

DECEMBER, 1959

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New World

REVIEW

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV ON THE NEW WORLD SITUATION

"Marx Twain"
ROCKWELL KENT

The German Democratic Republic
GEORGE LOHR

Lithuania First Seen
PHILLIP BONOSKY

THE 1959 SOVIET CENSUS

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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Prospects for Peace

by JESSICA SMITH

TWO months after the visit to this country of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, it can be fairly said that the trend toward ending the cold war is continuing and strengthening. At the same time, we have to face soberly the fact that the efforts of powerful groups to reverse this trend place on the American people grave responsibilities to do their part to insure peace. It will not come of itself.

First of all, it is necessary to be fully informed of Soviet policies so that we may know just how their government as well as our own stands on issues that must be solved through negotiations. For this we refer you to our report on Khrushchev's speech to the Supreme Soviet, which, fully endorsed by the latter, is the main official pronouncement on Soviet foreign policies since the visit. Washington official circles were quoted as judging the speech "moderate" and "conciliatory."

The Supreme Soviet issued an eloquent appeal to the Parliaments of all countries of the world to "do everything possible . . . to achieve disarmament and open up before mankind the path to eternal peace on earth."

Press reports of the November anniversary celebrations in Moscow made a point of the fact that peace was the general theme, and goodwill toward the United States the keynote throughout. The military part of the annual parade in the Red

Square was the shortest on record.

The deliberations of the Supreme Soviet, with their emphasis on economic, cultural and scientific advances and higher living standards, underlined the need for a peaceful economy to accomplish their goals.

The draft State budget proposed revenues of 772.1 billion rubles for 1960 as against 735.8 for 1959; expenditures of 744.8 billion rubles for 1960 as against 698.8 billion in 1959. The 1960 budget is to be divided as follows: 327.8 billion rubles for development of the national economy; 247.4 billion rubles for social and cultural purposes; 96.1 billion rubles for defense; 11.1 billion rubles for state administration. Social and cultural expenditures will be increased by 15.2 per cent over 1959. While the amount for defense remains the same, it will account for only 12.9 per cent of the budget as against 19.9 five years ago.

The report of A. N. Kosygin, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, showed that 1959 industrial production has exceeded Seven-Year Plan goals by 4 per cent, with output of means of production increasing by 12 per cent, consumer goods by 10.5 per cent. Higher production quotas than originally are now set for 1960, with an over-all increase in industrial output of 8.1 per cent over 1959. Kosygin reported that despite unfavorable weather conditions, gross yield of grain and sugar beets and

some other crops this year will be above the last five years' average.

Kosygin's report reflected the October 16 Communist Party and Council of Ministers decision for sweeping measures to increase production, extend variety and improve quality of consumer goods of all kinds. This decision had been sharply critical of both quantity and quality of such goods. (Visitors who have come back with lurid reports of the orange silk tasseled lampshades seen everywhere, please note that this decision called for ending production of all silk lampshades, and their replacement by "new materials of different colors.")

In 1960, 101 million square meters of housing will be built, as against 80 million in 1959. This means that about 10,000,000 people will move into 2,400,000 new apartments. In addition, about a million new houses will be built by people in rural areas. Improved living standards are further envisaged in a 5 per cent increase in workers' and farmers' incomes, while all factory and office workers will go over to a 6- or 7-hour day. There will be considerable further construction of hospitals, schools, kindergartens, nurseries and service facilities. The number of pupils in general educational schools will be increased by 2.4 million; 119,000 engineers will be graduated in 1960.

Peace and Cold War Trends .. in the U.S.

In the country as a whole there is a new absorption in questions of war and peace, a new concern in the surpassing importance of American-Soviet relations. This is something that all prospective candidates in

the 1960 elections have to reckon with.

James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* that President Eisenhower is fighting Pentagon efforts to increase our already vast military expenditures:

The Administration has embarked on a "peace program" and does not want it to coincide with increased military expenditures. It is talking disarmament. It wants to go into the 1960 Presidential campaign as the party of peace and fiscal responsibility.

While Vice President Richard Nixon bends to the wind of public opinion for peace (though sometimes wavering in the opposite direction too) we cannot fail to realize that only powerful backing in the most reactionary Republican circles could lead Governor Nelson D. Rockefeller of New York to stake his Presidential prospects on advocacy of a continued tough policy toward the Soviet Union and reliance on nuclear weapons.

On the Democratic side, Adlai Stevenson, still considered a presidential hopeful, has taken a stand for negotiations with the Russians, steps toward disarmament, and ending of nuclear weapon tests, but his voice is far from as loud and strong as it might be. Senator John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), who is on record for a nuclear war over Berlin "if necessary," is now apparently shifting his position somewhat and proposes that our country continue the test ban as long as the Soviet Union does. Senator Stuart Symington (D., Mo.), has called for an end of nuclear weapons testing and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), for another year's extension of the present test halt. Cold war

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advocates in the Democratic Party are very active. Ex-President Harry S. Truman has opposed President Eisenhower's visit to the USSR and wants nuclear weapons tests continued. Ex-Secretary of State Dean Acheson wants continued reliance on the "nuclear deterrent" and opposes any negotiations with the USSR over Germany and Berlin.

Concrete steps in solving the outstanding issues in American-Soviet relations are in abeyance during this period while the Administration is concentrating on achieving greater unity among the divided Western allies. But it is of the utmost importance that the Summit conference, although now postponed until the Spring and still facing obstacles, is now generally taken as a matter of course, with the idea gaining ground that there must be greater flexibility in negotiations than during the Dulles era.

New Note Sounded by Herter

While a good many of Secretary of State Christian Herter's statements have continued to have a somewhat diluted-Dulles sound, his November 17 address to the National Foreign Trade Council reflected more positively the new trend. He said:

Today we face a test no society has ever fully met; how to make competition the life, not death, of nations. . . . The paramount question facing our world today is how the great rivalry between political systems can work itself out in the course of history without exploding into a thermonuclear war.

He expressed the belief that the United States and the Soviet Union would find a "common language" for the ground rules of competition

in the atomic age, and conditions of co-survival and for bringing under control the spiraling arms race. He spoke of the possibility in some fields of turning competition into cooperation through common ventures, but warned that the United States would not fare too well in competition with the Soviets "unless we can match their enthusiasm for achievement." But, he said, a new relationship between the two systems is essential if civilization is to survive—"It is nothing less than this immense and long-term project on which we are now engaged."

The realization that competition for peace must replace competition for destruction has been brought home by the new realistic appraisal in this country of Soviet economic achievements. This has been largely due to the dramatic successes of the USSR in outer space—most recent of which was the extraordinary feat of sending around the moon an interplanetary station, which at a signal photographed the moon's other side and sent the pictures back to earth, demonstrating the mighty scientific and technical resources the Soviet Union has at its command. Likewise the steady and growing economic achievements at a far greater rate of advance than our own, are now acknowledged and the challenge of the Seven-Year Plan recognized.

The more forward-looking Americans understand that this challenge of peaceful economic competition offers a promise which, if properly met, and combined with disarmament measures, can only be a boon to American progress.

Some economists and business circles are talking in terms of im-

provements rather than ruin to our economy by reduced arms spending. *Nation's Business*, organ of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, wrote in its October issue: "Any abrupt softening of cold war pressures—if it comes—can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare'." Harvard political economist Seymour Harris wrote in the *New York Times* magazine, November 8, that "we can prosper without arms if we prepare for disarmament in advance by increased non-defense government spending." He proposed that the present \$46 billion defense budget be cut in half, that half of the saving be returned to the public as a tax cut, the other half used for increased welfare outlays for lower income groups, education, slum clearance, hospitals, conservation, flood control and other constructive measures on which we have been underspending for years. Such projects, and funds for planning and training of workers for new jobs could, he said, keep production and employment on a high level.

Others see in the challenge only a threat to be met by continuing the cold war and the arms race in the vain hope that somehow, sometime the socialist system may be destroyed, caring not for the risk of destroying all mankind in the process.

Allen Dulles, CIA director, warned recently in testimony before a Congressional Committee of the threat to our country from the fact that the Soviet Union is increasing production at a rate far higher than we and that if its present growth of 8 or 9 per cent a year continues, "the gap between our two economies will be dangerously narrowed." He

also warned that Khrushchev's desire for "a period of coexistence" was based only on a desire to achieve this plan, but did not suggest that a similar policy on our part would help in the achievement of a greater industrial growth rate here.

George Meany, AFL-CIO President, sees Soviet economic competition as just another form of Soviet attempts at "subversion" and "aggression."

We must be fully aware of the dangerous forces in our country who want to continue reliance on ever greater arms and "positions of strength," whether it be the limited war advocates, led by Prof. Henry Kissinger of Harvard, or those who, like Dr. James B. Conant, President Emeritus of Harvard and former High Commissioner to Germany and Ambassador to Bonn, calls on the United States to "face up to the necessity for an invulnerable system of thermonuclear weapons," able to destroy utterly at least three fourths of the industrial complexes of the USSR, as "essential to our survival as a free nation." Such a position is really what is being advocated by those who wish to continue nuclear weapons testing. In the Pentagon are advocates of limited and of big wars—and of both. Admiral Jerauld Wright, Supreme U.S. Allied Commander in the Atlantic of NATO warns that the West must not relax its guard, since: "The threat from the East is at least as great as it was ten years ago." The big circulation Luce publications, *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, continue their campaign against negotiations and for renewed pressure on the USSR through even bigger arms expenditures.

The mood of the American people for peace was made clear in their reception to Premier Khrushchev. It is expressed through wide support for the activities of such organizations as the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which recently jammed Carnegie Hall in New York to hear Prof. Linus Pauling, Clarence Pickett, New York Councilman Stanley Isaacs and others, as part of a nationwide campaign to support the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchanges and the end of nuclear weapons tests. Norman Cousins, *Saturday Review* editor, is making a valuable contribution to promotion of peace as are many other SANE leaders and groups throughout the country. We cannot fail to note such positive voices as those of Walter Lippmann, calling for flexibility in negotiations, and George F. Kennan, who recently urged that Washington drop its insistence on "first use" of atomic weapons.

Leaders of the National Council of Churches have assured the President of the backing of church people in efforts for peace. The United Synagogue of America, organization of Conservative congregations, has called for a ban on all nuclear weapons. The National Friends' Service Committee and the Women's International League continue their valuable work for peace. The National Federation of Scientists continues to advocate the end of all nuclear testing. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship reports mounting interest in its work, especially since the Khrushchev visit, indicated by the ever-growing flood of requests for information on the Soviet Union. At its

November meeting in Carnegie Hall, such long-time advocates of peace and friendship as its Chairman, Rockwell Kent, its director Richard Morford, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton and others were joined on the platform by Dr. Norman Whitney, Chairman of the Quakers' Peace Committee. The activities of these and many other groups and individuals are good. But far, far more is necessary in the way of organized expression of the desire for peace that is in the hearts of the majority of our people.

U.S.-USSR Relations

Let us end with a listing of hopeful developments since the Soviet Premier's visit and the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchanges:

The U.S.-USSR agreement on a joint disarmament resolution, approved by the entire UN membership.

(The two countries also joined in a unanimous vote in the UN urging the United States, Britain and the USSR to continue the present suspension of nuclear weapons tests and their efforts to work out an appropriate international control system. Soviet delegate Vassily Kuznetsov told the UN the USSR would not resume testing as long as the West refrained. The U.S. abstained, however, on a similar Afro-Asian resolution also calling on other nations—with France specifically in mind—to refrain from tests, for which the USSR voted.)

Agreement of the U.S., the USSR and ten other nations to keep the vast Antarctica region free of war. In agreeing, the USSR accepted a system of inspection of its bases,

planes and ships to be set up by the 12-nation group.

Progress at the three-power nuclear test ban conferences in Geneva, with the USSR agreeing to an experts' study of controls for underground tests.

Indications of easing trade restrictions against the USSR, and the possibility of a new trade agreement.

Negotiations completed for renewing and extending the U.S.-USSR agreement on scientific, technical and cultural interchange in January, for another two-year period. (The new agreement will be fully reviewed in our next issue.)

First steps toward American-Soviet pacts on scientific cooperation, medical research, peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Meantime, exchanges already under way are proceeding successfully. These include exchange visits of economists, scientists and others; the warmly received openings of "Marty" in Moscow and "The Cranes Are Flying" in Washington, inaugurating the motion picture exchange; the enthusiastically welcomed visit of five Soviet composers, Shostakovich, Kabalevsky, Khrennikov, Dankevich and Amir-ov, in return for the visits of U.S. composers to the USSR; an agreement between Columbia and Moscow universities for an exchange of professors.

The beginning of some trade union contacts is especially important. It should be noted that while many of the remarks of the AFL-CIO leaders at the dinner given to Khrushchev in San Francisco were found objectionable by their guests, the Tass account of the event noted

that it might help pave the way for mutual trade union contacts. There have since been reports that some of the AFL-CIO officials might visit the USSR as tourists.

Following the warm reception to Khrushchev by the ILWU and the employers' organization, both groups were invited to the Soviet Union by their opposite numbers there. The ILWU has already announced its acceptance.

The International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO) passed a strong resolution at its recent convention urging an end to the cold war and the inclusion of workers' delegations in the exchange program.

