

SEPTEMBER, 1961

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New World

REVIEW

THE REAL THREAT— WEST GERMAN MILITARISM

Housing in the Soviet Union

JESSICA SMITH

Soviet Man in Space—No. 2

ESLANDA ROBESON

The Changing Face of Moscow

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

The Leningrad Ballet

NATALIA ROSLAVLEVA

NEW PROGRAM OF THE C.P.S.U.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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Our Roving Correspondent
*Editorial Consultants on Negro and
Colonial Questions*

Vol. 29, No. 9, September, 1961. Second class
postage paid at New York, N. Y. Sub-
scription \$2.50 per year. \$1.25 for 6 months
(Canadian, \$3.00, foreign \$3.50 a year.
Draw money orders or checks payable in
New York.) Published monthly by the
N.W.R. Publications, Inc., 34 West 15th
Street, New York 11, N. Y. Indexed in Bul-
letin of the Public Affairs Information Ser-
vice. Phone: CHelsea 3-0666.
PRINTED IN U.S.A.



TO OUR READERS

Your generous response to our appeal
for summer funds eased considerably
the usual strains of getting out the
magazine during the vacation months.

Now that vacations are over—vac-
ations this summer loud with war drums
—we must again ask you to help us carry
on through the months ahead which give
every sign of being full of the gravest
danger for the peace of the world.

This month you will find in the
magazine a synopsis of the draft pro-
gram of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union which is to be voted on
at the 22nd Congress to be held in
October; in July we published the
memoranda on Germany and Nuclear
Tests given to President Kennedy by
Premier Khrushchev at Vienna; in
August we reprinted lengthy excerpts
from Premier Khrushchev's important
speech on the German situation.

This is material not easily available
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The Real Threat

THE TASK of everyone concerned with peace is to keep pressing incessantly for a curb on the hotheads who are prepared to go to war to defend the "freedom" of West Berlin, which nobody threatens.

Despite Vice President Johnson's ridiculous pledge to the West Berliners that we would defend with "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" the "survival" of their city, it is hardly likely that the American people want to risk world war over a trumped up issue that hasn't the slightest resemblance to the cause at stake in our Declaration of Independence.

It is to be hoped that a clearer indication of our government's policies was given by Secretary of State Rusk. Within a week after the closing of the border between East and West Berlin, which actually seemed to have a sobering effect on the war hysteria, he declared that war would not solve the problem and that "we expect negotiations on this matter."

Negotiations on the question of Germany and Berlin have been persistently offered by the Soviet Union. It was three years ago this fall that Premier Khrushchev made his specific proposals for negotiations on a German peace treaty and on a free, demilitarized status for West Berlin. The USSR has exercised extreme patience in permitting continued postponement of a problem that threatens the peace of the world, in the hope of avoiding unilateral action and achieving an agreed upon settlement with the West. Now it feels that time is running out, and will make a peace treaty of its own if the West will not agree by the end of the year. But the door remains open for negotiations.

There is no threat to peace in a treaty which, with no present prospects for reunification, must be made with the two existing German Republics, or

in a demilitarized West Berlin, with access arranged through the authorities of the German Democratic Republic, 110 miles within whose territory Berlin lies.

The real threat to peace is from a rearmed Western Germany under a leadership still smarting from defeat in two World Wars and dreaming of revenge. The Bonn Government is honeycombed with former Nazis. The Thyssens, Krupps and other monopolies who financed and armed Hitler are thriving again. Chancellor Adenauer has come out for the forcible incorporation into a reunified Germany of the territories beyond the Order-Neisse line. His Defense Minister Strauss has declared his readiness to risk nuclear war.

In the past seven years, the present German Bundeswehr has been built up faster than the former Nazi army. All its leading generals came from the staff of Hitler's Wehrmacht. Its strength is nearly 350,000 and will reach 1,000,000 if conscription, already planned, goes through. Little by little the Western NATO allies have permitted the whittling away of former limitations on armaments, and the Bundeswehr expects to have nuclear weapons in the near future. The Bonn air force is on its way to first place in Western Europe.

The Bundeswehr accounts for 43 per cent of NATO's land forces—more than any other power—and its bases are spread throughout Europe. NATO's European army is under the command of General Speidel who served on the German General Staff in the 30's and was Rommel's Chief of Staff. General Heusinger, who also served under Hitler as chief of the General Operations Staff, is Chairman of the NATO political Committee in Washington, entrusted with the guidance of all NATO military planning. His name was on the first allied list of war criminals.

