold war": and civil liberties, Sept., 7; and int'l trade, Nov., 44f; ending of, July, 3-7, Sept., 8-12, Dec., 31; Soviet proposals on, June, 35
 Colgate-Palmolive Co., June, 6
 Collective farms, in USSR, March, 42, Oct., 11, Dec., 4
 Collective leadership, Nov., 4

College students, visit USSR, June, 5-8
 Colleges and universities, in German Democratic Republic, Sept., 35
 Colombo powers, March, 21
 Colonial countries, United Nations and, Apr., 30, May, 28-30
 Colosseum record Co., Apr., 42
 Communism, not a conspiracy, Nov., 11
 Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on religion, Apr., 40
 Compton, Arthur H., Aug., 44
 Conference of Foreign Ministers (Geneva), Aug., 5, Nov., 5, Dec., 36-38
 Conference on Effective Disarmament, June, 17f
 Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Formosa, March, 19
 Consumption, in U.S., Jan., 23, June, 17
 Consumer goods, in USSR, June, 11f, Sept., 43, Nov., 39
 Contraception, in China, Dec., 24f
 Corn, cultivation, Oct., 16
 Cosmopolitanism, in art, Oct., 9
 Cotton, Eugenie, Aug., 16
 Cotton textile industry, in China, Aug., 41
 Courts, in USSR, March, 37
 Crimea Conference (1945), May, 41-44
 Criticism and self-criticism, Sept., 11, Nov., 4
 Cronkite, Walter, July, 20f
 Crouch, Paul, June, 53
 "Crusade for Freedom," Dec., 45
 Cultural exchanges. *See* International cultural exchanges.
 Culture, national character of, Oct., 9
 Currency reform, in China, Apr., 11-14
 Cyprus, UN and, Apr., 30
 Czechoslovakia: agriculture in, Apr., 20; education in, Apr., 22; foreign trade of, July, 36f, Aug., 42; housing in, Apr., 22; standard of living in, Apr., 20-23, Aug., 41. *See Also* Slovakia.

D

Daily Mirror (London), March, 15
 Dancing, in USSR, July, 15, Dec., 30
 Daniel, Clifton, March, 5, Oct., 5
 Daniell, Raymond, Dec., 39
 Danube-Black Sea Canal, June, 45
 Deane, Philip, March, 15
 Dehler, Thomas, Apr., 8
 Del Vayo, Alvarez, Nov., 15, Jan., 10
 Democratic centralism, Nov., 8
 Denisov, A., "Why the USSR Urges Good Cultural Relations," Aug., 17-21
 Denmark, opposition to Paris pacts, Apr., 10
 Des Moines Register, Sept., 13
 Diem, Ngo Dinh, July, 18f
 Disarmament: Bulgarian on, Sept., 5; Chicago conference on, June, 17f; Foreign Ministers' conference and, Nov., 5, Dec., 43f; Geneva Conference and, Aug., 5; Nehru and Bulgarian on, Aug., 10; Soviet position on, May, 44f, June, 36-39, 40-42, Nov., 6, Dec., 44; United Nations and, Apr., 30; US policy on, Jan., 22, Oct. 7
 Dixon, Pierson, Nov., 58, 61
 Dnieper River, March, 24f, May, 40
 Dobb, Maurice: "Soviet Economic Policy," June, 11-14; "30 Years of Development as an Industrial Country," Nov., 37-41
 Dodd, Martha, "The Searching Light," (review), May, 46
 Dolgushin, D. A., Oct., 14
 Dombrowsky, Thomas, May, 5
 Don River, May, 38
 Douglas, Dorothy, "Transitional Economic Systems" (review), Apr., 43f
 Douglas, William O., Nov., 24
 Dresden Art Gallery, Oct., 17
 Dresden College of Technology, Sept., 34
 Drivers' licenses, in USSR, Aug., 36
 Du Bois, W. E. B.: May, 3; "Most Hopeful Coun-

try in the World," Nov., 10f; "The World Peace Movement," May, 9-14
 Dulles, John Foster; and European Defense Community, Jan., 12; and United Nations, July, 5; at Bangkok conference, Apr., 5f; business connections of, Jan., 7; on Formosa, March, 10; on Geneva Conference, Aug., 3; on Germany, Dec., 40f; on Soviet policy, Nov., 13
 Dvina river, May, 40

E

East Germany, *see* German Democratic Republic
 Eden, Anthony, and Geneva conference, June, 3, Aug., 5, Nov., 14f
 Edgerton, William, Sept., 39
 Education: in China, Sept., 36, Dec., 8; in German Democratic Republic, Sept. 34-36; in Kazakh SSR, Nov., 51; in Poland, May, 34f, Dec., 12; in Slovakia, Apr., 23; in USSR, Aug., 12, Sept., 37, Nov., 18-24
 Ehrenburg, Ilya, Sept., 9; "Tasks of the Soviet Writer," May, 16-22
 Einstein, Albert, June, 14, Aug., 43
 Eisendrath, Maurice N., June, 20
 Eisenhower Administration, peace talk of, Jan., 21
 Eisenhower, Dwight D.: aerial inspection plan, Sept., 5; and big-4 negotiations, May, 6; and atomic power conference, Sept., 3; and disarmament, Dec., 44; and Zhukov, March, 9; on co-existence, Apr., 25; on Formosa, March, 10f, 15, May, 4; on Geneva Conference, Aug., 3, 6, Sept., 16; on Soviet-US friendship, Nov., 9; on United Nations, July, 3
 Electric power industry: in China, Sept., 36; in USSR, March, 23-27, Apr., 35, May, 37, Sept., 36, Nov., 38, Dec., 5, 18f; in Yugoslavia, Dec., 35
 Electrosurgery, in USSR, Sept., 41
 Ellender, Allen J., Nov., 41
 Employment, right to in USSR, Aug., 12
 Enesco, Georges, obituary, July, 17
 Engineering, in USSR, Nov., 38
 England. *See* Great Britain.
 English language, study in USSR, Dec., 37
 English literature, May, 16
 Epstein, Israel, "China's Currency Reform," Apr., 12-14
 Erhard, Ludwig, Apr., 9
 Erosion. *See* Soil erosion.
 Europe, UN economic report on, Aug., 39-42
 European Defense Community, Jan., 5f, 11f
 European security, Germany and, Dec., 40
 European security pact, Soviet proposal on, Jan., 18-21
 Evans, Stanley: "British Clergy Visit the USSR as Guests of the Church," Nov., 62-65; "Religion in Rumania," Jan., 25-28
 Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War, June 21

F

Fairfax-Cholmeley, Elsie: "The Chinese Say 'No!' to Nuclear Weapons," June, 43-45; "Peking's New Feeling," Dec., 7-10; "Peking's Theaters," May, 23, 26f
 Fairs (international), USSR at, Oct., 36
 Family allowances, in USSR, Oct., 44
 Family life, in USSR, Oct., 26-31
 Far East, Sept., 16-18
 Far East Reporter, "Bandung" (review), Nov., 65f
 Farkas, Mikaly, Jan., 30
 Farm laborers, in Japan, Oct., 38
 Farmers (American), visit to USSR, Aug., 22f, Oct., 11-17
 Farmers (soviet), visit to US, Sept., 13-15
 Fascists, in west German gov't, Jan., 8
 Fashions (dress), in China, Oct., 18-21
 Fast, Howard, Dec., 10
 Fawzi, Mahmoud, Nov., 60

Federation of Economic Organizations (Japan), Oct., 38
 Ferghana Canal, June, 48
 Field, Herman, May, 8
 Field, Noel, May, 8
 Filatov, V. P., Nov., 63
 Finger, Ira, June, 30
 Fingerprinting (by US visa office), June, 8
 Fingoyeva, Tana, June, 30
 Finkelstein, Sidney: "Music Breaks the Cold War Barrier," Apr., 41f; "Music and Brotherhood," Dec., 15-17
 Finland, relations with USSR, Oct., 3
 Fisher, Ida, "How They Care for Women and Children in the USSR," Oct., 43f
 Flanders, Ralph, Jan., 23
 Fleeson, Doris, March, 16
 Folk arts, in Slovakia, Apr., 23
 Folk music, in China, March, 47
Foreign Literature (periodical), Sept., 23
 Foreign Ministers Conference (Geneva), Aug., 5, Nov., 5, Dec., 38-46
 Foreign Operations Administration, Nov., 43f
 Foreign trade. *See* International trade.
 Forestry, in USSR, July, 38-41
 Formosa: Bulganin on, March, 8, Aug., 10; China and, March, 11, 13, July, 7, Dec., 9; J. F. Dulles on, March, 10; Molotov on, March, 7; Nehru on, May, 22, Aug., 10; Peace Assembly on, Aug., 15; recent history of, March, 10-19; SEATO and, Apr., 3f; UN and, March, 16, Apr., 32; U.S. and, May, 4f, Sept., 17
 France: opposition to EDC in, May, 5, Jan., 12; peace movement in, Apr., 9; relations with USSR, Jan., 20; trade with China, Nov., 42
 French West Africa, UN and, Apr., 31
 Friends. *See* Quakers.