Despite the attitude of President Walter Reuther at the dinner to Khrushchev, the recent UAW convention passed a resolution which, while containing cold war passages, welcomed the Khrushchev visit, saw the possibility of "cooperative existence" between different social systems, declared disarmament and the end of nuclear testing as of primary urgency, and called for exchanges along trade union lines with the socialist countries. James Carey, IUEW President, called for a decrease in international tensions in a speech before the convention of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Finally, we must note again that the wide international acclaim for the Soviet proposals of disarmament, has put this question on the first order of the day, and that the general acceptance of the necessity of a Summit meeting, with Germany and Berlin and other pressing issues on the agenda, justifies strong hopes for a continued and irreversible trend toward peaceful settlements.

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV

On New World Situation

A summary of the report of Nikita Khrushchev on the international situation and Soviet foreign policy, at the session of the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1959.

PREMIER Khrushchev opened his report with an optimistic statement about the improvement in the international situation and prospects for peace. He declared his belief that a more sober attitude is now gaining ascendancy over former Western policies of "positions of strength," "rolling back" or "liberating" the socialist peoples, "massive retaliation," "brink-of-war" and even "preventive" war, formerly advocated in some circles. At the same time, he noted repeatedly that there are still die-hards wanting to keep the cold war going, that peace will not come of itself, but will have to be worked for by all the governments and peoples of the world.

Mr. Khrushchev dwelt at length on peaceful coexistence:

The point is that peaceful coexistence in our day is a real fact and not anyone's request or wish. It is an objective necessity following from the present world situation, from the present phase of development of human society. Both principal social systems now existing on earth possess weapons which would cause fatal consequences if brought into action. Those who now declare their non-recognition of peaceful coexistence and argue against it are actually advocating war.

He went on to say that the present problem is to find a *reasonable basis* for peaceful coexistence, and this requires mutual concessions:

The recognition of the existence of different systems, of the right of every people to settle independently all the political and social problems of their country, respect for sovereignty and adherence to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, settlement of all international questions by negotiation—that is what coexistence on a reasonable foundation implies.

Relations with the United States —Mutual Concessions Needed

Mr. Khrushchev made clear he was not referring to concessions on basic ideological questions, on which neither side could be expected to yield, but to compromises and accommodation in international questions. He gave as an example that while the Soviet Government proposes complete and general disarmament, it is ready also to consider other proposals in the search for mutually acceptable solutions; and that the capitalist states also make concessions in negotiating with socialist states in the UN and elsewhere. He expressed satisfaction that the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence is now meeting greater understanding in the West:

Some headway is being made by such forms of East-West relations, which the Soviet Union has long persistently championed, as negotiations on pressing international problems, exchange visits of statesmen, mutually profitable economic ties, cultural and scientific contacts.

The Soviet Premier noted that within the last year and a half the USSR had advanced such important proposals as those to end nuclear tests, to set up atom free zones, to

do away with the remnants of World War II by signing a peace treaty with Germany, to call a Summit meeting and for general and complete disarmament. While negotiations on a nuclear test ban are dragging out, there is some hope that they may be successfully completed shortly. The Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers, while producing no solution to the question of Germany and Berlin, "helped to clarify the positions of both sides and reduce the gap between them." The visit to Moscow of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan had helped improve both Anglo-Soviet relations and the international atmosphere generally. He then spoke of the importance of visits of Soviet Deputy Premiers A. I. Mikoyan and F. R. Kozlov to the United States, the visit of Vice President Richard Nixon to Moscow, the exchange of exhibitions, and his own visit here:

An especially important, far-reaching step toward a radical improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA and a general relaxation of international tension was the agreement on the exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the United States.

During my visit to the United States I had meetings and discussions with President Eisenhower, also with other statesmen, with representatives of the most diverse circles and the ordinary people of America. These meetings and talks convinced me that the vast majority of the people do not want war and do want an improvement of relations between our countries. Many prominent United States leaders, with the President at the head, understand these sentiments of the American people, are alarmed by the situation that has arisen as a result of the arms race and the cold war, and want to find ways to strengthen peace.

The Premier added that he felt his discussions with the President had led to clearer mutual understanding and a closer approach of viewpoints both in assessing the international situation as a whole and on certain concrete issues, especially the need to improve US-USSR relations.

France and Algeria

Mr. Khrushchev expressed confidence that his forthcoming meeting with President de Gaulle of France would be useful for Soviet-French relations and world peace. He declared that while relations with France were affected by the latter's participation in military blocs against the USSR, he felt relations could be further strengthened. He commended President de Gaulle for his realistic stand on "the immutability of the Oder-Neisse frontier" (between Germany and Poland). On the question of Algeria, he said that the sympathies of the USSR are "with the peoples fighting against colonialism, for independence and national freedom." He continued that if the historic close ties of France and Algeria were built on a new basis of voluntariness and equality, it might promote the establishment of peace in the area, and expressed the hope that the realization of the hopelessness of settling such a question by force, against the will of the people, would prevail in France:

... The recent proposals of President de Gaulle to solve the Algerian question on the basis of self-determination by means of a popular vote in Algeria could play an important role in the settlement of the Algerian question. They will play such a role if they do not remain a mere declaration, if they are

supplemented by real steps which, taking in account the rights of the people of Algeria to free and independent development, would at the same time accord with the interests of both sides.

Germany and Berlin

The Soviet Premier stressed the urgency of settling the legacy of the Second World War:

The serious differences on the question of Germany between former allies of the anti-Hitler coalition, the revival of militarism and revanchist trends in West Germany, the tension in the relations between the two German states, are all making the situation in Europe unstable and dangerous. All these problems would be largely solved by a peace treaty with the two German states actually in existence, and this in turn would settle the Berlin question. . . .

I cannot fail to say that in general the situation in Europe is still rather alarming. Large armed forces of both sides are concentrated in the area, and they are in direct contact. Numerous foreign air and naval bases are located in Western Europe, and on top of this nuclear-rocket bases are being established there. Despite world-wide public protests and contrary to the interests of peace, the West German army is being equipped with nuclear and rocket weapons. Therefore the danger of a new military explosion should not be forgotten for a moment.

Referring to his agreement with Eisenhower for resumption of talks on the German question, Khrushchev affirmed that the USSR is ready both for far-reaching steps toward relaxing proposals such as it had already advanced, *and for any reasonable partial measures.*

The Middle East and CENTO

Mr. Khrushchev declared that the troubled situation in the Middle East was worsened by continued construction of foreign military

bases in countries aligned with military blocs. He spoke sharply of Turkey which belongs to both NATO and CENTO (The Central Treaty Organization—formerly the Baghdad Pact). He said that as a result of Turkey's participation in these military blocs it had provided for military bases "spearheaded against the Soviet Union," and—

Turkish territory has been turned into a veritable military depot where on top of everything, foreign rockets with nuclear warheads will be stationed now. There is hardly any need to say that in the first instance this undermines the security of Turkey itself.

We have spoken more than once of the danger of this foreign policy of Turkey and submitted specific proposals toward the establishment of good-neighbor relation between our states. . . .

The Soviet leader also deplored the worsening of relations with Iran which, he said, had preferred to bind itself to military commitments against the USSR, both within and outside of CENTO, instead of cementing the friendly relations offered by the Soviet Union.

The People's Republic of China

Mr. Khrushchev reviewed the great successes of the People's Republic of China, which recently celebrated its tenth anniversary and emphasized the strong and friendly Soviet-Chinese relations. He said the attitude of the United States and some other Western powers toward China was a source of grave concern to world public opinion, with the senseless "two Chinas" position, and failure to restore its rights in the United Nations. He scored recent speeches by Secretary of State Herter and his assistant, Mr. Dillon, seeking to cast doubt

on the sovereignty of the Chinese People's Republic in questions of domestic and foreign policy in its relations with the Soviet Union. He gave the historic background of Taiwan and the offshore islands as an integral part of China, declaring that no international complications would have arisen had it not been for U.S. military support and protection of the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and said:

Those who speak of the USSR's responsibility for China's actions should know that the People's Republic of China needs no one's tutelage. The People's Government pursues its own policy and represents its people with dignity.

Should we speak, however, about the Soviet Union as an ally of the People's Republic of China, in that case we are ready to bear this responsibility. The Soviet Union sympathizes with and understands the desire of the Chinese people and the PRC Government to restore to the Chinese state Taiwan and other islands belonging to China but occupied by foreign troops. On that question we fully support and will support the Government of the People's Republic of China until a solution of this question is assured, because legal and moral right are on its side.

Sino-Indian Border, Korea, Laos

Turning to the Sino-Indian border dispute, the Soviet Premier stated:

We regret very much the incidents which occurred recently on the frontiers between two states which are our friends—the People's Republic of China, with which we are bound by inviolable bonds of fraternal friendship, and the Republic of India, with which our friendly relations are successfully developing. We especially deplore that there were casualties on both sides as a result of these incidents. To the parents and relatives of the victims nothing can make up for the loss. We should be glad if the incidents on the Sino-Indian frontier were not repeated and if the existing dis-

putable frontier questions were solved by friendly negotiation to the mutual satisfaction of both sides.

He mentioned divided Korea as another Far Eastern question meriting attention. The Korean Democratic People's Republic, Khrushchev said, was in a good political and economic situation, while South Korea is ruined, with its economy, particularly agriculture, steadily declining. While it is true, he went on, that the "senile Syngman Rhee" is still trying to whip up war hysteria, North Korea takes a calm view of his threats. Even his own subjects are not at all eager to start a war against their Northern neighbors, and "a military conflict could hardly break out there now." As to the main force determining the policy of South Korea, he said it was his impression that the United States is not seeking an armed conflict. Thus favorable conditions exist for a final settlement of the Korean problem, which he felt should begin with the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea (Chinese troops have long since withdrawn from North Korea) leading to a gradual rapprochement of North and South, which in turn would create the prerequisites for restoring the national unity of Korea on a peaceful, democratic basis.

The situation in Laos, the Premier said, had arisen through activities of circles concerned with extending SEATO, resulting in the suspension of the International Commission for Laos set up by the 1954 Geneva agreements, and subsequent persecution of the Pathet Lao forces (see article on Laos by Susan Warren in October NWR). He noted that while the hostilities

in Laos were only on platoon level, a great hue and cry had been raised all over the world:

As to the Soviet Union, we do not want even the smallest hotbed of war to exist in Laos, since that would add grist to the mill of the aggressive forces. With a reasonable approach and observance of international agreements, the skirmishes taking place there could be easily eliminated and the situation normalized. The main point, however, is that the Great Powers should not interfere in the internal affairs of other states.

Disarmament and Inspection ..

The Soviet Premier dwelt longest and most emphatically on the question of disarmament as the most important problem of our time, since a war fought with nuclear weapons "would spare no one and would inflict untold loss of life, destruction and suffering on mankind." He repeated the essence of the Soviet proposals to the United Nations for general and complete disarmament within four years:

This means that all armed forces should be disbanded, all armaments destroyed, all military production stopped. The nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and rocket weapons would be banned and destroyed once and for all. The war ministries and general staffs would be abolished, the military bases on foreign territories would be liquidated, no one would undergo military training any more. Expenditures for military purposes in any form would cease. The states would have only small contingents of police or militia, of agreed size, to be used for the maintenance of internal order and security of the citizens and carrying only small arms.

On the question of "rigorous, effective and all-embracing international control, so that no one could violate the agreement on general disarmament," he stressed:

For every stage of disarmament we propose an appropriate stage of control. We also propose that the controllers be present on the territory of states from the very start of the disarmament process and until its full completion, and also after disarmament, so that no state could secretly prepare for war. We want the volume of control to correspond to the nature of disarmament measures.

We are also agreeable to the establishment of appropriate agencies, under the aegis of the United Nations, to insure effective control over strict observance of the sacred disarmament commitments assumed by the states.

General and complete disarmament, he continued, would mark the beginning of a new stage in the development of human society and its well-being, a world without war:

The scrapping of military expenditures would release tremendous material resources for the expansion of the peaceful branches of economy in all countries, large and small. Considerable means could be devoted to advancing the economy and raising the living standards of the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many factories, power stations, irrigation networks, homes, schools and hospitals could be built there. The scientists of all countries would receive tremendous additional opportunities to work for the benefit of the world, for the benefit of peoples, for extending scientific research in the most diverse spheres—in technology, medicine, space exploration, etc. They could pool their efforts for the realization of many majestic scientific programs.

Mr. Khrushchev described the favorable reaction to the Soviet proposals in all socialist countries and by people everywhere. He spoke with pleasure of President Eisenhower's agreement on the need to find a solution to the disarmament problem, and of the favorable reaction to the Soviet proposals by

Prime Ministers Macmillan and Nehru, President Sukarno of Indonesia and many others.

Noting the obstacles on the part of those who wished to continue the arms race, and the attempts to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev reviewed the long history of the Soviet Union's stand for peace, since its very inception, when Lenin called for the end of war, its continued stand for peaceful coexistence, and Litvinov's disarmament proposals in the League of Nations. If in the past such proposals were rejected on the ground of the weakness of the Soviet Union, he declared, this could not be the case today. (In a later speech noting that one plant he had recently visited had manufactured in a single year 250 rockets with hydrogen warheads, Khrushchev declared: "We are ready to dump them all into the sea in the interest of securing peace on earth.")