This is the threat that faces both East and West. It can only be met by a peace treaty which would finally end World War II and avert World War III by including one of the various plans that have been offered for a demilitarized zone in Central Europe on which the USSR has repeatedly expressed willingness to negotiate.

The Bonn Government considers West Berlin an integral part of the Federal Republic of Germany, creating as intolerable a situation for the GDR, of which East Berlin is the capital, as it would for the United States if half of Washington were in the hands of a hostile power.

The German Democratic Republic has laid the foundations of a socialist state. No Government could permanently tolerate a situation such as existed in Berlin where the GDR actually had an open border over which it had no control. That some East Germans fled to the West through this border, enticed by the glittering show case into which West Berlin had been built, is not the issue. Some, no doubt, simply didn't like socialism. Others fell victim to the constant propaganda fed to them by radio and the 80-odd subversive, sabotage and espionage organizations existing in West Berlin. Others took advantage of the fact that they could exchange marks received for work in the Western sector for four or more East marks. Wild speculation in currency, goods and food-stuffs undermined the economy of the GDR. According to the Soviet rejection of the Allied protest on the action of the GDR in closing the border, this open frontier cost the population and the economy of the GDR at least 3,500,000,000 marks annually.

The sealing off of the border on August 13 by the German Democratic Republic, following a decision by the Warsaw Pact Powers, was done as a safety measure until the situation could be normalized through a peace treaty. It was an action any sovereign government would have been justified in tak-

ing. There has been no interference of any kind with West Berlin or with access to it from the West.

Sober commentators have pointed out that this measure has cleared the way for negotiations, since it has removed an issue on which the West's position in the past would have made it difficult for them to negotiate.

The *Wall Street Journal* carried an article on the gloom and disunity reflected among the Allied diplomats in Europe over the way in which the West has been "outmaneuvered" in the Berlin crisis. A U.S. diplomat told the W. S. J. correspondent that it would not have been possible for the West to have agreed on any measures to restrict the escapes from East Berlin: "Now they don't have to ask it, and we don't have to face the problem."

Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament on August 23 that he felt East Germany had the legal right to close the border in Berlin. He urged that the big powers should negotiate peacefully on Germany rather than make military preparations.

In his speech on August 7, Premier Khrushchev declared that in concluding a treaty with the German Democratic Republic, "we do not intend to infringe on any lawful interests of the Western Powers. Barring of access to West Berlin, blockade of West Berlin, is entirely out of the question." He declared that economic and cultural contacts and good relations between the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit all countries:

This is why we address the governments of the United States, Britain and France once more: let us honestly meet at a round table conference, let us not create a war psychosis, let us clear the atmosphere, let us rely on reason and not on the power of thermonuclear weapons.

President Kennedy has asked for advice: send him your letters urging an end to war hysteria and moves for early and direct negotiations.

Soviet Man in Space - No .2

by ESLANDA ROBESON

AT 9 O'CLOCK A.M. on August 6, the day young Herman Stepanovich Titov took off into the cosmos in the good space-ship Vostok II, Moscow was quiet and sunny, cool and pleasant. The Soviet people went about their Sunday-holiday affairs as usual, but kept an attentive ear towards the radio, deeply interested and confident.

All during that historic day and night, Cosmonaut Titov used his two-way radio for messages to and from the earth. From time to time he reported that all equipment was functioning normally; he had tried out the manual controls of his ship and found them to be working well; he had eaten his three-course dinner and was feeling fine; he had had the nap which the program called for and had overslept a bit; he had done his setting-up exercises; he had received a warm message by radio from Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev and one from his friend and colleague, Yuri Gagarin; he had sent a message of gratitude and confidence to Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Government and people; he ate his supper. When he flew over his homeland the television system relayed images showing his calm and smiling face; he reported: "Ship-shape order on board; am feeling fine." He radioed greetings from on high to the peoples of Asia, Africa, South and North America, Europe and

Australia, when he flew over these areas.

Young Herman Stepanovich Titov rocketed into space and saw the world and had a very busy day!!

As the hours passed Soviet men, women and children—their imagination, pride and anxiety deeply stirred—began to ask: "What news?" "Is he alright?" and to reassure each other with: "He is going round the earth slowly, slowly, many times." "He reports that he is fine." And with deep sympathy, they said to each other: "What about his wife? She must be worrying!" The Soviet Government and people waited anxiously, but with confidence, for young Herman Stepanovich Titov to return safely to our planet earth.