G

Gallup poll, June, 8
 Garst, Roswell, Dec., 32
 Gause, G. F., Dec., 10
 General Council of Trade Unions (Japan), Oct., 38
 Genetics, in USSR, Sept., 12, Oct., 14
 Geneva conference (1954), Apr., 26f
 Geneva Conference (July 1955): and easing of tensions, June, 3f; Bulganin on, Aug., 4; Eisenhower on, Sept., 16; preparations for, July, 5; results of, Aug., 3-6; road ahead from, Oct., 3-7; USSR and, Nov. 15; western note to USSR, June, 32
 Geneva conference on atomic power, Sept., 3-7
 Geneva foreign Ministers Conference, Dec., 38-46
 "Geneva spirit," Nov., 5, 7, 30, 42
 Geologists, in China, July, 23
 George, Walter F., May 6, Sept., 16
 Georgian S. S. R.: culture of, July, 15; Jews in, Sept., 33
 Geriatrics, in USSR, July, 43
 German Democratic Republic: and German Unification, Dec., 42; foreign policy, June, 4; foreign trade of, Aug., 42; relations with USSR, Oct., 5f; science education in, Sept., 34-36; standard of living in, Aug., 41
 German Federal Republic: and NATO, Jan., 5; and Paris Pacts, May, 5; and Saar, Apr., 8; anti-Semitism in, Jan. 8f, 23f; danger in rearming of, Jan., 22; demand for unity in, May, 35; demands of monopolists in, Apr., 9; military plans, Jan., 7; opposition to rearming, Jan., 11f, 15-18, Apr., 6-11, June, 3; rearming of, Jan., 9f, Apr., 27; relations with USSR, Sept., 4, Oct., 5f; trade with China, Nov., 42
 German war criminals, Oct., 6
 Germany: and European security, Dec., 40; Geneva Conference and, Aug., 4; Molotov on, March, 7; unification, Jan., 10f, May, 35, Aug., 15f, Nov., 5

Gilels, Emil, Apr., 41, Sept., 15, Nov., 17, 56, Dec., 15f
 Gillmor, Dan, "Fear, the Accuser" (review), Apr., 44
 Gilmore, Eddie, "Me and my Russian Wife," (review), Apr., 45f
 Glazkova, Maya, Apr., 16
 Gmirya, Boris, Apr., 41
 Golden, Morris, May, 5
 Goncharov, Anton, May, 20
 Goshal, Kumar, "Vietnam Since Geneva," July, 18-21
 Grain production, in USSR, March, 40f, Dec., 19f
 Great Britain: and Geneva conference, June, 3; and Yalta conference papers, May, 42; opposition to Paris pacts, Jan., 14; peace movement in, Apr., 9f; Soviet relations with, Jan., 20f; trade with China, Nov., 42
 Great Ferghana Canal, June, 48
 Green, Paul, May, 5
 Greenwood, Anthony, March, 14
 Gromyko, Andrei, May, 44f
 Guillain, Robert, July, 19

2

H

Hammar skjold, Dag., Apr., 29, 33, July, 3, 7
 Handicrafts, in Slovakia, Apr., 23
 Han Pin, Oct., 19
 Handler, M. S., Jan., 7, 16, Apr., 7
 Harter, F., letter from, Apr., 47
 Hearst, Charles, Oct., 12
 Heglund, George, "A Canadian on Soviet Logging," Sept., 45
 Helsinki. *See* World Peace Assembly.
 Hensel, H. Struve, Oct., 38
 Highways, in USSR, Aug., 35
 Hilton, James H., June, 8
 Ho Chi Minh, July, 21
 Hodgman, D. R., Nov., 38
 Hogs. *See* Pigs
 Holidays, in Poland, Aug., 26f. *See also* Vacations
 Holland, and West New Guinea, Apr., 50f
 Hopkins, Harry, May, 42
 Hotchner, A. E., Sept., 29
 Housing: in Poland, Apr., 17, May, 33f; in Slovakia, Apr., 22; in USSR, Sept., 19f, Dec., 20
 Hugo, Victor, May, 20
 Hungary: cuts red tape, Jan., 29-31; economic policy of, Jan., 30f; local government in, Jan., 31; standard of living in, Jan., 29f, Aug., 41
 Hupe, Hakon, Aug., 19
 Hutchins, Robert M., Sept., 7
 Hutchinson, Edne, Aug., 16
 Hydroelectric power. *See* Electric power industry.
 Hydrogen bomb, June, 13f, 59, Aug., 42. *See also* Nuclear weapons.

I

Illiteracy, wiped out in USSR, Nov., 23
 Imbrie, James, May, 5
 India, Soviet aid to, Apr., 14
 Indo-China: danger in, Sept., 17; Geneva Conference on, Apr., 26f; Nehru and Bulganin on, Aug., 10. *See also* Vietnam
 Industrial safety work, in USSR, Aug., 12
 Infant mortality, in Rumania, Sept., 21
 Infeld, Leopold, Aug., 43
 Informers, June, 52
 Intellectuals, in Poland, Dec., 12f
 International book exchanges, Aug., 20
 International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Nov., 26-30
 International Cultural exchanges, Aug., 17-21, Sept., 5, 15, Dec., 32, 44f
 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, June, 18f
 International relations: danger spots in, Apr., 3-11;

- easing of, Sept., 19f. *See also* Bandung Conference; Coexistence; Cold war; Geneva Conference; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; South east Asia Treaty Organization; USSR foreign policy; Western European Union.
- International Stalin Peace Prize, 1954 awards, March, 38
- International trade, July, 35-37, Aug., 5, 42, Nov., 42-45
- International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, June, 18
- International Violin Competition, Dec., 14
- Irrigation, in USSR, March, 43, Apr., 34-39, June, 46-51, Sept., 44
- Irtys River, March, 27
- Isa, Julius, Jan., 25
- Ishantoorava, Sara, Sept., 39
- Isotopes, Soviet work on, Nov., 28
- Italy: opposition to German rearmament, Jan., 15; peace movement in, Apr., 10

J

- Jacobs, John, Oct., 12
- Jails. *See* Prisons.
- Janevski, Savo, Dec., 35
- Japan: economic problems of, Nov., 44; monopolies in, Oct., 39; peace movement in, Oct., 39; political changes in, Oct., 37; relations with US, April, 4, Oct., 37-39
- Jewish organizations and peace, Apr., 10, June, 20
- Jews, in USSR, Aug., 12f, 30-33, Dec., 30
- John, Otto, Jan., 8
- Johnson, Clarence, Aug., 22
- Johnson, David Gale, Oct., 11
- Johnson, Harriet, Nov., 17, 56
- Johnson, Manning, June, 53
- Johnson, Nowell, "Women in Soviet Central Asia," Sept., 37-39
- Joint stock companies, Chinese-Soviet, Nov., 54f
- Joliot-Curie, Frederic, Aug., 43
- Jordan, William, Oct., 38
- Journal de Geneve*, Nov., 15
- Justice, in USSR, May, 8
- Justinian, Patriarch, Jan., 26
- Juvenile delinquency, in USSR, March, 36f