Regarding those who charged that the USSR wants "all or nothing," he said:

Our proposals state, black on white, that if the Western powers are not willing to accept general and complete disarmament, we regard it as possible and necessary to come to terms, if only on partial steps toward disarmament. The Soviet Union believes that such measures include a ban on nuclear weapons and, above all, the cessation of their tests, the setting up of zones of control and inspection with a reduction of foreign troops on the territories of appropriate countries in Europe, the liquidation of foreign military bases on alien soil, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO member-states and the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and so on. The Soviet Government, of course, is prepared to examine and discuss amendments to our proposals, as well as any other proposals designed to solve

the important disarmament problem.

Mr. Khrushchev declared that his government warmly welcomed the unanimous UN decision co-sponsoring the joint draft resolution of the U.S.-USSR commending the idea of general and complete disarmament.

Towards a Summit Conference

In conclusion, the Soviet Premier emphasized the great importance of the agreement with President Eisenhower for the solution of international problems "through negotiations and not by use of force." To this end, he said, of paramount importance is the convocation of a heads of government conference. He declared the Soviet Government feels "the sooner this meeting is held, the better it will be for the cause of peace." The meeting, he said, should concern itself with unresolved questions now creating tensions—disarmament, a peace treaty with Germany, the situation in West Berlin and other problems of common interest.

Calling for renewed efforts on the part of all mankind for improvement of world relations, he said:

If all the forces coming out for peaceful settlement of international relations are brought into play, if the leading quarters shaping Western policy realize the impossibility of pursuing any other policy in our time than the policy of peaceful coexistence, if the peoples raise their weighty voice against war, decisive steps will be taken shortly to eliminate the military danger, and a bright, radiant road to peace will be opened up to mankind.

Khrushchev pledged that the Soviet Government, on its part "will do its utmost for the accomplishment of this great task."

"Marx Twain"

by ROCKWELL KENT

AUGUST the twenty-third of this year, the fifteenth anniversary of Rumanian liberation. At five-thirty in the morning we, Sally and I, were out of bed; at six we were awaiting breakfast; at seven we were at a hotel rendezvous; and at exactly eight, having driven through streets thronged with people and bright with the Rumanian blue and gold, we took our seats—hard, wooden-slatted seats—in the front row of an already nearly filled reviewing stand facing a broad plaza only less brilliant now with blue and gold than with the red of revolution. Then, to the sound of brass and drums, the seven-hour spectacle began. Columns of soldiers with huge tanks and guns, planes in formation overhead; platoons of Union workers with appropriate floats; regiments of peasants in traditional costumes, troupes of garlanded, be-ribboned folk dancers; floats of the ballet, the dancers poised as though floating of themselves; legions of gaily costumed youth; brigades of athletes performing as they marched; and people—old and middle-aged and young and tiny children borne on their elders' shoulders; people—masses, hordes of them—singing, laughing, waving, tossing flowers to

the stands. Was it these people that we hoped to "liberate"? These happy lovers of their fatherland?

Driven northwards over the Carpathians and down into the broad, Transylvanian basin, a country already familiar to us lay spread before our eyes: the far-extending fields and distant, mist enshrouded mountains, the ox-carts on the roads (there still are some) were Grigorescu's pictures come to life. The people too—the reapers in the fields or walking home at sundown, people in villages and market places—these people's *souls* we knew, for in the paintings of the living master, Baba, they had been revealed to us.

In Bucharest—now that I've touched on art, a few words more—in Bucharest we attended the opening of a great public exhibition of the recent two years' work of the Rumanian painters, sculptors and graphic artists. Though held in a vast hall intended, I believe, for industrial displays, it was nevertheless a most impressive showing. The paintings in general, though showing occasionally the influence of later French impressionists, were almost without exception, though in a broad understanding of the term, realistic. And, though claimed by at least some writers, as of the school of "Socialist Realism" the work is unquestionably national in character and uninfluenced by Soviet art. Without a trace of that shameful avoidance of the realities of life—and, we must add, contempt

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for the understanding of people—that has brought our art in America to be a hobby for the esoteric few, it is at once modern in its recognition of man's world as it has come to be and traditional in its deep respect for humanity. To know Rumanian art is to have gone far toward knowing and loving the Rumanian land and people; toward loving life. How better can art serve?

Noticeable in Rumania, as in the other socialist countries we have visited, is the deep respect for tradition as evidenced by the devoted restoration of historic works of art, of churches and monasteries, of castles, the commemoration of neglected heroes of the past, encouragement of folk arts and, in particular evidence of this, the delightful, impressive "Village Museum" in Bucharest.

But it is with *life* in Rumania, life today—or, to begin with, the conditions of life as the Rumanian people are creating them that we are most concerned. We visited Rumania's great printing plant in Bucharest and found it to surpass in comprehensiveness any printing plant I knew in the United States, and embracing not only every modern process of photo-engraving and printing but turning out products ranging from hand bills, posters, newspapers and magazines to books, well printed and well bound. The plant itself was vast and beautiful, with seemingly limitless extensions in progress of the housing and recreation blocks already built. Smaller but seemingly, in efficiency, fully equal if not surpassing the printing plant in the facilities for study, rest or recreation it afforded workers

and their children, was the ready-made clothing plant in Bucharest. Its restaurant—not a do-it-yourself cafeteria but one in which its patrons sat down in full dignity and, ordering, were served—equalled in every way the first-class hotel restaurants of New York.

But of industrial plants, beyond what meets the eye, we are not judges. Victims, on the other hand, through choice, of the mad will to own and operate a farm, we were more intelligently interested in the collective farm we visited in Transylvania, and amazed not only by its extent—though we have vaster operations in our middle- and southwest—but, as in the printing plant, by the comprehensiveness or diversity of its operations. Its gigantic, big-horned, cream-white, dual-purpose cows filled us with envy—and, in our thoughts, complaint that the importation into the United States of their close kin, the French Charolais, is not, thanks to our cattle raisers' lobby, allowed. Huge farms, diverse activities; and armies of men and women to do the work. Yet the machinery that must in time supplant them is rolling from Rumanian production lines. Vast natural resources: Rumanians have the will and, it appears, the skill to use them.

Everywhere in Rumania we were impressed by the apparent determination with which improvements were in progress: new factories, new well-paved roads, new houses—tall blocks of them in city suburbs, streets of them in villages and, at the Black Sea sands, broad, tree-lined avenues of new hotels, and verdant parks. And flowers, flowers everywhere.

In Bucharest—we started there; there let us end—in Bucharest, in the noble proportion of its avenues and plazas, in the beauty of its parks, the distinction of much of its architecture, the modern luxury of its great hotels, and above all in the cultural wealth that is accessible to everyone, there is much to justify its characterization as "The Paris of the Balkans." And in the theater one night we saw what might be

symbolic of the hand of friendship that Rumania extends to us. It was the play *Tom Sawyer*. Beautifully staged and acted, it was, nevertheless, not quite (let us be charitable) Missouri of a hundred years ago, or ever.

"The play," said Sally in my ear, "is clearly by Marx Twain." On that sweet pun—suggesting as it does the friendly mingling of two "ways of life," we'll end.

THE CASE OF WILLARD UPHAUS—PEACE ADVOCATE

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, a Christian pacifist, is the executive director of the World Fellowship Center, in Conway, New Hampshire, a forum-resort carrying on the peace activities its name implies, open to people of "all races, creeds and political beliefs." In 1954, at the height of the McCarthy hysteria, Dr. Uphaus was cited for contempt and ordered to jail for refusing to turn over to an inquiry held by the Attorney General of the State his list of guests and correspondence with prospective speakers, although he answered freely all questions about himself. The State Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the lower court decision. A letter from Mrs. Ola Uphaus, dated October 24, tells the present status of the case:

"On October 12 the U.S. Supreme Court denied our petition for a rehearing. This means that Attorney General Wyman in New Hampshire may at any time ask our attorneys to set a date for a final hearing in the Superior Court where Willard was first sentenced.

"It is assumed that the Superior Court judge will ask Willard once more whether or not he will turn over the guest lists for 1954 and 1955 demanded by Mr. Wyman. The answer must, of course, be 'No,' because, regardless of court rulings, the inner voice of conscience still says it is morally wrong to subject innocent people to suspicion, possible harassment and public scorn. Moreover, the outcome of our struggle in New Hampshire has a direct bearing on the nationwide campaign to restore First Amendment rights to their proper place in American life. If we can help stop a state inquisition, it will give support to our friends in the South who are constantly menaced by opponents of integration. . . .

"The court will no doubt reimpose the sentence given in January, 1956—prison until 'purged' of contempt—in other words, a life sentence. Since we have failed in the courts our only hope is such an outcry from the people that the sentence will be changed or the case dismissed. New Hampshire officials should be deluged with letters. These include Senator Styles Bridges, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., Governor Wesley Powell and Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, State Capitol, Concord, N. H. It will help to send copies of your letters to the *Manchester Union Leader*, Manchester, New Hampshire.

"We have experienced many upsets and disappointments during this five-year struggle, but we have full confidence that the struggle will not have been in vain. We appreciate the love and support that you have given all along."

10 Years of the German Democratic Republic

by GEORGE LOHR

IN THE early part of October, at the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, Sydney Gruson, *New York Times* correspondent in Bonn, made a five-day trip through this socialist country. Returning to Berlin, he wrote a dispatch for his paper (October 12), with this terse opening paragraph: "East Germany has the look of a going concern." In the same vein, the article also said: "that the state is in business to stay seems only too evident . . . the face of that part of Germany taken over by the Communists is being rapidly transformed into an industrial nation of significant scale."

This article will not earn Gruson any plaudits at Bonn where Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his minions monotonously deny the very existence of the German Democratic Republic. But it puts him in the good company of numerous experienced journalists from Britain and other Western countries who have already for years recognized reality as far as the GDR is concerned, and said so. It is a happy indication of the changing international climate that a leading newspaper of the United States is also beginning to take cognizance of the facts of life as they present them-

selves with such vitality in this country.

Of course, it wasn't easy to turn the GDR into a "going concern." While it is true that Germany has always been the most advanced industrial nation on the continent, the fact remains that when the division took place in 1945, that part which became the Soviet sector was sort of the "poor relation," devoid of most basic industrial raw materials. It lacks especially the key ingredients—hard coal and iron ore. Before the war, the area of what is now the GDR supplied only 2.7 per cent of the hard coal mined in all Germany, and only 1.7 per cent of the iron ore. Therefore the young republic had to find ways and means of using its vast stock of lignite to build heavy industry, something never attempted before anywhere. Scientists solved the problem involved, and a large cokery was built at Lauchhammer. The coke produced there is adequate to make low grade steel. Now another huge project is under construction, called Black Pump, which will transform lignite into metallurgical coke, suitable for high grade steel production. In addition, Black Pump will yield large amounts of electricity, gas, gasoline and many other chemical products. The first dynamo went into operation May first, and when the project is completed it will produce 100,000 tons of lignite daily.

Steel production requires mills,

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and so a whole new city, Stalinstadt, had to be built. Everywhere new enterprises are going up to fortify heavy industry, and the whole country almost looks like one construction site. New plants mean new housing projects, new stores, new movie houses, in short, building whole new settlements. All this takes fantastic investments.

Another example. The GDR has no adequate port for its far-flung foreign trade. The question therefore arose whether to continue using the facilities of Hamburg, in the Federal German Republic, which means paying the bill in foreign currency, or to enlarge the harbor of Rostock in the GDR so that big freighters can dock there. The latter course was chosen, so that eventually the foreign currency now paid to Hamburg can be used to import more foreign commodities for the population here. But for the time being, the Rostock project requires cash, lots of it.

These few examples are cited in order to explain that whatever economic difficulties this country had to deal with were not due to the "failure of socialism," the "resistance of the people to slavery," the "diabolical Communist leaders," the "Russians" or any other such nonsensical charges. They were caused by simple, objective factors rooted in the division of the country.

Ten years is not a long time for a new state to build its own heavy industry, especially in view of the devastation left by Hitler's war. Yet that's exactly what the people here have done. The German Democratic Republic, with a population of 17 million, now stands fifth in production output in Europe, and

holds second place, next to the Soviet Union, in the socialist world. It does business with just about every country in the world, and the Leipzig Fair ranks way and above any other trade mart in size and importance.

But how about the "exploited workers of East Germany" about whom some of the U.S. trade union leaders seemed to be so concerned in their San Francisco meeting with Premier Khrushchev? How about the living standard of the people? Well, during the two years I have lived here, I have been to just about every corner of the country, many places three and four times. I have been in the homes of scores of workers, I have eaten with them many times in their canteens, and so I can say from personal experience that the living standard is good and going up all the time. The country has been "over the hump" for some years now, and the consumer is getting his reward for early sacrifices. The stores are well stocked with the essentials, of course, and the queues are disappearing, except for such items, still not always available, as oranges and lemons.

Clothing is plentiful, most of it of good quality and well-made, and the prices about the same as in the FRG. Imported things, such as Austrian wool sweaters, are also increasingly available. Prices for such items are still pretty stiff, but we have checked shop windows in West Berlin, and they don't exactly give them away there either.

The people eat well, just about as well as their West German neighbors. Meat consumption here in 1958 was 100 pounds per head, over there 104. Here they eat more fish,

26 pounds compared to 24 pounds in the west. They also eat more butter here, while the West Germans consume more margarine. Efforts are under way here now, for health reasons, to bolster the sale of margarine. Bread consumption has dropped here as well as there, and the doctors are not happy about it. The people here eat more sugar than the West Germans, although the FGR citizen eats more eggs than the GDR citizen. In other words, it just about evens out, and any talk about people here being undernourished is stupid. Coffee, however, and chocolate are still very expensive.

Now the emphasis is on what a few years back were still considered luxury items, such as TV sets, frigidares, motor cycles and the like. There has been big progress in this regard. For instance, in 1950 only 109,000 radio sets were manufactured. By 1958, it was 624,000, and the production of TV sets, 180,000 last year, is planned to reach 288,000 this year.

But there is still much to be done to provide all the comforts and conveniences of modern living for the entire population, and that's where the seven-year plan comes in. This plan, adopted on the eve of the tenth anniversary celebration, is geared to reaching and surpassing the Federal German Republic in per capita consumption of all important consumer goods. In 1958, consumer goods worth 9.5 billion dollars were put on the market. By 1965, the value will be 16.5 billion dollars. The purchasing power of the public will be increased accordingly, by price reductions and wage increases.

"Well and good," a skeptic might say, "but that's for the future. How about the people we read about who flee to the West? Why do they leave if things are as good as you say?" In answer it should be said, first, that the number of those who leave is greatly exaggerated by propaganda organizations in West Berlin; second, that very few of those who do leave consider themselves as "refugees," even though that is the title given them by cold war officials in West Berlin. Some are teen-agers who are lured by rock n' roll, and the bright lights in general. Others go over for a while to make a "fast buck" so that they can buy a motor cycle, a portable radio or some other article that is still pretty expensive here. Still others unfortunately fall victim to a well-organized campaign by agents who promise them well-paying jobs. For the boys these "jobs" often turn out to be in the ranks of the French Foreign Legion, and for the girls some bar or dance hall in Hamburg. But the vast majority of those who go to West Germany do so for the very simple reason that the living standard over there is still somewhat higher than here. These are generally politically indifferent elements who are not "escaping to freedom," but who simply want to benefit from an economy which for objective reasons at present can still provide more consumer goods than here. Even now, many of them come back disillusioned. As the seven-year plan progresses, and the standard of living here surpasses that of the FGR, the movement will no doubt be in the opposite direction. Already thousands of West German workers come to live here, especially unemployed

coal miners and also youngsters, in significant numbers, who want to get away from compulsory military training in Adenauer's army. Here service in the People's Army is on a voluntary basis.

The various committees, councils and what have you in West Berlin and West Germany that are charged with heating up the cold war against the GDR are working this "escape to freedom" racket for all it's worth, publicity-wise. They organize mass meetings and torchlight parades to express sympathy with the "enslaved millions of the GDR" and politicians shed crocodile tears every day for them. They also make themselves look highly ridiculous. "The flight to freedom" from here is undoubtedly the cheapest and most undramatic of such flights in history. One solitary nickel buys a ticket for a ride on the elevated or subway, used by hundreds of thousands of Berliners who ride back and forth every day between the two parts of the city. Nobody is stopped, nobody checks any documents, and the ride from Friederichstrasse station in the Eastern sector to the first stop in the Western sector takes less than five minutes. If one prefers, one can also ride across on a bicycle, or simply walk. If the GDR is really such a hell as described by the cold war propagandists, why do 17 million citizens remain when the road to paradise is so simple?

The truth is, of course, that those who go West constitute only a tiny trickle, and that the vast majority of the population is quite content and optimistic about the shape of things to come. Of course, there are "soreheads" who squawk about this and that, but even they admit

generally, when challenged, that they prefer to stay here. A part of the population was skeptical during the early stretch and adopted a "let's wait and see" policy. It's after all only a small section of the population that sees the construction sites of heavy industry. But when mill after mill, and plant after plant, went into production, and the construction of heavy industry started to pay off in a manner visible to all, the former doubting Thomas gradually turned into an adherent of socialism.

How many people in the world imagined in 1945, with the Nazi armies just defeated, that only 14 short years later millions of well-fed, well-clothed Germans would take to the streets to celebrate the tenth anniversary of their socialist state? But that's exactly what they did, more than 500,000 in Berlin alone, and they celebrated not just by parading and listening to speeches, but also by dancing in the streets. A gay and relaxed holiday mood prevailed, the kind of exhilaration that can only come from a people possessed of security, proud of the achievement of its labor and confident of tomorrow. More than that, delegations of prominent people came from 70-odd countries to celebrate with them, attesting to the growing prestige of this state abroad, especially among the countries that have just recently gained their independence.

Like them, the GDR is young, and there is the affinity that comes not only from mutual youth, but more specifically from mutual youth that has a great vision and has its foot down on the pedal to get there. The GDR certainly knows where

it is going, and there is no going back to yesterday. Any political group here that would advocate giving the factories back to the capitalists and the land to the Prussian Junkers would be laughed out of existence.

Like it or not, there are two German states. The language is the same, but the economic and social systems are basically different. The Federal German Republic wants to stick with capitalism at this point, and the citizens of the GDR will never turn away from socialism. Any attempt to change this status quo by force, as Bonn continually threatens to do, would lead not only to fratricide but to world war. Happily for all of us, appreciation of this reality seems to be gaining in world capitals, with the exception of Bonn.

But if speculations about a "collapse" of the GDR belong in the realm of fantasy, it is also time to spell out the answer to the problem as it really is, as the Soviets have done.

A peace treaty now with the two German states would finally close

the books on World War II, would put the Nazis and revanchists over there out of business, would bring about disarmament in the heart of Europe, as a step to world disarmament, and generally aid in easing world tensions. As for eventual unification, let the Germans of both states sit down together and start finding points of contact for possible agreement. If Bonn once knows, by edict of all the big powers, that forceful "unification" is out, it very likely would be more willing to sit down and talk business.

A few weeks ago Eleanor Dulles, sister of the late Secretary of State, former Nazi sympathizer and Berlin "expert" for the State Department during all these cold war years, left these parts for another assignment in the State Department where she can do less harm. This is also a good sign that Washington is taking a good "new look" at its German policy, and that it now sees the reality of the German Democratic Republic, ten years old, thriving and an important state to be recognized in international affairs.

ON THE WOMEN OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WRITING IN "FOUR LIGHTS," organ of the Women's International League, Mildred Scott Olmstead summed up the conclusions of a WIL group that recently visited the women of East Germany, as follows:

1. These women, some of them victims of Nazi imprisonment and torture, carry great responsibility under this regime. They believe fervently that they are building a better society. They are giving themselves unselfishly and unstintingly and nothing will deter them. Some are Communists, and some are not, but they are willing to work together to make it a success.
2. They are convinced that the East German Republic is here to stay as a Nation and that it must be self-sufficient and independent of Russia, and that Berlin must continue to be their capital.
3. They are eager to work with other women regardless of ideological differences and political systems to stamp out war.

We must not underestimate their sincerity. We should show a like zeal for the perfecting of democracy.

Lithuania First Seen

by PHILLIP BONOSKY

WHO knew what we would meet here? This was no return journey through the pathways of nostalgia, for I had never been here before: and my mother and father had fled from here driven by a fear that followed them over thousands of miles of ocean into a new, glibly promised land, where when they arrived they discovered that the only wealth that they were likely to find already lay in the strength-for-hire of my father's two hands. Those hands would be worked to their death and would make others rich. They helped—along with millions of similar hands—to make America a great wealthy country.

Now we were here in Soviet Lithuania—here to find out if anything had changed since that terrible past when an ignorant frightened peasant girl, with her bundle on her back and a sign across her breast, told the world that she did not know how to write her name, or where the place was that she was fleeing to, or that in due course she would be the mother of eight children, of whom I was one now returning to where she first drew breath and trying to learn why she fled and if any others wanted to, now, fifty years later.

The American press had told the world that the Lithuanians were

living in a prison, yearning to be free, in fact, dreaming of the day when the A-bombs would arrive and free them! The Russians oppressed them daily, we were told; the Lithuanians had no culture, no speech, no voice, no tongue of their own.

And so, as the plane bearing us from Moscow to Vilnius, crossed over the border, and over the first lakes into the land of rains and showers and amber, I stared curiously down upon the gray-green land wondering what I would find.

And here's what I found.

It was early evening and a slight mist had begun to develop. The car in which we were riding stopped, and my wife and I got out upon the road. We were thousands of miles from home, and yet suddenly we were surrounded by children and flowers, and a small girl in blond pigtails recited a poem of welcome to us:

Mielam sveiciui tariam aciū
Kad aplankete ir mus
Kur gyveno Jus teveliai,
Kad tas krastras jums brangus.

This small girl was welcoming me back to the country where my parents had been born.

Siauliai was many miles away from New York. But it was even farther than that—it was the distance between the day my father fled from this country more than half a century ago, and his son's return to it: history lay in between.

"How was it, mother," when we

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were children we would ask, "how was it in the Old Country?" And my mother would look sadly in the distance and perhaps would sing a song—songs of sorrow and heavy labor, of sons and fathers lost in the wars fought for an unloved Tsar. It was a land of ignorance and superstition, of fear and poverty for those who worked. How many hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians had left the land of their birth and fled to all parts of the world in search of work and freedom?

And now I had come back to see "how it was."

But the Lithuania of my father and mother had vanished forever. In the twelve days that I spent visiting near and remote parts of this land, I found few traces of that ancient land of sorrow. I found, instead, an entirely new country: a country of the young, of men and women inspired with a new dream, a country of creators.

In Vilnius I visited an ancient cathedral, Mater Misericordia, and there I found the past of my mother. Kneeling before an image of that Mother of Sorrow, old men and women prayed for health, and on the walls around them were plaques of silver bearing images of silver hearts, medallions of legs and arms, and heads—nailed there by generations now stilled in the grave, a suffering generation that looked heavenward for peace from suffering. The next day I would visit the modern up-to-date hospital in Kaunas, where I examined the latest machinery for detecting diseases—cardiographs, X-ray machines, etc. Later, too, I would visit the students of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute and Vilnius University, young men and women

studying the most difficult mysteries of physics and chemistry in a land where just yesterday few knew how to read and write!

Imagine, if you can, the sensation I felt as we rode across a vast valley of grass on which nothing grew except here and there a bush, and when I asked where we were, I was told we were riding on the bottom of a sea. A sea? Yes: for just this year this vast area of barren land would be flooded, and a huge reservoir would help provide electric power for all of Lithuania. I would see with my own eyes the grand project that was being built to provide that electricity. I talked with the men and women who were making Lithuania's dream of light in every home in the land come true. There was pride in their voices and their eyes. Here was young Lithuania full of energy, full of dreams, and most important of all—now they possessed the power to make their dreams come true.

Would my mother believe it? My father would never know: he lay still in a land far from this land where he was born. Those tales he told me! Those songs he sang! All gone now—that land of those songs and tales: new Lithuania faced the future of sputniks and electrification, of a new and happy people.

We traveled in parts of Lithuania that even Lithuanians do not often visit. But wherever we went, we never were so far away that we no longer saw the monuments and crosses alongside the road, which told of the men and women who had perished here during the war. Over 700,000 Lithuanians died by the hand of the Nazis and their Lithuanian agents. Now only the

pine trees stood over them and the innocent flowers.

We visited a prison and crematory called the Ninth Fortress. I could have stayed away from this gruesome spot, as I had every desire to. But I felt compelled to retrace the footsteps of the doomed, stand, if for only a moment, in the cold cells where those other men stood of whom only names crudely scratched on the wall recorded their long torment and agony: Schwartz, Wechsler (and I wondered if he was a relative of the editor of the *N. Y. Post*), and the poignant legend: "Nous sommes 900 français. . . ."

The cells were empty now: but outside deep underneath the flat grounds surrounding the walls and beyond the low-lying ovens into which they had all gone, they lay anonymously mixed with the soil, reduced first to ashes, while over them and beyond them rolled the gentle hills in the summer lazy sunshine. I looked, as they must have looked for the last time, on that landscape, those 900 Frenchmen, those Schwartzes and Wechslers, and the innumerable Lithuanians who had died there, and felt the last irony of all: that nothing, no vengeance, no retribution could ever equal the destruction here. And for a moment I felt that those destroyers had won an absolute victory, for when they were caught up with—stupid, base people—their deaths had by then become meaningless—jokes in fact.

And yet, before I was gone from this country, I learned that my feeling standing on that spot was not after all the truth. For they had not won: bitter as the victory of

the people was, it was still a victory. For almost every family in the country carried with it the memory of the sacrificed. But, lo and behold, there was a glorious transmutation here from grief into the tremendous power of creativity; for the dead spoke through them, in the rich fields and great new factories of life—of a new life which Lithuania was entering, as were the people of one-third of the world.

Lithuania's new freedom has been hard won. And yet, though few have come through the occupation and the war without some personal, bitter loss, I found little bitterness against people here. We visited the collective farm, Road to Communism, for instance, and the chairwoman told us of the death of her father and uncle at the hands of the Nazis. She told us that the grave for herself and her child had already been dug, and she had escaped only by the merest chance. But even so, she said, even though many Lithuanians had cooperated with the Germans, she held no desire for revenge: let them come home, she told me, and the people would forget their crimes, feed them and give them work.

There was no time for looking backward. Her farm was on the road to communism, she told us proudly: and, she confided to me, the collective farmers were determined to finish the seven-year plan in three years! And looking upon the faces of the people here, and the fields rich and full of growing things, I believed her.