K

- Kabalevsky, Dmitri, Apr., 41; "The Musician's Role in Winning Friendship among all Peoples," Oct., 8-10
- Kaempfert, Waldemar, Sept., 3
- Kaganovich, Lazar, "The USSR Reviews its Past Year," Dec., 18-22
- Kaiser, Henry, Aug., 42
- Kama River, Apr., 34, 37
- Kara Kum Canal, June, 49, Sept., 44
- Karaganda coal fields, Nov., 48f
- Kashdan, Isaac, Aug., 23
- Kastendieck, Miles, Nov., 56
- Kazakh, S. S. R., Nov., 46-52
- Ke Yang, Oct., 18
- Kefauver, Estes, May, 4, Nov., 41
- Kennan, George F., May, 30
- Kent, Rockwell, "It's Me, O Lord" (review), Dec., 47f
- Khmara, Victor, "Soviet Youth Tells of Visit with Quakers in England," March, 44-47
- Khrushchev, N. S.: "Khrushchev Explains Agricultural Policy," March, 39-43; on Bulganin, March, 5; on Soviet agriculture, March, 39-43; on Soviet policy, Nov., 12; on Soviet-US relations, March, 10; on Yugoslavia, July, 42f
- Kindergartens, in USSR, Sept., 37f, Nov., 19f
- King, Beatrice: "Conversations in Poland," Dec., 11-14; "Principles and Practice in Soviet Education," Nov., 18-24
- Kingsbury, John A., June, 22
- Kirwan, Lawrence, "Hungary Cuts Red Tape," Jan., 29-31

- Kleffens, Elco van, July, 3
- Kleiner, Julius, Oct., 16
- Knowland, William, March, 12, May, 4, Sept., 16
- Knumants, Ivan, Sept., 12
- Kogan, Leonid, Apr., 41
- Koluzhenova, Taissa, Nov., 34, 36
- Komarno (Slovak town), Apr., 19
- Kononenko, Elena, "The Family of Shaakhmed and Bakhri," Oct., 26-31
- Korea (South), Sept., 18
- Koroleff, Alexander, "Logging Mechanization in the USSR" (review), Sept., 45
- Kosmodemyanskaya, Zoya, Nov., 31
- Kovachevch, Sava, Dec., 34
- Kovacs, Istvan, Jan., 31
- Krishna, Menon, V. K., Jan., 11, July, 28, Nov., 59f
- Kruglikova, Lida, June, 27
- Kuchumov, P. S., Oct., 17
- Kuibishev power station, Apr., 37, 39
- Kuznetsov, V. V., Nov., 60

L

- "Labor Fact Book 12" (review), July, 46
- Labor movement, and peace, June, 18
- Labour Parry (Gt. Britain), Jan., 14
- Lambert, William, Oct., 13, Nov., 52
- Lamont, Corliss: "Soviet Foreign Policy," Apr., 24-28; "The Assault on Academic Freedom" (review), Aug., 46; "Soviet Civilization" (review) June, 54
- Lanchow-Urunchi-Alma Ata railroad, Nov., 54
- Land reform, in Rumania, Jan., 26
- Land utilization, in USSR, March, 22-27, Apr., 15-17, 34-39, May, 36-40, June, 46-53
- Langer, Ernest, Apr., 8
- Language. *See* Linguistics.
- Lao Sheh, Author of Rickshaw Boy Describes His "Life in People's China," July, 8-11
- Latin American countries, and UN, Nov., 59
- Latvian S.S.R., description, July, 22f
- Law, in USSR, Nov., 61
- Lawrence, E. O., Nov., 29
- Lawrence, Lars, "Morning, Noon and Night" (review), Apr., 46
- Lawrence, Martin, July, 12
- Leadership, collective, Nov., 4
- Lehman, Herbert, May, 4
- Leipzig fair, July, 35-37
- Lenin, and electrification, Dec., 18
- Lenin State Library, Aug., 20
- Leningrad-Moscow express (RR), Dec., 3-6
- Lerner, Max, March, 15, Apr., 4f
- Letavet, A. H., Nov., 29
- Li Keng-yuan, "Chinese Worker-Inventor Describes New Life," March, 28-31
- Libraries: in China, Sept., 33; in Kazakh SSR, Nov., 52
- Lin Ta-kuang, "China's Young Radio Network," Aug., 31-34
- Linguistics, in Poland, Aug., 27, 30
- Lipman, Fritz, Aug., 44
- Lippmann, Walter: on Foreign Ministers Conference, Dec., 38f; on Geneva conference, Sept., 7, Oct., 5; on Soviet foreign policy, Apr., 25, Nov., 15; on Yalta conference papers, May, 42
- Literary criticism, May, 18, 20
- Livestock: in Inner Mongolia, March, 31; in USSR, Nov., 50
- Living standards. *See* Standard of living.
- Local government, in Hungary, Jan., 31
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, Nov., 58, 61
- Lomonosov University. *See* Moscow University.
- London Times, Jan., 14f
- Lonsdale, Katherine, "A Scientist in China," Dec., 23-25
- Loveday, Alan, July, 12
- Lovett, Robert Morris: "Martha Dodd's Important New Novel," May, 46f; "War and Peace in the Atomic Age," Oct., 22f
- Lysenko, Trofim, Sept., 12

M

MacArthur, Douglas, March, 17, Nov., 4
 McCarthy, Joseph, July, 5
 McKinney, J. Cartin, Nov., 56
 Madagascar, UN and, Nov., 59
 Magazines, *See* Periodicals.
 Main Turkmenian Canal, June, 45
 Makardo, Ian, Apr., 5
 Malenkov, G. M.: message to Americans, Jan., 24;
 on effect of war on USSR, Nov., 37; on nuclear
 weapons, Apr., 26; on Soviet foreign policy,
 Apr., 25; on Soviet power industry, Dec., 5;
 resignation from Premiership, March, 4
 Malone, George W., Nov., 41
Manchester Guardian, March, 15, Dec., 43
 Mansfield, Mike, Sept., 18
 Mao Tse-tung, on USSR, Nov., 54
 Martin, Robert P., July, 18
 Masters, Dexter, "The Accident," (review), Sept.,
 46
 Maternity welfare: in Rumania, Sept., 21; in USSR,
 Oct., 35, 44, Dec., 30
 Matsushima, May, 4, June, 4, 14f
 Matusow, Harvey, June 22, "False Witness" (re-
 view), June, 52-54
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir, May, 20f
 Mays, Benjamin E., Nov., 30
 Medical service: in Poland, May, 33, July, 21; in
 USSR, July, 21, Aug., 12, Sept., 41, Dec., 30
 Mendel, Douglas, Jr., Oct., 37
 Mendelson, M., Aug., 21
 Mendes-Figueiredo, Eula, "In a Polish Cotton Mill,"
 May, 31-35
 Mendes-France, Pierre, Jan., 12
 Methodist Federation for Social Action, June, 19
 Middle East: Nehru on, May, 22; Soviet policy
 and, Nov., 15
 Middleton, Drew, Jan., 14
 Mikhailov, Nikolai: "Decking the Land with For-
 ests," July, 38-41; "Diverting the Flow of
 Rivers," June, 46-51; "Harnessing Soviet Rivers,"
 March, 22-27; "Linking the Soviet Seas," May,
 36-40; "Re-forming the Volga," Apr., 34-39;
 "Soviet Latvia," July, 22f; biographical note,
 March, 25
 Mikhailovich, Slava, Dec., 33
 Military bases, Soviet position on, June, 34-39
 Military bases (US), in Japan, Oct., 38
 Military expenditures, in USSR, March, 4
 Military training, compulsory, Jan., 23, June, 17
 Millet, Martha, "The Spirit and Meaning of Hel-
 sinki," Sept., 26-29
 Mingcheaur power station, March, 26
 Mitrofanova, Dina, June, 27
 Molotov, V. M.: on Austrian treaty, June, 4; on
 cultural exchanges, Dec., 44f; on NATO, Dec.,
 41; on Soviet foreign policy, March, 6-8; on
 United Nations, July, 3f, 7; on US-Soviet rela-
 tions, March, 8
Le Monde, Dec., 43
 Monetary reform, in China, Apr., 12-14
 Mongolia: agriculture in, March, 31; radio stations
 in, May, 27
 Monopolies, in Japan, Oct., 38
 Montevideo Peace Conference (1952), May, 12
 Moore, George, "UCLA Student Visits the USSR,"
 Dec., 28-31; Nov., 24
 Morford, Richard, "A Quaker Approach to Peace,"
 July, 45f
 Morocco, UN and, Apr., 30
 Morse, Wayne, March, 18, May, 4
 Morton, Louis, May, 43
 Morton, Thurston B., May, 41
 Moscow: American music and art in, Dec., 6; art
 exhibition in, Oct., 17; J. B. Brebner on, July,
 34; H. Salisbury's distortions on, July, 30-34;
 U.S. Senators on, Nov., 41; "We Saw Mos-
 cow" (movie), July, 16
 Moscow Conference (1955), March, 8
 Moscow Conference on European Security, Jan., 20