As we rode along the lovely highways, over and over we came upon old castles and the reconstructed ruins of battlements and towers

where bygone generations looked toward east and west for the oncoming enemy, the Mongols and the Crusaders. We learned of hiding places where the Lithuanian partisans sheltered themselves during the last war and launched attacks upon the Germans.

We were shown the areas of rich soil freed from marshes. Lithuania had already caught up with and passed the American rate of production for milk. It plans to surpass America in other respects as well. Lithuania is becoming an industrialized nation.

We visited, for instance, a cement works in Akmiane (Stoney). Near to the works stands a brand-new city. Not only is the city new, but the people too are very young—this is a city of men and women under thirty. Yesterday they worked in the fields; today I see them working in the factory, now highly skilled men and women.

I happened to drop in on a trade union meeting that the workers of one of the departments were holding. I asked them what they had been discussing, and they told me they had been discussing the question of loans for the workers to help build new homes, buy furniture, etc. They asked me many questions in return, and then when we had to go they brought forth my book, "Burning Valley," and asked for my autograph. As I stood writing a message in my book here in this city I had never heard of before, I could not suppress a feeling of tremendous pride and joy, and felt that, to some extent, in this book I too was part of this tremendous human drama. Later I would visit the magnificent Workers' Palace of

Culture, and my wife would visit the clinic: and we saw on all sides of us, even though this city was new and raw, signs of beauty and care for the people.

I listened to many statistics eagerly and earnestly. But frankly I told my friends that statistics remained dead to me until I saw the men and women behind them. And I saw those men and women in the new shipyard at Klaipeda, in the silk works at Kaunas, in the woolen works at Siauliai.

We ate in the workers' cafeteria. We saw how the students lived. We talked to people high and low, and over and over we felt that urge to press forward, to create a better and more beautiful life.

That is why I felt that today Lithuania is a happy land. "This is our land," everyone we spoke to told us, "we did this—we built this—we will build more. . . ."

It is a land where the people's cultural heritage is jealously guarded, and today the people still sing the wonderful "dainos," which have become world-renowned. Today's Lithuania passionately dreams of peace. Toward all peoples the world over, and particular to American-Lithuanians and Americans in general, it sends a message of peace and good-will.

Standing in the gathering mist at Siauliai where my father was born, and listening to the little girl recite her poem to me, I felt all this return to me as a great truth: life is creativity, and Lithuania is new-born.

Lithuania is beginning now to live her most glorious years. They know it, and they sing joyfully that this is true.

U.S. Artist in Rumania

by ANTON REFREGIER

IN MY first article, I wrote of my visit to the Soviet Union last summer as a guest of the Soviet Peace Committee following the Stockholm Peace Conference. This article will deal with my visit to the People's Republic of Rumania.

In ten days in Rumania, I had a chance to see an exhibition of the young artists (under 35) prior to its being sent to the Vienna Youth Festival—graphic, painting, sculpture and applied arts. The graphic section was particularly strong and I found some very creative, beautiful work in tapestries and decorative panels. In the Art Academy in Bucharest where I spent several hours with the staff, I visited the Monumental Art Department where they were conducting experiments in fresco as well as general study of monumental art under the guidance of George Labin. This was in preparation for a vast architectural program utilizing mural painting and sculpture.

After a thorough tour of the Academy, I sat with the director and the staff in the reception room. The talk was intense—searching. They wanted to know about American artists. Labin raised his glass. "We are happy to know," he said,

"of the progressive artists working in the United States. This is most important to us." "If only we could take this table," I said, "around the world and repeat what has been said before large gatherings of people!"

On the beach at Mamaia, a few kilometers from Constanta, I saw fine new modern architecture for the rest homes and hotels of this resort area.

During my stay I saw much of the powerful work of the Rumanian artists. Men like Cornelius Baba, and one of the leading sculptors, Ion Jalea, who is also a member of the Rumanian Peace Committee. One evening I was invited to speak and show my work at the headquarters of the Artists Union with its exhibition rooms, library, dining room. What a contrast, I thought, to the poverty stricken headquarters of most of the artists' organizations of which I had been a member in the States!

In a large permanent exhibition hall, in a park, I visited the exhibition of the Chinese People's Republic and, here, I was shocked to realize how comparatively little we know of the achievements of the Chinese people. Machinery beautifully designed in lines reflecting the Chinese culture, fine operating room tables and instruments, dentists' equipment, huge lathes and machine tools, buses and farm machinery—and, of course, the embroidery and their lovely textiles.

I visited the Jewish Theater in Bucharest that has been state supported since 1948. The seats are

ANTON REFREGIER, distinguished American artist, has painted many murals in public buildings throughout the country. *The Song of Peace*, a collection of drawings and poems, which he did with Walter Lowenfels, was recently published.

wired with earphones so one can hear the Rumanian translation of the performance.

On my visit to the Village Museum in Bucharest, composed of a number of houses and churches brought from various regions and reassembled and authentically furnished, I was impressed by the formality of the peasant home. The order in which things were placed—embroideries hanging on the walls—the woven rugs—the beds piled high with pillows. I took all this as the work of a careful curator but, later, as I visited the homes of collective farmers, I found the same sense of order and beauty of arrangement. Their love for embroidery and weaving, the deep pride in their natural heritage, were evident. The typical peasant of the pre-socialist era has disappeared. In his place, there is a self-respecting citizen, a member of a collective. Perhaps he is no longer so picturesque working in the fields, but on Sundays and holidays, the people of the village appear in their beautifully embroidered and woven costumes. I have seen the looms in their homes. They weave and embroider and teach their children the traditional craft and to a visitor they open up the chests to show the things that have been handed down through the generations and the new things they have made.

I paid a visit to a collective farm near Bucharest—the Lenin Road. I had hoped to make some drawings but as it had rained the day before, there was no work in the fields and I spent the time visiting with the farmers. I was received in the office of the farm by the president, representatives of the Peace Committee,

a local teacher and others. I was asked to write in the guest book—a custom in socialist countries. In these books, I have seen the signatures of men and women of many countries of the world—of Chinese, French, Indian, and even American visitors.

As I was making a little drawing in the book, a group of children—Pioneers—came in bringing a bouquet of flowers and one girl read a greeting hastily composed for my visit: "Please tell the children of America when you return home that we study hard. We like to sing and dance and we know that peace is very important to everyone. Tell the children you know that we want peace for them—for us—and for the whole world." It was hard not to break down at this tender moment. I kissed the leader and as everyone waved goodbye, departed with a newly acquired love for another spot in our world.

Next day, Magdalena, my translator and guide, told me that the Peace Committee had arranged for a visit to a cultural festival in a nearby city. As we arrived, the streets were decorated with the flags of Rumania, the red flags of socialism and the blue flags of peace. We were greeted by the people of the local Peace Committee and then proceeded to the House of Culture which was overflowing with people watching a performance on the stage. Dance ensembles from various collective farms and factories appeared in turn. There were performances of song and dance by groups and individuals, by children and adults. At a long table in front of the stage, sat a group of judges who selected the best tal-

ents. Those chosen, I was told, would meet at another cultural festival and the final performance would be in the capital. Thus everyone was involved in the cultural activities. Everyone had a chance to be seen and heard and the best were selected for professional, full-time activity. A few days later, as I sat in a concert hall listening to a beautiful performance on a rare and ancient wind instrument by a soloist, an Honored Artist of Rumania, Magdalena told me with pride that only a few years ago, this man had been a factory worker.

On a visit to a large plant producing passenger and freight cars I noticed between the buildings a display of books. This, the director explained, was an activity of the "Friends of the Book." Anyone who wanted to join this movement had but to read these books, among which I noticed Dreiser, Emerson, Walt Whitman, and Hemingway. This was part of the work to raise the cultural level of the people and to increase their knowledge of the world's literature.

On visits to other factories and collective farms, I usually found in the sections of the libraries devoted to American literature, much worn copies of Faulkner, Steinbeck, Mark Twain, Howard Fast, Albert Maltz, Jack London, Langston Hughes and others. The members of "Friends of the Book" met periodically to exchange reports on the books they read. Those giving the most penetrating reports are sent to a monthly regional meeting and, finally, to

a large literary meeting with contemporary Rumanian writers.

Each year the World Peace Council proposes a group of names of outstanding people of the world for commemorative celebration. Robert Burns was one of those chosen for this year and in Bucharest I attended a meeting in his honor conducted by the Rumanian Peace Committee and the Writers Union. Participating in the program were Rumanian writers, a leading actor who read some passages from Burns and the Scottish poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, who came from Scotland to read.

Finally, it was time for me to travel on. On the plane flying to Berlin, I was engrossed in a volume of short stories of Rumanian authors written since the liberation. A delightful story by Andras Suto, *The Right Man in the Right Place*, was about a collective farm leader who was surprised when at a meeting to choose delegates to the National Assembly, to his amazement, his wife was nominated instead of himself. A deeply moving short story by Geo. Bogza, *The End of Iacob Onisia*. And several others.

It is the artist, I thought, who sees and tells us of the greatness in the simple and the commonplace. He heightens our sensitivity and awareness and inspires us to love or to be indignant or to be angry. In dealing creatively with life, he touches on the creative in each one of us.

High above the Rumanian soil, I read on with a deep sense of satisfaction.

Anton Refregier's account of what he saw of the cultural life of the German Democratic Republic, will be published in the January, 1960, issue of New World Review.

The British Elections

by GORDON SCHAFFER

WITHIN a few days of the Conservative General Election victory, the split in the Labor Party, which had been hastily patched over during the campaign, became clear for all to see. Douglas Jay, who was Under Secretary for Finance in the last Labor Government and would certainly have been a senior minister if the party had won, bitterly declared that the party must drop all talk of nationalization from its program, if it was ever to win power again. He went further and declared that the name "Labor" was a liability in an electorate which had no knowledge of the class struggles of the past. Another former minister in the last Labor Government, who would also have had a post in a Labor Cabinet, Lord Ogmores, announced that he was leaving Labor to join the Liberals.

Mr. Jay's statement was particularly significant because he is known as one of the main confidants of Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labor Party. He is one of the so-called "Hampstead set," the group of right wing professional politicians whom Mr. Gaitskell has grouped around himself since he succeeded Lord Attlee as party leader. He published his statement in *Forward*, a weekly which once had an advanced socialist policy, but

which was acquired by a number of right-wingers to counter the growing influence of the left wing weekly *Tribune*.

Other pointers to the pressure for a right wing swing in the party were the lack of any repudiation by the leaders of a proposal for an alliance with Labor, voiced by Mr. Jo Grimond, the Liberal leader, and a call by the political correspondent of *Reynolds News* for the Labor Party to drop its links with the trade unions. *Reynolds News*, which once led the left wing, has been steadily abandoning its progressive position since it surrendered to pressure from Mr. Gaitskell to drop its opposition to West German rearmament and the cold war.

These open challenges to the left wing of the party give an idea of what would have happened if Labor had won. Once the leader of the successful party is called on to form a government, he and he alone chooses his cabinet. He can only be defeated by a vote of the House of Commons, which automatically means a new election. Armed with this power, Gaitskell would have packed his government with right-wingers and the left would have been faced with the dilemma of either accepting or splitting the party and opening the way to a Tory comeback.

In the situation resulting from a loss of seats by the Labor Party, the divisions in the party are just as obvious, but the right wing is not in so strong a position. Neverthe-

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less, the right wing leaders seem determined to force a showdown.

What is the background to this impending struggle—a struggle which must have far-reaching results, not only for Britain, but for the world?

The biggest clash is over foreign policy. The decline of the Labor Party after its spectacular victory in 1945, began when it failed to repudiate the speech of Winston Churchill in the early months of 1946, which set the pattern for the anti-Soviet alliance. Out of that came the bi-partisan foreign policy with the Conservatives and the mounting opposition to the whole cold war conception from the progressive sections of the Labor and Trade Union movements. The battle went on year after year. It reached its most bitter phase when a clear majority in both the Labor Party and the Trade Unions showed itself against the treaties providing for West German rearmament, and the leaders switched a vital trade union vote, against the declared decision of its members to get a narrow majority in favor of rearming the Nazi generals. At every Labor Party conference, the majority of the resolutions from the local Labor groups, who provide the active propagandists, called for disarmament, trade and friendship with the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies and a general abandonment of the cold war. At one stage Aneurin Bevan led the left and at that time Gaitskell and his supporters planned to expel Bevan from the party. Gaitskell was the right wing nominee to succeed Attlee as party leader and he gained his position, not on his record of service to the movement,

but by the votes of the right wing and the support of a powerful group of trade union leaders, led by Arthur Deakin, who was largely responsible for organizing the break-away of the British TUC from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Bevan decided to bid for trade union support when he stood for election as treasurer of the Party against the extreme right-winger George Brown. Bevan won and was nominated by the party as its spokesman on foreign affairs. In the last Parliament, as official spokesman for the Party, he applauded those members who had resisted the folly of German rearmament. His speeches on foreign affairs were often in direct contradiction to those of George Brown, who was the party spokesman on defense and who outdid the Conservatives in his demand for more arms including nuclear bombs for the NATO forces.

Bevan's friends say that he made some compromises with the right, believing that once he was Foreign Secretary he could make drastic changes of policy. Others believe he made too many concessions and committed himself too much to the right-wing line. Now the question is whether he will have the courage to come out clearly for a reversal of the old policies.

But the battle in the foreign affairs field is more than a struggle between Labor politicians. Britain today, like every other country threatened by the nuclear arms race, is involved in a mass movement against the threat of annihilation, which supersedes all political divisions. This was expressed in the new all-party Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and in increasing sup-

port for the British Peace Committee and other peace organizations. The Aldermaston marches drew new elements into the struggle for peace, particularly young people, who had remained outside political controversies.

If the Labor Party had given the lead to these forces, it would have swept to power in 1959 as it did in 1945. Instead it ignored this new movement. Gaitskell refused to send a message of support to the Aldermaston marchers and handed over the initiative for peace to the Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

Macmillan won the election in the streets of Moscow. The people gave him full credit for breaking the ice of the cold war and they were convinced that it was he who made the Khrushchev visit to the United States possible. There was more than a mere election tactic in the Prime Minister's initiative. There can be little doubt that the Government's military advisers, including the new supreme chief Lord Mountbatten, have made it clear that Britain would commit suicide if it became involved in nuclear war. Coexistence and some insurance against blundering into war, like the proposed zone of disengagement, is the minimum necessary for the survival of Britain. When Mr. Khrushchev told the Americans the Soviet Union was scrapping battle-ships because they were of no value, there must have been some glum faces in London where we still sing "Britannia Rules the Waves."

The Labor leaders, like the counterparts in the AFL-CIO, learned much more slowly than their political opponents. Even in the

middle of the election campaign, Mr. George Brown made an official broadcast for the Party calling for more arms for NATO. The Conservatives are running away as fast as they can from the White Paper, sponsored by former Defense Minister Duncan Sandys, which said in effect: "We are prepared to launch nuclear war even against an alleged aggressor who does not use nuclear arms. If that should happen we cannot possibly defend the civil population against nuclear retaliation which would destroy whole cities and kill tens of millions. But we shall defend the British and American bases so they can kill tens of millions of the enemy."

The Labor leaders have not yet repudiated this declaration of national hari kari.

Is there any wonder that the Labor campaign lacked enthusiasm? The right wing is now pointing to the defeat of left-wingers like Ian Mikardo and Frank Beswick and the failure to regain a Conservative seat by Michael Foot as evidence that the left equally failed to appeal. But these two lost seats were only held last time because the candidate was a left-winger and they could not stand up this time against the general lack of enthusiasm. Much more significant was the fact that Harold Davies, Konni Zilliacus, Frank Allaun and Emrys Hughes, all outspoken opponents of the official foreign policy retained their seats with increased votes.

The coming struggle in the field of foreign affairs thus goes further than the internal clash in the Labor Party. The issue is whether the broad forces demanding peace can force the government to carry

out its promises. On the day Mr. Macmillan announced his new cabinet, both television services carried films of a demonstration in Formosa at which Chiang Kai-shek announced his intention of invading China next year. He did so while the latest type of U.S. bomber flew overhead. No one in Britain protested. There are hints that Macmillan is more interested in repairing disagreements with Adenauer than in securing agreement at the Summit. The Conservatives know that the old policies are useless; they have yet to show enough courage to face the realities of the new world situation.

But in this new situation, the right wing leadership of the Labor movement must become more isolated. The fact that the Transport and General Workers Union, led by Frank Cousins, has a vote of more than one million at both the TUC and the Labor Party conferences, means that the progressive forces can never be isolated as they were when the local Labor parties were faced with a solid phalanx of trade union votes.

The struggle within the Labor Party on domestic issues cannot be divorced from foreign affairs, because Labor, like the Conservatives, is prevented from pledging real social improvements while it remains tied to the monstrous burden of arms expenditure.

It was because it had to avoid this real issue, that the Labor Party in this election was forced into shadow boxing over business men's tax-free expenses and whether or not it could remove the sales tax. It was also forced on to the defensive on the issue of nationalization.

Instead of boldly saying that it was prepared to take into social ownership sufficient of the economy to plan against slump and unemployment, it got caught up in arguments about the relative efficiency of administration by the state or private ownership. And basically the leaders accepted the propaganda of the Conservatives that the old days of unemployment were over and that under enlightened capitalism we are all set for a better life all round.

But here again events are likely to undermine the right wing position. The trade unions, even those with right wing leaders, are pressing for a shorter working week and for increases in wages as their share of the increased productivity of industry. This incidentally is the one way of keeping up consuming power and avoiding the return of unemployment. But the employers, fully backed by the government, have made clear they will fight all such demands. The government is also preparing legislation, which under the pretense of banning unofficial strikes, will curtail the trade unions' power in preparation for the coming clash.

Economically, Britain is by no means set for a period of steady prosperity. The piling up of installment buying, while it pump-primed the economy and kept production going, must reach the stage when it can no longer absorb the pile-up in goods. The competition of Western Germany, strengthened by her dominance of the common market countries, is hitting Britain all over the world. Coal stocks are piling up and miners, who were promised that they would never again face

the conditions of the pre-war years, are in danger of unemployment. Shipbuilding orders and contracts for heavy machinery are steadily declining.

The Labor leaders may proclaim that the era of class struggle has passed, but the employers wage it just the same.

Before Britain goes to the polls again, probably in the spring of 1964, the Douglas Jays, who think the need for a working class party has gone for ever, will probably have a rude awakening. But the British working class will still be left with the task of forging an effective weapon. Here the major factor is that the Labor Party was created by the trade unions as their political weapon and is therefore despite all its failures and defects, the party of the organized workers. If the Labor Party broke away from the trade unions, it would soon become as ineffective as the French Socialist Party. But while the link is maintained the main struggle must be within the trade unions and the La-

bor Party. The Communist Party, which is slowly recovering from the setbacks following the 20th Congress and its aftermath, has a valuable part to play in giving Marxist understanding and leadership, particularly in the trade unions, but as the election showed it cannot aspire to being a mass party in British present-day conditions.

Another factor may be expected to come into play in the period of the next Parliament. If the British ruling class is intelligent enough not only to realize that the old ideas of military domination, negotiation from strength and the rest are in the rubbish bin of history (or would it be better to say flying round the moon in a sputnik?), but that coexistence is an essential for our modern world, other changes will follow. Coexistence means trade and one of the ironies of history is that today trade with the rapidly expanding markets of the socialist world can keep capitalism busy for a long time even though its underlying contradictions remain.

C. S. EATON ON KHRUSHCHEV DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S United Nations address, calling for abandonment of war and universal disarmament, will meet with the unqualified approval of the peace-loving people of all nations. Those of us who have been associated with the five Pugwash Conferences of International Scientists during the past two years can take special satisfaction in having Mr. Khrushchev make such an eloquent and comprehensive statement of the goals and ideals that we have been consistently urging.

Mr. Khrushchev's eminently sensible recommendations deserve to receive immediate and serious consideration by heads of government throughout the world. Representatives of the Soviet Government . . . will render all mankind an invaluable service by advocating the magnificent Khrushchev program aggressively . . . and not allowing themselves to be discouraged by any thoughtless objections or criticisms. . . .

The United Nations address marks Premier Khrushchev as one of the greatest statesmen of all time. The speech should be immediately translated into all languages and made available in print to all the people of the world.

Cyrus S. Eaton in *NEW TIMES*, No. 42, 1959.

"Slask"- Polish Song and Dance

by RALPH PARKER

"TO THE monastery?" asked the driver as I entered his taxi outside Chencstochova station.

"No, to the castle," I replied. "To Koszechin."

I had traveled from Warsaw to the famous center of Catholic pilgrimage in south Poland at the invitation of Professor Stanislaw Hadyna, founder of the "Slask" (Silesian) Folk Song and Dance Company. Six years ago the Polish state placed at his disposal a vast castle whose Prussian owner had fled with the German occupying forces. Others of these abandoned medieval castles in Poland have become schools, hostels, and so on; but Koszechin became the home and training center of 150 teen-age boys and girls who, within a few years, were to delight hundreds of thousands of people by their consummate performance of Silesian folk music.

Silesia is a land of mountains and ravines, of ancient buildings and remote villages, a land, too, of thriving industrial cities and highly developed coal fields. History has dealt roughly with this border province: it was one of the main victims of the German *drang nach Osten*, and no Silesian can ever forgive the Ger-

mans for having chosen their land as the site for the mass-destruction camp of Oswiecim. But war, partition, occupation have never removed the hard core of Polish Silesian population, or robbed it of its folk art, notably singing and dancing. True, the art has often had to take refuge in the high mountain valleys and it is only now, in a fully reconstituted Poland, that the plangent melodies and vigorous dance measures have returned to the plains and been restored to the Polish people as a whole. In the first difficult years after the war, when the lacerated soul of Poland was healing, no little was done to hasten the process by the reviving national art of the people. And particular interest was paid to the art of Silesia because a part of that land, at least, had only just been recovered from secular German occupation.

During the few days I spent at Koszechin Castle I learned a good deal from Stanislaw Hadyna and from his associate Elwira Kaminska, the principal choreographer of the company, about the way the "Slask" had been formed. Hadyna told me he was educated as a psychologist but that he soon switched to composition. Pianoforte playing he had studied with Alexander Brachotsky, a pupil of Paderewski, choral composition from Ludomir Rozycki, the most eminent of the group known as "Mloda Polska" (Young Poland). As a boy he had tramped the Beskid and Tatra moun-

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tains, in whose foothills lay his village birthplace, and when after the war he was encouraged by the Silesian authorities to create a song and dance company his first move was to return to the mountains in search of raw talent.

"I would walk onto the village green with a roll of posters announcing a singing competition under my arm and my pockets full of thumb-tacks," Professor Hadyna told me in the ducal apartments that he has made his home in the castle. "I used to question the children, drop into churches during choir practice, attend gatherings of women and girls singing as they plucked geese to fill the embroidered pillows they make so well in our mountains.

"It was far from easy to persuade the conservative villagers to let their children travel to Katowice to take part in the final elimination contest. On at least one occasion I was suspected by the local police of abducting young girls for dishonorable purposes. And yet it was only by going into the mountain villages that I discovered the young singers who have since turned out to be our stars, artists like Danusia Bury and Urszula Porwoz."

Urszula Porwoz was only 13 when Professor Hadyna found her in a village in the Beskid Mountains. This black-eyed, short-haired girl with a mouth that looked as if it had been made to smile, owed her life to her voice. The eldest child in a poor peasant family, she lived a hard life. The school she attended was several miles away over the hills, and one day she fell up to her neck in a snow drift. The carrying power of her voice saved her.

Good to have a big voice, the child thought. What Urszula did not know was that this voice would take her to Koszechin Castle, and thence to Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, New York, Scandinavia, and that it would ring out from gramophone records throughout the world.

Danka Bury, a nut-brown girl with the carefree look of one who has been brought up on the mountain tops, would, no doubt, still be calling to the cows in the high pastures had Stanislaw Hadyna not been passing when she was "trying to catch the echo" with a traditional song called "Hello, Hello, Helenka!"

"You'll bring us bad luck singing so loud," said the old man at her side.

Danka has a "white voice" as the highly nasalized, uncovered, natural form of singing is technically called. Such are the voices the Russian women use in the vast expanses of the steppes, the Georgians as they sing to each other at tea-plucking in the Adzharian valleys, the Lancashire weavers trying to overtop the rattle and hum of the looms.

Danka Bury left for the Silesian castle in the tattered frock she wore in the fields. She was an orphan and her guardians were glad to be relieved of the burden of feeding her. In October this year she flew to the United States to sing to hundreds of thousands of Americans.

Or take Kristina Madej, the slim chestnut-haired soloist in the dance group. She had never danced seriously before that day, soon after she had left high school, when Elwira Kaminska spotted her and invited her to join the trainees in the castle. Her father, a clerk, objected strongly at first.

"How did you know you could make her a dancer?" I asked Elwira Kaminska, on whom had fallen the responsibility of selecting some forty from the 4,000 candidates who applied for the competition. She told me that her long experience as a dancer, and then as director of a dance academy, had given her an instinctive power to detect latent talent.

At the castle, study and training are intensive. The members of the company study solfeggio, folklore, history of music, principles of music, singing, instrumental playing, classical and character dancing. It is a thrilling experience to be awakened in one's room (haunted, one was warned on the previous night) by the sound of young voices blending in some cantata on Silesian themes composed by Stanislaw Hadyna, to rise to find the medieval courtyard filled with young men and women on their way to the old riding-school which had been converted into a ballet classroom, to discover the reception rooms in which Polish King Jan Sobiecka held court on his way to defeat the Turks outside Vienna four centuries ago, occupied by three dozen tailors and seamstresses working over the gorgeous brocades the company wears in its Krakowiaks and Mazurs dances, and, as the working day draws to its close and the moon rises over the park, to see village boys and girls who have become the darlings of the Polish public behaving with the modest, unaffected simplicity of natural artists.

Koszechin serves as more than a school for the "Slask." Hadyna and his colleagues make no exclusive claims on the talent they have dis-

covered, trained and launched on professional careers. Young men and women have left the choir to join opera companies, others have found folk-dancing too narrow a field for their gifts and have joined classical ballet companies. And in the company today there are undoubtedly artists who have yet to make their names in Warsaw, Poznan, Gdansk. Take Yerzhi Novinski, for example. This young tenor was a metal worker before, at the age of 21, he joined the "Slask." He studied singing as he worked, became the leading tenor in the company, and is now studying operatic roles in the hope of obtaining an engagement with one of the country's operatic companies.