Moscow River, May, 36
 Moscow University, July, 12f
 Motels, in USSR, Aug., 35-38
 Mothers, World Congress of, May, 13, June, 23,
 Aug., 16, Sept., 27
 Moving picture industry in China, Oct., 17
 Moving pictures: in Kazakh SSR, Nov., 52; in
 Slovakia, Apr., 23; in USSR, July, 14; "We
 Saw Moscow" (review), July, 16
 Mozart Festival (Poland), Dec., 14
 Muller, Herman J., Aug., 43f
 Murata, Shozo, Oct., 39
 Murghab river, Sept., 44
 Music: and brotherhood, Dec., 15-17; and cultural
 reactions, Apr., 41; in China, March, 47
 Music education, in USSR, March, 38
 Musicians: role in int'l friendship, Oct., 8-10;
 (British), visit USSR, July, 12-16
 Musiyko, A. S., Oct., 14

N

Nagy, Imre, Jan., 29
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship;
 June, 21f; "U.S.A. Welcomes Soviet Farmers"
 (review), Dec., 48
 National Council of the Churches of Christ, June, 19
 Natvig, Marie, June, 52
 Nazis, in west German govt., Jan., 8
 Negro History Week, March, 20f
 Nehru, Jawaharlal: at Bandung Conference, July,
 26, 28; joint statement with Bulganin (ex-
 cerpts), Aug., 9f; on Far East, Sept., 16; on
 nuclear weapons, May, 22; plea for peace, May,
 22; visit to USSR, Aug., 7-9, Sept., 9
 Nekrassov, May, 17, 20
 Nenni, Pietro, Dec., 8
 Netherlands. *See* Holland
 New World Review, ownership statement, Nov., 66
New York Times: on athletic delegations to USSR,
 Aug., 22; on Formosa, May, 4; on Nehru, Aug.,
 7f; on Soviet peace moves, Nov., 13; on Viet
 Nam, Sept., 17f
 Newmann, Emanuel, Jan., 23
 Newspapers, in China, July, 37, Aug., 31
 Nikolayev, N. A., Nov., 27
 Nikolayeva, Galina, May, 20
 Nikolayeva, Tatiana, Apr., 41
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Jan., 5, Oct., 7,
 Nov., 14, Dec., 40f
 Nowak, Stanley, May, 5
 Nu (Premier of Burma), Sept., 16
 Nuclear physics, Soviet work on, Nov., 26f
 Nuclear weapons: Oct., 22f; Chinese position on,
 June, 43-45; Nehru on, May, 22; Pope Pius on,
 May, 14; power of, Apr., 25f; scientists on,
 Aug., 43f; Soviet proposals on, May, 44f, June,
 36-39; Vyshinsky on, Apr., 26. *See also* Atomic
 bomb; Hydrogen bomb.
 Nuncz, Benjamin, Nov., 59
 Nurseries, in Poland, May, 34
 Nursing, in USSR, Oct., 35

O

Ob river, March, 27
 Obraztsov, Sergei, Sept., 15
 O'Casey, Sean, Nov., 25
 October revolution, Dec., 18
 Odessa, Nov. 62, 65
 Oil. *See* Petroleum.
 Oistrakh, David, Sept., 15, Dec., 14, 17
 Oka river, May, 40
 Ollenhauer, Erich, Jan., 15, Apr., 7, Dec., 43
 Olmsted, Mildred Scott, Nov., 30
 Olsen, Ralph, Oct., 12, 16
 Onega, Lake (USSR), May, 37
 Orlova, R. D., June, 24
 Orthodox Church, in Rumania, Jan., 26
 Owen, Ferris, Oct., 15f

P

Painless childbirth, Oct., 43
 Palace of Culture, in Warsaw, Aug., 30
 Panova, Vera, May, 20
 Paris pacts. *See* Western European Union.
 Parker, Ralph: "Ending the Cold war," Sept., 8-12;
 "Motels in the Caucasus," Aug., 35-38; "On the
 Leningrad-Moscow Express," Dec., 3-6; "To the
 Virgin Lands," Apr., 15-17; "The USSR's
 Atomic Power Station," Nov., 31-36
 Patriquin, R. L., Sept., 33, "A Canadian Rail-
 roader Views the USSR," Aug., 11-13
 Pauling, Linus, Aug., 43, Sept., 12
 Peace: in atomic age, Oct., 22f; Nehru on, May,
 22; road to for U.S., Jan., 4-24; Soviet pro-
 posals on June, 33-42
 Peace Information Center, May, 11
 Peace movement: Bandung Conference and, June,
 9f; Du Bois on, May, 9-14; Helsinki meeting,
 Aug., 14-16, Sept. 26-29; in Asia, Aug., 15;
 in Europe; Apr., 9f; in Japan, Oct., 39; in U.S.,
 May, 3, June, 15-22; Soviet Seventh Day Ad-
 ventists and, Oct., 42; USSR and, March, 3-9,
 Nov., 12-15; 1952 peace conference, May, 12
 Peking: new feeling in, Dec., 7-10; Peng Teh-
 huai, Dec., 9
 People's China (periodical), on Formosa, March,
 13
 People's Democracies: and European security, Jan.,
 20; economic growth of, Aug., 39f; foreign trade
 of, Nov., 42f
 Periodicals, in China, July, 37
 Perlo, Victor, "The Facts behind the Figures,"
 Aug., 39-42
 Peterson, Val, June, 14
 Petroleum industry, in USSR, Nov., 38
 Petrov, N. N., Sept., 43f
 Physics, Soviet work on, Nov., 26f
 Pickett, Clarence, Dec., 37
 Pierson, Warren Lee, Sept., 29
 Pigs, in USSR, June, 13
 Pinay, Antoine, Nov., 61
 Piotrkow (Poland), May, 31
 Pius XII, Pope, May, 3, 14
 Platkovsky, V., "Soviet Journalists Visit Yugo-
 slavia," Dec., 33-37
 Poems: A Letter of Love, by Emily Balch, June, 31;
 "Spring Song, 1955," by I. Cerney, Apr., 45
 Poland: cultural life in, May, 34f; education in,
 May, 34f, Dec., 12; housing in, Apr., 17, May,
 33f; industrial development of, Apr., 43; medical
 service in, May, 33, July, 21; Palace of culture
 in, Aug., 30; rebuilding of, May, 31-35; re-
 ligion in, Dec., 13; Standard of living in, Dec.,
 11-14; trade unions in, May, 32f; vacations in,
 Aug., 26-30; wages in, May, 32; women in,
 May, 32; Dec., 11; Yalta conference and, May,
 43. *See also* Warsaw.
 Polowsky, Joseph, June, 5
 Polytechnical education, Nov., 20f
 Postal service, censorship by, May, 30
 Porkkala naval base, Oct., 3, Nov., 7
 Port Arthur, Nov., 7, 54f
 Potsdam agreement (1945), Jan., 5, March, 11
 Povenchanka river, May, 37
 Powell, Cecil F., Aug., 43
 Powell, R. B., July, 34
 Priestley, J. B., May, 16
 Prisoners of war (American), Apr., 32, Sept., 29,
 Oct., 3f
 Prisons, in USSR, March, 32-38
 Pritt, D. N.: "New East-West Wind Blowing,"
 Sept., 19f; "Two Soviet Prisons," March, 32-38;
 awarded peace prize, March, 38; in China, Dec. 8
 Pritt, Marie, "Rumania Revisited," Sept., 21-23
 Protestant churches and peace, May, 6f, June 19
 Public opinion, and peace movement, June, 15

Q

Quemoy Island, May, 4, June, 4, 14f
 Quiroga-Galdo, German, Nov., 59f
 Quakers: and peace movement, June, 19, July, 45f;
 delegation to USSR, Dec., 37; Soviet youth visit
 British, March, 44-47. *See also* American Friends
 Service Committee.

R

"Rabfacs," Nov., 22
 Radio broadcasting: in China, Aug., 31-34; in In-
 ner Mongolia, May, 27
 Radio Free Europe, Dec., 45
 Radiotherapy, in Soviet Union, July, 21
 Railroad freight, in USSR, Dec., 19
 Rakosi, Matyas, Jan., 30
 Rapallo treaty, Nov., 13
 Raymond, Ellsworth, Aug., 13
 Razdan river, March, 26
 Real wages. *See* Wages
 Reed, William, Oct., 13, 15
 Reeves, Rosser, Aug., 23
 Religion: in China, Dec., 24; in Poland, Dec., 13;
 in Rumania, Jan., 25-28; in USSR, Apr., 40,
 Nov., 62-65
 Rent (house), in Poland, May, 34
 Reshevsky, Samuel, Aug., 23
 Reston, James, July, 7, Oct., 4
 Retail prices, in USSR, Nov., 40
 Retail trade, in Peking, Dec., 7
 Retarded children, in USSR, Nov., 23
 Reuben, William, "The Atom Spy Hoax" (re-
 view), July, 44v
 Reuther, Walter P., May, 6, June, 18
 Revolutions, can't be exported, Nov., 7
 Rhee, Syngman, Sept., 18
 Riga (Latvia), July, 23
 River development, in USSR, March, 22-27
 River transportation, in USSR, May, 36-40
 Robeson, Eslanda: "Before and After Bandung,"
 July, 26-29; "The Ninth UN Session," Apr.,
 29-33; "Report from the United Nations," Nov.,
 57-61; "Some Thoughts on Negro History Week"
 March, 20f; "Trust in Trusteeship?," May, 28-
 30; "UN plus Bandung Equals Peace," June, 9f
 Robeson, Paul: Dec., 10; "Their Victories for
 Peace are also Ours," Nov., 16f
 Rogachowski, Vitali, June, 30
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. and Yalta conference, May,
 43
 Rosenberg, Ethel and Julius. Review of "The Judge-
 ment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," Aug.,
 42-46
 Rosenthal, A. M., Aug., 8
 Ross, Lawrence Seton, June, 53
 Rotblat, Joseph, Aug., 43
 Rothstein, Andrew, "Peaceful Coexistence" (re-
 view), Dec., 49
 Rumania: land reform in, Jan., 26; new develop-
 ments in, Sept., 21-23; religion in, Jan., 25-28;
 standard of living in, Sept., 22; women in, Sept.,
 22
 Rumanian Orthodox Church, Jan., 26
 Ruskakova, Klavdia, Apr., 17
 Russell, Bertrand, Aug., 43
 Russia. *See* USSR
 Russian Orthodox Church, Nov., 62
 "Rybinsk sea," Apr., 35

S

Saar, Jan., 13, Apr., 8
 Sabley, Pavel, Oct., 12
 Safety work, in USSR, Aug., 12
 Salisbury, Harrison, Aug., 12f; "American in Mos-
 cow" (review), July, 30-34
 Sandburg, Carl, Dec., 10

Sartre, Jean-Paul, Sept., 9, Dec., 5
 Schaffer, Gordon, "The Peoples Join Hands for Peace," Aug., 14-16.
 Schlauch, Margaret: "Fun While You Study," Aug., 26-30; "Two Countries in Transition, Apr., 43f
 Schliffer, S. M., Apr., 10
 Scaloss, Edwin L., Nov., 17
 Schmidt-Wittmack, Karl, Jan., 6
 Schonberg, Harold C., Nov., 56
 School teachers, in Poland, Dec., 12
 Schuman, Frederick L., May, 5f
 Schutz, Geza, Dec., 32
 Science: in China, Dec., 24; in Kazakh SSR, Nov., 51; in USSR, Sept., 12
 Scientists, in German Democratic Republic, Sept., 34-36
 Sebastian, Metropolitan, Jan., 27f
 Self-criticism, Nov., 4
 Senior, Evan, July, 12
 Sergeyev, Leonid, June, 30f
 Sergeyev, Vladimir, Nov., 35
 Sevan, Lake, March, 26f, May, 38
 Seventh Day Adventists, in USSR, Oct., 42
 Shamakhmudov, Shaakmed, Oct., 26-31
 Shapley, Harlow, May, 10
 Sheep, in USSR, June, 13
 Shelter belt, in USSR, July, 38
 Sherwood, Robert E., May, 42f
 Shigemitsu, Oct., 37
 Shipbuilding, in Slovakia, Apr., 19
 Shop stewards, in Poland, May, 33
 Shur, Mania, Sept., 32
 Siler, (rep., Ky.), March, 18
 Simonov, Konstantin, May, 15
 Sinestrol (drug), Sept., 40
 Singapore Standard (newspaper), March, 15
 Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co., Nov., 55
 Skromtaye, Oleg, June, 27
 Sladkov, Misha, June, 26
 Slepov, L. "Soviet Journalists in Yugoslavia," Dec., 33-37
 Slovakia, development of, Apr., 18-23
 Small business firms, in Japan, Oct., 39
 Smith act, repeal demanded, Sept., 7
 Smith, Jessica: "The American People Want Peace," June 15-22; "A Burning Novel of Protest," Sept., 46; "Danger Spots in East and West," Apr., 3-11; "Geneva—Signpost on the Highway to Peace," Aug., 3-6; "In the Spirit of Geneva," Sept., 3-7; "The Road ahead from Geneva," Oct., 3-7; "The Road to Peace for America," Jan., 4-24; "The Second Geneva," Dec., 38-46; "Toward Ending the Cold War," July, 3-7; "Two Anniversaries," Nov., 3-5; "We Can Be Friends," March, 3-9; "Will America Meet the Challenge?" May, 3-7; "The Yalta Papers," May, 41-44
 Sobolev, Leonid, Sept., 11
 Social Insurance, in Poland, May, 33
 Socialist realism, defined, May, 15f
 Soil erosion, in USSR, July, 38, Oct., 16
 Somaliland, May, 29
 Somerville, John, "Philosophy of Peace" (review), May, 47
 Soth, Lauren, Oct., 11, 15
 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, Apr., 3, May, 22, Oct., 37-39
 South Africa. See Union of South Africa.
 Soviet Central Asia, irrigation in, June, 46
 Soviet literature, development of, May, 15
 Soviet Union. See USSR
 Soviet writers, tasks of, May, 16-22
 Soviet Writers congress, May, 15-22
 Spaak, Paul Henri, Nov., 58f
 Sparkman, John, Nov., 41
 Spassky, Boris, Oct., 45
 Sports: in Poland, May, 34; in USSR, Dec., 29f; International meeting, Oct., 41
 Stalin, Joseph and linguistics, Aug., 28; at Yalta conference, May, 43; Salisbury's distortions on, July, 33f
 Stalin Peace Prize, 1954 awards, March, 38

Stalingrad power station, Apr., 37, 39
 Standard of living: in China, Oct., 18-21; in Czechoslovakia, Apr., 20-23, Aug., 41; in German Democratic Republic, Aug., 41; in Hungary, Jan., 29, Aug., 41; in Japan, Oct., 38; in Poland, Dec., 11-14; in Rumania, Sept., 22; in Slovakia, Apr., 20-23; in USSR, March, 40, Aug., 40f, Sept., 19f, 30, Oct., 12, Dec., 20
 Stanley, W. M., Aug., 44
 State capitalism, in China, Sept., 46
 State farms, in USSR, Nov., 49
 Steel industry: in China, Sept., 36; in India, Apr., 14; in USSR, Aug., 40, Nov., 37f
 Stendahl, M., May, 20
 Stertinius, Walter, May, 42
 Stevenson, Adlai, on Formosa, May, 4
 Stockholm peace meeting (1950), May, 11
 Straits Times (Newspaper), March, 15
 Strauss, Lewis L., Apr., 25f
 Strelkov, Yuri, Apr., 16
 Strong, Anna Louise: "Moscow's Peace Drive," Nov., 12-15; clearing of, May, 7f
 Strumlin, Stanislav, June, 13
 Stuart, Leighton, March, 11
 Student festival, in Warsaw, Oct., 40-42
 Students (foreign) in USSR, Aug., 19
 Students (Soviet), visit to U.S., June, 7
 Stump, Admiral, March, 14
 Sulzberger, C. L., Apr., 3f, July, 20
 Surkov, Alexander, May, 15
 Swift, Jonathan, Apr., 45
 Swine. See Pigs.