A few days after returning to Warsaw from Koszechin I learned of another valuable aspect of the "Slask"—its compelling power to convey to the Polish people their artistic heritage. The vast new Congress Hall with its 2,500 seats was packed for the "Slask's" farewell concert before its American tour. It was essentially an audience of city people to whom the music of the Beskids and the dances of Silesia might be expected to sound provincial.

However, there are few people like the Poles for responding to national themes, and as gay, mischievous airs followed tragic ballads of legendary heroes, as the unrestrained country dancing of the mountaineers followed the sad, restrained movements of the "Kujawiak," one could read in the audience's response a joyful recognition of strand after strand of the fiber from which Polish national character is woven.

The Population of the USSR

by P. PODIACHIKH

We publish below an article based on the preliminary results of the All-Union Census of January 15, 1959, which were announced by the Central Statistical Administration on May 10. This article appeared originally in the USSR Monthly Journal PROBLEMS OF ECONOMICS, Vol. II, No. 5. For the translation, which we have slightly condensed, we are indebted to the International Arts and Sciences Press, publishers in this country of English translations of this and other Soviet periodicals and publications.

THE size of the existing population on January 15, 1959 was 208,826,000 people, according to the census data. Thus the USSR occupies third place among all countries of the world in the size of population, following China and India. The size of the population in the U.S.A. is 19 per cent less than in the USSR, in Japan it is 2.2 times less, in Pakistan and Indonesia 2.4 times, in Brazil 3.3 times, in the Federal Republic of Germany 4 times, in England 4 times, in Italy 4.3 times, in France 4.7 times.

According to the first Soviet population census conducted on the initiative of V. I. Lenin in August 1920, in a period when the struggle with intervention and the Civil War was still in progress, the population of the country was 134.2 million people. In 1939, as of January 17, there were 170.6 million people. In 18 years, from August 1920 to January 1939, the population of the USSR (in the boundaries prevailing prior to September 17, 1939) increased by 36.4 million people, or by more than 27 per cent. The average annual population growth was 2 million people, or 1.3 per cent. In the USA and Germany during these years the increase in population was about half that in the USSR, in England it was somewhat less than a third, and in France the birth rate was so low that it scarcely covered the natural decrease of population.

The effect of the second world war on the growth of the USSR population should be particularly noted. It is known that the Soviet people bore on their shoulders the main burden of the second world war. The Soviet Union lost many millions of people in this war, on the military fronts and in the occupied regions. During the war years the birth rate fell sharply, but despite this, the population of the Soviet Union increased from 190.7 million in 1939 to 208.8 million in 1959, or by 18.1 million people. As compared with 1913, the population of our country grew (in the present boundaries) by 49.6 million people, or by 31 per cent.

It is interesting in this connection to note that the volume of industrial production increased by 36 times in the Soviet Union between 1913 and 1958. During the last ten postwar years (1948-1958) industrial production in the USSR grew by 3.6 times while in the capitalist world it grew by only about 58 per cent. In absolute amount of industrial production the USSR long ago outstripped England, France, Western Germany. In rates of growth of industrial production the USSR substantially surpasses all capitalist countries. Great successes have been attained in the development of the collective farm structure and in increasing the production of agricultural and livestock products, as well as in the development of transportation, trade and capital construction. In the period from 1913 to 1958 the national income per capita increased by 15 times in our country. On the basis of a growth in social production the material well-being of the population has increased. The growth in the real incomes of workers employees and collective farmers and the rise in their cultural level testify to this.

The consequences of the second world

war unfavorably affected the relationship between the number of men and women. In the USSR there are now 94 million men and 114.8 million women. According to the census, in 1939 out of every 100 persons there were 48 men and 52 women. The excess in the number of women at the time was a consequence of the first world war, the civil war and the intervention. As a result of the second world war, according to the 1959 census, out of every 100 persons there are 45 men and 55 women. Such a relationship has arisen because of the situation of the age groups over 32. Insofar as the population younger than 32 is concerned, the number of men and women in these age groups is now the same. The heavy consequences of the second world war might have appeared even greater had the Soviet state not shown constant all-sided concern for children and mothers. Even during the war and particularly in the postwar period the Soviet state, along with measures to restore and develop the economy, took a number of measures for the further increase of material aid to pregnant women, mothers of many children and single mothers, encouraging mothers of many children, developing public health care and strengthening medical aid to the population. Millions of mothers of many children and single mothers were given supplementary state grants-in-aid.

The measures cited here and postwar expansion of Soviet economy, accompanied by an increase in material well-being and culture of the Soviet people, insured in the postwar period a high birth rate, a sharp decline in the death rate, particularly in children's age groups, and an increase in the life expectancy of the population. The birth rate in the Soviet Union is now more than 25 births per 1,000 of the population. In the USA the birth rate is somewhat lower than in the USSR, and in other important capitalist countries (England, France, Italy, Western Germany, Japan) it is considerably lower.

16.5-18.5 births per 1,000 population. The high birth rate is connected with the marriage situation of the population. In the Soviet Union the largest number of marriages per 1,000 of the population is now occurring, more than 12 per year. At the same time the number of divorces in the USSR is less than in many capitalist countries. Thus for example, in the United States according to latest published data there are 8.3 marriages and 2.3 divorces a year per 1,000 of the population. The number of divorces per 1,000 of the population in the USA is 2-3 times more than in the USSR. The death rate in the USSR is the lowest, 7.5 deaths per 1,000 of the population. In the USA the death rate is 9.5 deaths per 1,000, in England 11.7, in France 11.1, in Italy 10, in Western Germany 10.8, in Japan 8.3. The death rate in the USSR is now 2.4 times less than in 1940. In comparison with pre-revolutionary times the death rate in our country has declined by 4 times. The death rate among children less than one year old has declined even more, by almost 7 times compared with pre-revolutionary times and by 4.6 times compared with the prewar year of 1940.

The high birth rate and low death rate cause a high natural increase in the population of the USSR, 17.5 persons per 1,000. Such an increase does not prevail in any important capitalist country nor in almost any bourgeois country, with rare exceptions. The increase in the population of the Soviet Union stemming from the excess of the birth rate over the death rate exceeds 3.5 million persons a year in recent times. The average life expectancy of the USSR population has more than doubled between the pre-revolutionary period and 1955-1956, rising from 32 to 67 years.

In the announcement of the CSA USSR, data are presented on changes in the size of the population during the period between the 1939 and 1959 censuses for the individual union republics.

The population of the union republics

according to preliminary data, changed in the following manner during these 20 years (in thousands):

	1939	January 15, 1959
USSR	190,678	208,826
RSFSR	108,379	117,494
Ukrainian SSR	40,469	41,893
Byelorussian SSR	8,910	8,060
Uzbek SSR	6,336	8,113
Kazakh SSR	6,094	9,301
Georgian SSR	3,540	4,049
Azerbaijdzhan SSR	3,205	3,700
Lithuanian SSR	2,880	2,713
Moldavian SR	2,452	2,880
Latvian SSR	1,885	2,094
Kirghiz SSR	1,458	2,063
Tadzhik SSR	1,484	1,982
Armenian SSR	1,282	1,768
Turkmen SSR	1,252	1,520
Estonian SSR	1,052	1,196

In the 1939 figures an estimate is included of the population in the Western oblasts (regions) of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

While the population of the USSR as a whole increased by 9.5 per cent between 1939 and 1959, the population of the Kazakh SSR increased by 53 per cent, the Kirghiz SSR by 41 per cent, the Armenian SSR by 38 per cent, the Tadzhik SSR by 34 per cent, the Uzbek SSR by 28 per cent, the Turkmen SSR by 21 per cent, the Azerbaijdzhan SSR by 15 per cent, the Georgian SSR by 14 per cent. The population of the Kazakh SSR grew particularly rapidly. This is explained by the high natural increase of the population of the republic and the substantial influx of population from other republics connected with the utilization of the natural wealth of the republic, in particular the cultivation of virgin lands. In the size of population the Kazakh SSR has taken third place instead of fifth as in 1939. In the Byelorussian SSR and in the Lithuanian SSR the population has not reached the prewar level. These republics bore

great material damage and suffered particularly great population losses during the fascist occupation and military operations in the Patriotic War.

In the announcement of the CSA USSR, data of the 1959 census are presented on the population of individual oblasts, territories, autonomous republics and national districts. A comparison of this data with materials of the 1939 census reveals considerable changes in the distribution of the population in individual economic regions. Between 1939 and 1959 the population of the Ural regions grew by 32 per cent, Western Siberia by 24 per cent, Eastern Siberia by 34 per cent, the Far East by 70 per cent, Central Asia and Kazakhstan by 38 per cent. In the RSFSR there were particularly large increases in the population of the following Urals and eastern oblasts: in Kamchatka Oblast 100 per cent, in Khabarovsk Territory 74 per cent, in Chelyabinsk Oblast 73 per cent, in Kemerovsk Oblast 69 per cent, in Sverdlovsk Oblast 55 per cent, in Maritime Territory 55 per cent, in Irkutsk Oblast 52 per cent, and so on. The more rapid growth of the population in eastern regions of the USSR is a reflection of the Party and Government policy of an all-sided development of productive forces here on the basis of an energetic utilization of rich raw material and power resources.

The density of the population per square kilometer in the USSR is, on the average, 9.4 persons. The greatest density prevails in the regions of the South, 70.5 persons, including 70 in the Ukrainian SSR and 85 in the Moldavian SSR. In the regions of the Transcaucasus density is 51 persons, including 59 in the Armenian SSR, 58 in the Georgian SSR, and 43 in the Azerbaijdzhan SSR. In the regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan the density of the population varies markedly: in Andizhan Oblast it is 183, in Fergana 132, in Tashkent 100 persons, and in Gersvk, Aktyubinsk and Kzyl-Orinsk, oblasts with great empty regions, it does not exceed

1.4 persons. In the regions of the West the population density per square kilometer is 37 persons, including 42 in the Lithuanian SSR, 39 in the Byelorussian SSR, 33 in the Latvian SSR and 27 in the Estonian SSR. In the RSFSR the highest population density is in the regions of the center, 45 persons, including 125 in Moscow Oblast, 74 in Tula Oblast, 60 in the Chuvash ASSR, 54 in Ivanovo Oblast, 50 in Kursk Oblast, and so on. Population density in the regions of the Northern Caucasus is 33 persons, in the regions of the Povolzhe and Urals it is 22 persons, in the regions of the North West it is 15 persons. In the regions of North Siberia and the Far East, although density increased during the past twenty years in individual oblasts by 1.2-2.5 times, it is still not large.

In the announcement of the CSA USSR, a great deal of attention is given to describing changes in the size of the urban and rural population and to the growth of population in cities which are centers of union and autonomous republics, territories and oblasts, as well as other cities with populations in excess of 50,000. The growth of the urban population reflects, above all, the process of further industrialization of the country. Changes in the size of the urban and rural population of the USSR are characterized by the following figures:

than 65 per cent. This increase was accounted for by the transfer of a considerable number of rural residents to urban settlements for permanent work (at industrial enterprises, construction sites, transport organizations and at enterprises of other branches of the national economy) as well as by a natural increase. The transfer occurred in two ways: first, many large villages, in which there were 7 million people, were transferred into cities, workers' settlements and urban-type settlements as a result of the development of industrial production in them; second, about 24-25 million rural residents passed over to permanent residence in cities. With the 65 per cent increase in the urban population, the rural population declined by 16 per cent over the 20-year period (from 130.3 million in 1939 to 109 million in 1959). The transition of the rural population to permanent residence in urban settlements is a result of the further substantial growth of industrial production; it was made possible by successes in mechanization and increasing labor productivity in socialist agriculture. It is sufficient to point out that the main field work in agriculture was already almost completely mechanized by 1957: the plowing of spring crops by 98 per cent, the grain harvesting with combines by 90 per cent, etc. The use of machinery and mechanisms is also continually increasing in

	Total Population (in millions)	Of which		Per Cent of Total Population	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1913 (in present boundaries)	159.2	28.1	131.1	18	82
1939 (estimate for territory including the Western oblasts of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia)	190.7	60.4	130.3	32	68
1959 (census of January 15th)	208.8	99.8	109.0	48	52

The urban population increased from 60.4 million in 1939 to 99.8 million in 1959. The growth of the urban population was 39.4 million persons, or more

other branches of agriculture.

The population increase of urban settlements due to natural increase during this period was about 8 million

(not counting losses of population during the period of military operations and occupation). The growth of the urban population and changes in its share in the total population of individual union republics between 1939 and 1959 are shown in the following figures:

beria, including 78 per cent in Moscow Oblast (including Moscow); 77 per cent in Kemerovsk Oblast; it is 47 per cent in regions of the North and 43 per cent in regions of the Northern Caucasus.