T

Tanganyika, May, 29
 Taiwan. See Formosa
 Tazhibayev, T. T., Nov., 46, 52
 Technical education, in USSR, Nov., 22
 Teletype machine, Chinese, Oct., 21
 Television, in USSR, Aug., 13
 Tempest, E. V., "A Scholar on Peaceful Co-existence," Dec., 49
 Textile industry: in China, Aug., 41; in Poland, May, 31f
 Theater: in China, May, 23-27, July, 10, Dec., 8, in Czechoslovakia, Apr., 23; in Peking, May, 23-27; in Poland, Dec., 13; in USSR, March, 38, Nov., 51
 Timakov, Vladimir, "How the USSR Fights Cancer," Sept., 40-43
 Timofeyevsky, (cancer specialist), Sept., 40
 Tipping, forbidden in USSR, Oct., 32
 Tito, Josip Broz, Dec., 36
 Tolstoy, Leo, Sept., 8
 Tompkins, William S., June, 52
 Touring, in USSR, Aug., 37, Sept., 20
 Trachtenberg, Alexander, June, 53
 Trade unions: and Formosa, March, 19; and peace movement, June, 18; in Germany, Jan. 16, Apr., 7; in Japan, Oct., 38; in Poland, May, 32f; Aug., 12; in West Germany, Jan., 16, Apr., 7, May, 35
 Travel, in USSR, Dec., 3-6
 Truman, Harry S., and Formosa, March, 11f
 Trumbull, Robert, Oct., 38f
 Trusteeship, UN and, May, 28-30
 Tsimlyanska Sea, May, 39
 Tubman, Howard, Nov., 17
 Tunisia, UN and, Apr., 30
 Turgenev, Ivan, May, 20
 Twain, Mark, study of in USSR, June, 24-27

U

U.S. News and World Report, July, 18, 20, Nov. 13
 Ulanova, Galina, Sept., 15
 Unemployment, in Japan, Oct., 38
 "Unified labor school," Nov., 18

Union of South Africa, Nehru on, May, 22
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, agriculture in, March, 4f, 39-43; Apr., 15-17, June, 12-14, July, 23, Aug., 39f, Nov., 49, Dec., 19f; aid to India, Apr., 14; American reporter on, July, 16; amnesty in, Oct., 6; and intl cultural exchanges, Aug., 17-21, Sept., 5; at atomic power conference, Sept., 3; at international fairs, Oct., 36; atomic power in, July, 41, Nov., 31-36; cancer therapy in, Sept., 40-43; Children in, Oct., 43, coal industry in, Nov., 38, collective farms in, March, 42, Oct., 11, Dec., 4; consumer goods in, June, 11f, Sept., 43, Nov., 39; constitution, Nov. 8; courts in, March, 37, May 8; cultural growth of, Dec., 20; dancing in, July, 15, Dec., 30; economic growth of, Aug., 39f; economic policy, March, 4-6, June, 11-14; education in, Aug., 12, Sept., 37, Nov., 18-24; electric power industry in, Apr., 35, May, 37, Sept., 36, Nov., 38, Dec., 5, 18f; English language study in, Dec., 37; family allowances in, Oct., 44; family life in, Oct., 26-31; five-yr plan results, June, 11, Nov., 40; foreign literature in, Sept., 23; foreign students in, Aug., 19; foreign trade of, Aug., 42, Nov., 44; forestry in, July, 38-41; geography of, March, 22; harnessing rivers in, March, 22-27; honors Whitman, Aug., 21; housing in, Sept., 19f, Dec., 20; industrial growth of, Sept., 43, Nov., 37-41, Dec., 19, 21; irrigation in, March, 43, Apr., 34-39, June, 40-51, Sept., 44; Jews in, Aug., 12f, Sept., 30-43, Dec., 30; juvenile delinquency in, March, 36f; land utilization in, March, 22-27, Apr., 15-17, May, 36-40, June, 46-53; law in, Nov., 61; maternity welfare in, Oct., 35, 44, Dec., 40; medical service in, July, 21, Aug., 12, Sept., 41, Dec., 30; military expenditures, March, 4; moving pictures in, July, 14; population of, Nov., 38f; prisons in, March, 32-38; religion in, Apr., 40, Nov., 62-65; science in, Sept., 12, Nov., 31; sixt five-yr plan, Sept., 9f; soil erosion in, July, 38; sports in, Dec., 29f; standard of living in, March, 40, Aug., 40f, Sept., 19f, 30, Oct., 12, Dec., 20; steel industry in, Nov., 37f; study of Mark Twain in, June, 24-27; Supreme Soviet meeting, March, 3-9; television in, Aug., 13; theaters in, March, 38, Nov., 31; 38th anniversary, Nov., 3-5, 6-9, Dec., 18-22; tourists in, Sept., 20; trade unions in, Aug., 12; trade with China, Nov., 55; trade with US, Nov., 45; travel in, Dec., 3-6; vacations in, Aug., 35-38; W.E.B. Du Bois on, Nov., 10f; wages in, June, 12, Nov., 40, Dec., 20; women in, Apr., 33, Sept., 37-39, Oct., 26-36, 43f; work on nuclear physics, Nov., 26f; youth in, Apr., 15-17, Dec., 4. *See also* Moscow; names of republics and regions

USSR, Foreign Delegations and Visitors: American farmers, June, 7, Sept., 13-15, Oct., 11-17; American Quakers, Dec., 37; American students, June, 5-8, Dec., 28-31; British clergy, Nov., 62-65; British musicians, July, 12-16; chess players & athletes, Aug., 22f; Columbia professors, July, 34; from Canada, Aug., 11-13, Oct., 32-36; from Great Britain, Sept., 20; from US, Oct., 3f, Nov., 16f; number of, Aug., 19, Sept., 9; US Senators, Nov., 41

USSR, Foreign Policy and Austria, March, 7, June, 3, 16, 35, July, 6, Nov., 14; and big-4 conference, May, 6; and China, Apr., 27, Nov., 53-56; and colonial countries, Nov., 60; and disarmament, May, 44f, June, 36-39, 40-42, Nov., 6, Dec., 44; and European security, Jan., 18-21, Dec., 41-43; and Far East, Apr., 5f; and Finland, Oct., 3; and Formosa, March, 67, 16; and France, Jan., 20; and Geneva conference, June, 32, Aug., 4, Sept., 4; and German Democratic Republic, Oct., 6f; and German Federal Republic, Sept., 4f, Oct., 3f; and German unification, Jan., 13, Apr., 6-11, Nov., 13; and Great Britain, Jan., 20f; and nuclear weapons, May, 44f, June,

36-39; and "peace drive," Nov., 12-15; and peace movement, March, 3-9; and US, March, 8, Nov., 3-5; and Yugoslavia, Apr., 28, July, 6f, 42f, Nov., 14f; C. Lamont on, Apr., 24-28; concessions made by, June, 4; main points of, Dec., 21f; Molotov on, March, 6-8; peace proposals in UN, June, 33-42; Yalta conference papers, May, 41-44

USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Aug., 18

Union of Soviet Writers, Congress of, May, 15f

United Nations: and China, Apr., 31f, June, 17, Aug., 15; and colonial countries, Apr., 30, May 28-30; and Cyprus, Apr., 30; and Formosa, March, 16, Apr., 32; and nuclear weapons, Jan., 22; Disarmament Commission, Oct., 7; Economic Commission for Europe, Nov., 44; economic reports on Europe and Asia, Aug., 39-42; General Assembly, Apr., 29-33, Nov., 37-61; Nehru and Bulganin on, Aug., 10; Soviet peace proposals in, June, 33-42; tenth anniversary of, June, 9f, July, 3, Sept., 28; Trusteeship Council, May, 28-30

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, USSR and, Apr., 28

United States: and China, Aug., 6, Sept., 17; and Formosa, March, 10-19; and Geneva conference, June, 32; and German rearmament, Jan., 5; and Japan, Oct., 37-39; and peace movement, May, 3-7; and USSR, Jan., 18, March, 8, May, 31, Nov., 3-5; and Viet-Nam, July, 20, foreign policy, Jan., 4-24; military bases, Oct., 38; moral decadence of, May, 9; peace movement in, Jan., 21, June, 15-22; position on disarmament, Oct., 7; trade with China, Nov., 42f; trade with USSR, Nov., 45; war economy in, Jan., 23; Yalta conference papers, May, 41-44. *See also* Eisenhower administration; names of govt. departments, etc.

Universal Military Training, in U.S., Jan., 23, June, 17

Ust-Kamenogorsk power station, March, 27, Nov., 48f

Urrutia, Francisco, Nov., 59

V

Vacations: in Poland, May, 33, Aug., 26-30; in

Rumaria, Sept., 22; in USSR, Aug., 35-38

Vagana, Emilia, July, 23

Vatican, and peace movement, Aug., 15

Veksler, V. I., Nov., 29

Vekua, I., June, 13

Vienna Peace Congress (1951), May, 12

Viet Nam: dangers in, Sept., 17; since Geneva, July, 18-21; U.S. and, July, 20f

Violin competition, international, Dec., 14

Volga-Don canal, May, 38f

Volga river, Apr., 34-39, May, 36

Volkov river, May, 40

Voynow, Andrew: "American Students, GIs, Farmers Urge Exchange Visits with Soviet People," June, 5-8; "A Fascinating Report," Dec., 48; "A Man and his Country," Nov., 46-52; "Must Reading on the USSR," June, 54f; "A Record of Chinese Folk Melodies," March, 47; "The Soviet Writers Congress," May, 15f; "Successful Venture in Human Understanding, Sept., 13-15

Vyg, Lake, May, 37

Vyshinsky, Andrei: death of, Apr., 29; on atomic weapons, Apr., 26

W

Wages: in China, Dec., 8; in Hungary, Jan., 29f; in Poland, May, 32; in USSR, June, 12, Nov., 40, Dec., 20

Wall Street Journal: Jan., 8; on east west trade,

Nov., 42; on Formosa, March, 18; on Geneva Conf., Sept., 16
 War: Douglas MacArthur on, March, 17; in atomic age, Oct., 22f; scientists' appeal on, Aug., 43f; Soviet proposals on ending threat, June, 33-42
 War Criminals (German), released by USSR, Oct., 6
 War danger, west Germany and, Jan., 10
 War economy, in U.S., Jan., 23
 War propaganda: March, 3f, Dec., 45; Molotov on, July, 4; Soviet proposal on, June, 34f
 Warburg, James, Jan., 23, Nov., 30
 Ward, Harry F. "Thoughts on this Anniversary," Nov., 6-9
 Warren, Susan: "America's Real Friends in Japan," Oct., 37-39; "Formosa," March, 10-19; "Nehru's Visit to the USSR," Aug., 7-9; "The Soviet Union and China," Nov., 53-56; "Wanted: a Far East Geneva," Sept., 16-18
 Warsaw: Palace of Culture in, Aug., 30; youth conference in, Oct., 40-42
 Warsaw Conference, Apr., 7, July, 7
 Warsaw Peace Congress (1950), May, 11
 Warsaw student festival, Dec., 28
 Water-power resources, of USSR, March, 24
 Watkins, John B., Sept., 31
 Watson, Lowell, June, 52
 "We Visit Moscow" (documentary film), July, 16
 Weather forecasting, in China, Aug., 33
 Wehner, Herbert, Dec., 43
 Weight-lifters, visit USSR, Aug., 22f
 Weir, Ernest T., Nov., 30
 West German Trade Union Federation, Apr., 7
 West Germany, see German Federal Republic
 West New Guinea, UN and, Apr., 30f
 Western Dvina river, May, 40
 Western European Union: Apr., 27, May, 5, June, 3f; and German rearming, Jan., 5
 Wexley, John, "Judgement of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" (review), Aug., 44-46
 Wheeler, Frank, "World Youth Meet in Friendship," Oct., 40-42
 Wheeler, George, "Slovakia in Transition," Apr., 18-23
 White, William S., March, 12f, 18
 White Sea-Baltic canal, May, 37
 Whitman, Walt, Aug., 21
 Wilkomirski, Wanda, Dec., 14
 Wilson, Charles E., Jan., 18
 Wilson, Harold, Apr., 5
 Women: in Poland, May, 32, Dec., 11; in Rumania, Sept., 22; in Soviet Central Asia, Sept., 37-39; in USSR, Apr., 33, Oct., 32-36, 43f, Nov., 24, 51

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Apr., 11, June, 20
 Working conditions: in China, March, 29-31; in Poland, May, 32
 World Congress of Mothers, May, 13, June, 23, Aug., 16, Sept., 27f
 World Congress of Partisans of Peace (1949), May, 10
 World Economic Conference (proposed), Nov., 45
 World-Peace Assembly, Aug., 14-16, Sept., 26-29
 World Peace Council: Apr., 11, May, 13, Oct., 23; signature campaign in China, June, 43-45
 World Youth Congress (1953), May, 13
 World Youth Festival (Warsaw), Oct., 40-42, Dec., 28
 World War II, casualties in, Jan., 4
 Wright, Kenneth, July, 12
 Writers: Congress of in USSR, May, 15f; in China, July, 9; tasks of, May, 16-22

Yakota, Minoru, Nov., 56
 Yalta conference (1945) papers, May, 41-44
 Yang Chih-hua, Oct., 21
 Yesin, Nikolai, Oct., 11
 Yiddish literature, in USSR, Dec., 30
 Young, Edgar P.: "Leipzig Fair Points a Lesson," July, 35-37; "Training Center for Scientists, Sept., 34-36
 Young Friends Central Committee (England), March, 44
 Youth, in USSR, April., 15-17, Dec., 4
 Youth conference, in Warsaw, Oct., 40-42
 Youth Congress, third world (1953), May, 13
 Youth (Soviet), and British Quakers, March, 44-47
 Yu Feng, Oct., 19f, 21
 Yugoslavia: agriculture in, Dec., 36; heavy industry in, Dec., 35; relations with USSR, Apr., 28, July, 6, 42f, Nov., 14; Soviet journalists in, Dec., 33-37
 Yukawa, Hideki, Aug., 43

Z

Zaibatsu, Oct., 39
 Zaisan, Lake, March, 27
 Zeravshan River, June, 48
 Zhukov, Georgi, and Eisenhower, March, 9
 Zilber, L. A., Sept., 41
 Zilina (Slovak town), Apr., 18f
 Zubkov, L., Sept., 12
 Zverev, A. G., Nov., 40

Alphabetical list of articles by titles (exclusive of book and movie reviews):