The number of cities in the USSR increased from 1,191 in 1939 to 1,694 in

	Urban Population (in thousands)		1959 in % of 1939	Urban Population (in percentage)	
	1939	1959		1939	1959
USSR	60,409	99,782	165	32	48
RSFSR	36,296	61,477	169	33	52
Ukrainian SSR	13,569	19,130	141	34	46
Byelorussian SSR	1,855	2,475	133	21	31
Uzbek SSR	1,470	2,720	185	23	34
Kazakh SSR	1,690	4,069	241	28	44
Georgian SSR	1,066	1,696	159	30	42
Azerbaidzhan SSR	1,157	1,765	153	36	48
Lithuanian SSR	659	1,045	159	23	39
Moldavian SSR	328	639	194	13	22
Latvian SSR	663	1,173	177	35	56
Kirghiz SSR	270	692	256	19	34
Tadzhik SSR	249	645	259	17	33
Armenian SSR	366	884	241	29	50
Turkmen SSR	416	698	168	33	46
Estonian SSR	355	674	190	34	56

The share of the urban population in the total population was 18 per cent in 1913 and 1926, 32 per cent in 1939 and increased to 48 per cent in 1959. The highest share of urban population exists in the Estonian SSR, Latvian SSR, the RSFSR and the Armenian SSR. Rates of growth of the urban population during the past 20 years were highest in the republics of Central Asia, in the Kazakh SSR and the Armenian SSR. In the RSFSR, in the regions of the Northwest the share of the urban population is 72 per cent, including 92 per cent in Murmansk Oblast and 86 per cent in Leningrad Oblast (including Leningrad); it is 70 per cent in the regions of the Far East; 59 per cent in the regions of the Urals, including 76 per cent in Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk oblasts; it is 53 per cent in regions of Eastern Siberia, including 62 per cent in Irkutsk Oblast; it is 50 per cent in regions of Povolzhie; 49 per cent in regions of the center and Western Si-

beria. There are now 2,922 urban-type settlements (1,354 more than in 1939). Among the new cities that have arisen during these years are such large ones as Angarsk with 134,000 residents, Volzhsk with 67,000, Nakhodka with 63,000, Novokuibyshevsk with 63,000, Rustavi with 62,000, Salavat with 60,000. Angren, Vorkuta and Mezhdurchensk with 55,000 each, Bratsk with 51,000. The number of cities with a population of over 50,000 increased during the past 20 years from 188 to 299, of which cities with a population from 100,000 to 500,000 increased from 78 to 123 and cities with a population greater than 500,000 increased from 11 to 25. We present the population of the largest cities on the following page.

The population of the capitals of the union republics not included in these 25 cities are: Alma-Ata 455,000, Tallinn 280,000, Vilnius 235,000, Stalinabad 224,000, Frunze 217,000, Kishinev 214,000, and Ashkhabad with 170,000 people.

	Population (in thousands)		1959 in % of 1939
	1939	1959	
Moscow	4,183	5,032	120
Leningrad	3,385	3,300	97
Excluding cities and urban-type settlements subordinate to the Leningrad City Soviet	3,015	2,888	96
Kiev	847	1,102	130
Baku	775	968	125
Excluding urban-type settlements subordinate to the Baku City Soviet	571	636	111
Gorky	644	942	146
Kharkov	833	930	112
Tashkent	550	911	166
Novosibirsk	404	887	219
Kuibyshev	390	806	206
Sverdlovsk	423	777	184
Stalino	466	701	150
Tbilisi	519	694	134
Chelyabinsk	273	688	252
Odessa	602	667	111
Dnepropetrovsk	527	658	125
Kazan	398	643	162
Perm	306	628	205
Riga	355	605	170
Rostov on the Don	510	597	117
Stalingrad	445	591	133
Saratov	372	581	156
Omsk	289	579	201
Ufa	258	546	212
Minsk	237	509	214
Yerevan	204	509	250

During the prewar five-year plans, in the period of creating socialist industry, a number of new large cities arose—industrial centers. It is interesting to observe how their population has changed during the past twenty years: in Karaganda it grew from 156,000 to 298,000; in Magnitogorsk from 146,000 to 311,000; in Komsomolsk on the Amur from 71,000 to 177,000; in Norilsk from 14,000 to 108,000; in Stalinogorsk from 76,000 to 107,000.

There are now several large industrial and administrative centers whose population was completely insignificant in 1926. Thus, Murmansk had 9,000 residents in 1926 and has 226,000 now; in Dzerzhinsk (Gorky Oblast) the figures are 9,000 and 163,000; in Perov 24,000 and 143,000; in Kuntsev 10,000 and 123,000; in Orsk 14,000 and 176,000; in Cheremkhov 14,000 and 123,000;

in Stalınabad 5,600 and 224,000, etc. There are a number of oblasts in which almost all cities arose in the period between 1926 and 1959. Thus, in Kemerovsk Oblast in 1926 the urban population was only 120,200, while now it is 2,151,000, including 377,000 in Stalinsk, 282,000 in Prokopyevsk, 277,000 in Kemerov, 132,000 in Leninsk-Kuznetsk, 130,000 in Kisselevsk, etc. In Murmansk Oblast in 1926 there were only 17,300 urban residents, now there are 524,000. In Khabarovsk territory in 1926 the urban population was 69,000, now it is 849,000. In Zaporozhe Oblast in 1926 there were about 129,000 people in urban settlements, now there are 832,000.

In conclusion we must clear up the question of the exactness of the Census figures. In accord with a decree of the government the census was conducted

January 15-22, 1959 by interrogation of the population by specially trained counters, and from January 23 to February 1 a check-up of the correctness of the census was carried out by an all-round control observation of all residences by instructor-inspectors. In rural localities representatives of village Soviets were also involved in the control observations. During the census, counters entered 207,752,000 people on the census lists. During the control observations an additional 285,000 people who had been left out by the counters were entered on the census lists. Besides this, in order to insure the completeness and exactness of the data on population during the period of the census and the control observations, individuals in regard to whom there was some doubt as to whether they had been covered in the localities where they happened to be on the night of January 14-15 were registered on control forms. After the census the control forms were carefully inspected. The control forms consisting of people entered in the census lists were cancelled, while the figures from the control forms for people who had not been counted in their localities on the day of the census were transferred to the census lists. By verifying the control forms 789,000 people were included in the census totals.

Control observations and control forms are not used abroad in conducting censuses.

In the USSR even in the 1939 census control observations and control forms were used. These control measures made it possible to reveal, during the last census, 1,074,000 persons in addition to those registered by counters. In relation to the total population this is only 0.51 per cent.

In many countries both present and permanent population are counted in censuses at the same time. In the USSR, by the present population of each populated point is meant all individuals who happened to be there on the day of the census, including temporary

residents (sent on missions, staying as guests, etc.). All those present on the day of the census, for whom the given point is the place of permanent residence, are included in the permanent population. Besides this, the permanent population includes the temporarily absent, that is, individuals who are permanent residents of the given populated point but on the day of the census are temporarily in another locality. For the country as a whole, if the census is conducted correctly, the present and permanent population should coincide because every person temporarily absent from one locality should be included as temporarily residing in another locality. According to the census the present population of the USSR was larger than the permanent population by only 600,000 persons, or by 0.3 per cent. This testifies to the extreme exactness of the census data. For comparison it should be noted that in the Russian census of 1897, with a population of 125.6 million people the gap between the present and permanent population was almost 1 million persons, or 0.75 per cent. In foreign countries this gap is often equal to 1-1.5 per cent, and the permanent rather than the present population is counted more fully. The more exact accounting of the present population in the censuses of 1939 and 1959 is a result of conducting control observations and the use of control forms and census record certificates (certificates were given out to avoid double counting of all temporary residents and all persons who were expecting to depart for other localities during the census).

Detailed census figures are now being worked out on a territorial basis on the distribution of the population by sex, age, nationality, language, education, training, family status, social groups, sources of means of subsistence, branches of the national economy, production, and major occupations, as well as groupings which describe the composition of the population according to combinations of these characteristics.

Peter the First

Reviewed by MURRAY YOUNG

Peter the First, by Alexey Tolstoy. Macmillan, New York, 1959. 768 pages. \$5.95.

AT LAST we have the full text in a new translation of Alexey Tolstoy's historical novel. Tolstoy worked on the book for many years, the final section appearing only after his death in 1945. This is a work of monumental proportions, regarded in the Soviet Union as a classic.

Tolstoy's vast, panoramic presentation of Peter's life up to his defeat of Charles XII of Sweden in 1701 is carried out with a relentless sweep and power that gathers up in rich detail the whole life of Russia at the end of the 17th century.

Around the complex figure of Peter, Tolstoy shows us representatives of every class in Russian society from courtiers to escaped serfs and highway robbers. Each character is drawn in vigorous colors and set in the total picture of medieval Russia on the point of great historical changes—the changes to be carried through by the intelligence, energy and ruthless will of Peter.

Moscow, dominated by the crenellated walls of the Kremlin, is magnificently recreated and the Red Square is set alive with the great swirling masses of merchants, soldiers, priests and beggars who crowd the seething background as Peter moves to crush the power of the boyars and force into the stagnant world of feudal Muscovy those qualities of Western Europe his searching, restless intelligence had taught him to admire and which he was determined to introduce, at whatever price, into his own country.

Great scene follows great scene in writing that is bold and earthy and at the same time as heavily encrusted with descriptive detail as the richly painted and icon-hung interior of an ancient Russian church. The complicated char-

acter of Peter is frankly shown in all its strange contradictions, and the other leading characters are presented in all their bewildering combination of greed, savagery, cunning and wild vitality.

Peter is of course the center of the book. Tolstoy has caught in the onward, thrusting rhythm of his writing the drive of that extraordinary man who was to leave as his monument a Russia that had made through his leadership a great leap forward and as well the superb city—his window on Europe—which he set down upon the banks of the Neva, that now bears the name of Lenin. But Peter strides through the pages of this book in the midst of a group of people who are themselves of extraordinary stature—members of the aristocracy who oppose Peter at every turn, former peasants like the Brovkin family who are rapidly moving up into the class of wealthy merchants, Menshikov, the former seller of pies in the streets who becomes Peter's intimate and a Marshal of his army, the foreign adviser Lefort, and Peter's German mistress Anna Mons.

This is historical fiction conceived on a grand scale, given depth and structural firmness by Tolstoy's grasp of the forces in society that move it onward. The brilliantly projected leading characters, for all their individual traits and vivid coloring, are inseparably a part of the people among whom they move, and both leaders and the people are shown as propelled forward by the inescapable contradictions between the various classes.

This is a long novel but every part of it pulsates with a surging, passionate life that evokes a historical period far too little known to us. The publication of this Soviet classic opens for us "a window on" Russian history that is invaluable.

Soviet Adventure

Land of Foam, by Ivan Yefremov.
Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1959. 304
pages. \$3.50.

IVAN Yefremov is a Soviet scientist and writer whose science-fiction is highly regarded in the Soviet Union. The present book—the first of his novels to be published in this country—does not, however, properly belong to the science-fiction category. Rather than the future, the scene of this novel is the ancient past, splendidly recreated.

Greece, Egypt, Africa provide the background for this story of a young Greek sculptor who is captured by Egyptians and set to work with other slaves in constructing one of those vast tombs dedicated to the Pharaohs. Working on the tomb, the young Greek makes friends with other slaves, notably a group of Negroes, with whom eventually he revolts and flees across Africa to the shores of the Mediterranean where he embarks for his voyage home to Greece.

The action is swift and engrossing. The clear and shining beauty of early Greece, the brooding power of dynastic Egypt, and the vast untracked forest and plains of Africa are described with great skill. And woven into the thrilling story of adventure is a prophetic forecast of the future in which men will no longer be slaves and enemies but united in a common brotherhood such as that which bound together the young Greek and his Negro comrades in their revolt against the enslaving Egyptians.

According to the jacket of the American edition the book is meant for "older young people." In actual fact so vivid is the writing, so authoritative the descriptions of vanished civilizations, that readers of any age will find reading this book a fine experience.

Happily the publisher uses the charming illustrations made for the Soviet edition.

M. Y.

Poland Remembers

1939-1945, *We Have Not Forgotten*. A photographic record of the Nazi Occupation of Poland. The Historical Section of the League of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy. Polonia Publishing House, Warsaw, 1959. (Text in English, French and Russian).

THE photographs in this book explain more clearly than any words the reason why the Polish people, along with other victims of Nazi aggression, are so deeply concerned about the rearming of Western Germany.

Over 6,000,000 Poles, after unspeakable humiliation and torture, were murdered by the Nazis during the 5-year occupation. This book is a history in searing photographs of those terrible years.

The decade and a half since the liberation of Poland has brought great changes in the lives of the Polish people but the memory of their suffering at the hands of the Nazis has not lessened. How could it indeed with hardly a family untouched or a city or town still without scars from the brutal destruction? How could the memory grow less with Western Germany rearmed and arrogant, demanding return of Polish territory, crying for revenge boldly in public speeches?

Look at these photographs of men and women herded into concentration camps, marched into gas chambers hanged and shot in village streets; look at the wrecked cities, the burned farm houses, the children dead from starvation.

If certain powerful forces in the world have chosen to forget the years of the Nazi domination of Western Europe the Polish people have not forgotten and like the Soviet people, are determined that their country will never again live through such horrors.

This book should have the widest possible circulation.

M. Y.

Soviet Medicine

New USSR Treatment for Serious and Chronic Ailments Frequent in Middle and Old Age, by Charlotte Carter and Dyson Carter. Northern Book House, Box 1000, Gravenhurst, Ontario, Canada. 60 cents.

THE Carters have followed their report on the Rumanian use of H-3 in the treatment of old age (NWR, September, 1959), with a report of Soviet experience in the use of the same formula. Differing considerably from Rumanian usage in actual treatment methods, age-span of those treated, and in the explanation of the way novocain (procain) therapy acts in the human organism, readers of the earlier report will be interested in the presentation of Soviet practice and medical opinion.

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