- The Agreement between the USSR and Yugoslavia, July, 42f
- The American People Want Peace, by Jessica Smith, June, 15-22
- American Students, GIs, Farmers Urge Exchange Visits with Soviet People, by Andrew Voynow, June, 5-8
- An American's Reply to "American in Moscow," by Ruth Clark, July, 30-34
- America's Real Friends in Japan, by Susan Warren, Oct., 37-39
- Anna Louise Strong, May, 7f
- At Helsinki, the Peoples Join Hands for Peace, by Gordon Schaffer, Aug., 14-16
- Author of "Rickshaw Boy" Describes his Life and Work in People's China, by Lao Sheh, July, 8-11
- Before and after Bandung, by Eslanda Robeson, July, 26-29
- Belfrage the Victim—You the Target, July, 29
- British Clergy Visit the USSR as Guests of the Church, Nov., 62-65
- A Canadian Railroadier Visits the USSR, by R. L. Patriquin, Aug., 11-13
- Chess Players, Athletes and Farmers Point the Way to Friendship, Aug., 22f
- China's Currency Reform, by Israel Epstein, Apr., 12-14
- China's Young Radio Network, by Lin Ta-kuang, Aug., 31-34
- The Chinese Say "No!" to Nuclear Weapons, by Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, June, 43-45
- Chinese Worker-Inventor Describes New Life, by Li Keng-yuan, March, 28-31
- Conversations in Poland, by Beatrice King, Dec., 11-14
- Danger Spots in East and West, by Jessica Smith, Apr., 3-11
- Decking the Land with Forests, by Nikolai Mikhailov, July, 38-41
- Diverting the Flow of Rivers, by Nikolai Mikhailov, June, 46-51
- Don't Offend the Religious, Soviet Party Demands, Apr., 40
- East-West Trade, by Theodore Bayer, Nov., 42-45
- Ending the Cold War, by Ralph Parker, Sept., 8-12
- The Facts behind the Figures of the UN Economic Reports, by Victor Perlo, Aug., 39-42
- The Family of Shaakmed and Bakhri, by Elena Kononenko, Oct., 26-31
- Fashion Forum in Peking, Oct., 18-21
- Formosa, by Susan Warren, March, 10-19
- Geneva—Signpost on the Highway to Peace, by Jessica Smith, Aug., 3-6
- The German Manifesto, May, 35
- Harnessing Soviet Rivers, by Nikolai Mikhailov, March, 22-27
- How the Soviet Press Reported the American Farmers' Visit, Oct., 11-17
- How the USSR Fights Cancer, by Vladimir Timakov, Sept., 40-43
- How They Care for Women and Children in the USSR, by Ida Fisher, Oct., 43f
- Hungary Cuts Red Tape, by Lawrence Kirwan, Jan., 29-31
- In a Polish Cotton Mill, by Eula Mendes-Figueiredo, May, 31-35
- In People's Poland—Fun while You Study, by Margaret Schlauch, Aug., 26-30
- In the Spirit of Geneva, by Jessica Smith, Sept., 3-7
- Jews in the USSR: a Canadian Describes his Visit, Sept., 30-33
- Khrushchev Explains Agricultural Policy, March, 38-43
- Leipzig Fair Points a Lesson, by Edgar P. Young, July, 35-37
- A Letter of Love (poem), by Emily Greene Balch, June, 31
- Linking the Soviet Seas, by Nikolai Mikhailov, May, 36-40
- Making a Dream Come True, by V. Balakirev, Sept., 44
- A Man and his Country, by Andrew Voynow, Nov., 46-52
- Man Masters Nature, by Nikolai Mikhailov, March, 22-27, Apr., 34-39, May, 36-40, June, 46-51, July, 38-41
- "Moscow's Peace Drive," by Anna Louise Strong, Nov., 12-15
- "Most Hopeful Country in the World," by W. E. B. Du Bois, Nov., 10f
- Motels in the Caucasus, by Ralph Parker, Aug., 35-38
- Music and Brotherhood, by Sidney Finkelstein, Dec., 15-17
- Music Breaks the Cold War Barrier, by Sidney Finkelstein, Apr., 41f
- The Musician's Role in Winning Friendship Among all Peoples, by Dmitri Kabalevsky, Oct., 8-10
- Nehru's Visit to the USSR, by Susan Warren, Aug., 7-9
- New East-West Wind Blowing, by D. N. Pritt, Sept., 19f
- New Year Message to our Readers, Jan., 3
- The Ninth UN Session by Eslanda Robeson, Apr., 29-33
- On the Leningrad-Moscow Express, by Ralph Parker, Dec., 3-6
- Peking's New Feeling, by Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, Dec., 7-10
- Peking's Theaters, by Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, May, 23, 26f
- Principles and Practice in Soviet Education, by Beatrice King, Nov., 18-24
- Reforming the Volga, by Nikolai Mikhailov, Apr., 34-39
- Religion in Rumania, by Stanley Evans, Jan., 25-28
- Report from the United Nations, by Eslanda Robeson, Nov., 57-61
- The Road ahead from Geneva, by Jessica Smith, Oct., 3-7
- The Road to Peace for America, by Jessica Smith, Jan., 4-24
- Rumania Revisited, by Marie Pritt, Sept., 21-23
- A Scientist in China, by Kathleen Lonsdale, Dec., 23-25
- The Second Geneva, by Jessica Smith, Dec., 38-46
- Six in Search of Friendship, by Leonard Cassini, July, 12-16
- Slovakia in Transition, by George Wheeler, Apr., 18-23
- Some Thoughts on Negro History Week, by Eslanda Robeson, March, 20f
- Soviet Economic Policy, by Maurice Dobb, June, 11-14
- Soviet Foreign Policy, by Corliss Lamont, Apr., 24-28
- Soviet Journalists in Yugoslavia, by L. Slepov and V. Platkovsky, Dec., 33-37
- Soviet Latvia, by Nikolai Mikhailov, July, 22f
- The Soviet Proposals on Arms Reduction, May, 44f
- Soviet Scientists at Geneva, by E. H. S. Burhop, Nov., 26-30
- The Soviet Union and China, by Susan Warren, Nov., 53-56
- Soviet Women are . . . Women, by Kate Bader, Oct., 32-36
- The Soviet Writers Congress, May, 15f

- Soviet Youth Tells of Visit with Quakers in England, March, 44-47
- The Spirit and Meaning of Helsinki: the World Peace Assembly, by Martha Millet, Sept., 26-29
- Spring Song (poem), by I. Cerny, Apr., 45
- Successful Adventure in Human Understanding, by Andrew Voynow, Sept., 13-15
- Tasks of the Soviet Writer, by Ilya Ehrenburg, May, 16-22
- Their Victories for Peace are also Ours, by Paul Robeson, Nov., 14f
- 30 Years of Development as an Industrial Country, by Maurice Dobb, Nov., 37-41
- Thoughts on this Anniversary, by Harry F. Ward, Nov., 6-9
- To the Virgin Land, by Ralph Parker, Apr., 15-17
- Toward Ending the Cold War, by Jessica Smith, July, 3-7
- Toward Ending World Tensions, June, 3f
- Training Centers for Scientists in the German Democratic Republic, by Edgar P. Young, Sept., 34-36
- Trust in Trusteeship? by Eslanda Robeson, May, 28-30
- Two Anniversaries, by Jessica Smith, Nov., 3-5
- Two Soviet Prisons, by D. N. Pritt, March, 32-38
- UCLA Student Visits the USSR, by George Moore, Dec., 28-31
- UN plus Bandung Equals Peace, by Eslanda Robeson, June, 9f
- USSR Peace Proposals Offered to the UN, June, 33-42
- The USSR Reviews its Past Year, Dec., 18-22
- The USSR's Atomic Power Station, by Ralph Parker, Nov., 31-36
- Viet Nam since Geneva, by Kumar Goshal, July, 18-21
- Wanted: a Far East Geneva, by Susan Warren, Sept., 16-18
- War and Peace in the Atomic Age, by Robert Morss Lovett, Oct., 22f
- We Can be Friends, by Jessica Smith, March, 3-9
- Western Note to the U.S.S.R., June, 32
- Who is Holding up East-West Exchange? Dec., 32
- Why the USSR Urges Good Cultural Relations, by A. Denisov, Aug., 17-21
- Will America Meet the Challenge, by Jessica Smith, May, 3-7
- Women in Soviet Central Asia, by Nowell Johnson, Sept., 37-39
- World Congress of Mothers Convened in July, June, 23
- The World Peace Movement, by W.E.B. Du Bois, May, 9-14
- World Scientists Appeal for End of War and Nuclear Weapons Ban, Aug., 43f
- World Youth Meet in Friendship, by Frank Wheeler, Oct., 40-42
- The Yalta Papers, May, 41-44
- Young Soviet Readers Discuss Mark Twain, June, 24-31

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