And when, 25 hours and 18 minutes after his take-off he did return safely to earth "somewhere in south-eastern Russia where he was expected," everyone heaved a deep sigh of heartfelt relief and gratification.

AFTER A FULL DAY and night of complete rest and exhaustive medical check-up, Soviet Cosmonaut Number Two flew into Vnukovo Airport outside Moscow where, led by Mr. Khrushchev, leaders of Government and Party, army and aviation and science, Titov's wife and parents, Yuri Gagarin and thousands of delighted citizens had assembled

to welcome him. He stepped smartly from the plane to the welcoming roar of the crowd, marched straight to Mr. Khrushchev, saluted respectfully and delivered his report. Mr. Khrushchev and other officials listened, fairly beaming with pride and happiness, and when the young pilot concluded his report, Mr. Khrushchev embraced and kissed him several times on both cheeks; he then patted him affectionately on the shoulder, turned him to face the crowd as though to say: "Here's our boy!" thus echoing the thought of every Soviet citizen.

Yuri Gagarin, who had cut short a tour on the other side of the world to hasten to Moscow to greet his friend and comrade-in-space, embraced and kissed him, smiling his delight and satisfaction; he too turned the young Titov to face the crowd and grinned as if to say: "Now you see, it is just as I was saying; I am not unique; I was only one of many cosmonauts. Here is the second; there will be many more." Everyone beamed with delighted understanding and appreciation.

Mr. Khrushchev then led Titov to his lovely young wife, Tamara, who was standing a little to one side with his parents. They embraced tenderly, and then Tamara turned away to hide her tears and happiness, while Titov embraced his proud father and mother.

Then Mr. Khrushchev, with Titov and Gagarin on each side of him, walked across the parade ground, where they were greeted with delighted enthusiasm by the huge crowd. The smiling Gagarin hung back slightly, so that Titov, laden with flowers, could receive the full

applause. Finally, Mr. Khrushchev, President Breszhnev, Mr. Mikoyan and Gagarin relieved him of his flowers so that his hands were free to salute the officials and receive their embraces. Everyone was beaming, and some were close to tears. It was a happy, happy occasion.

The massive public reception and celebration in Red Square in the center of Moscow was an equally happy occasion.

As I watched the happy scenes, I thought again about the lovely young Tamara, who had by now controlled her tears and had taken herself well in hand. What a vigil it must have been for her! I later learned that she had spent the anxious, frightening hours of waiting with the one and only person who could fully understand and share her fears, and sense what was going on deep in her mind and heart. Who but with Gagarin's own Valya—the lovely calm, confident, courageous young wife who could, and did, comfort and reassure her.

TWO DAYS LATER, on Friday, morning, August 11, Herman Stepanovich Titov held an international press conference in Moscow. Correspondents from all over the world packed the assembly hall, and gave the young hero a prolonged standing ovation when he came onto the rostrum flanked by Academicians and an interpreter.

Titov described his space flight briefly, simply and graphically, and the press again gave him a standing ovation. Then the scientists spoke, explaining the objectives of the flight, the equipment of the ship, the plans for the security and well-being and efficiency of the pilot, and

the kind of information they hoped to accumulate. They especially wanted to know how a human being could endure a long stay in space and weightlessness. They believed now, after this flight, that the pilot could have remained in space for as long as ten days. Vostok II in its 17 revolutions around the earth had covered a distance equal to the distance from the earth to the moon and back! And the young cosmonaut confirmed that he could have landed his ship at any time anywhere. He actually left the space ship in the ejector seat, as planned, and finished the descent by parachute; the space ship landed nearby.

The Academicians said that the scientific data accumulated as a result of the flight would be made available to scientists all over the world, to whom the information about the effect of weightlessness on the human organism, and about space biology would be of great interest and importance.

THEN CAME the inevitable question period of the press conference.

Titov said that he found the space ship easy to control, that he could move it in any direction, and felt complete mastery of the ship all the time. From the porthole he saw rivers and mountains, and could even distinguish cultivated fields by their different color. He said he felt in good physical condition, and that so far the doctors had not found any physical changes in him. The effect of weightlessness, he said, was that you felt sort of "feet first."

The questions of the reporters of the children's and youth magazines were down-to-earth:

Q: Did you open your helmet only to eat, or more often?

A: Better to ask me when did I close my helmet. The air was much better in the ship than on ground, so I kept it open much of the time.

Q: What exactly did you have to eat, and did you use knife, fork and spoon?

A: I had "space" food, which was in tubes, like toothpaste, so I did not have to use utensils.

There were controversial questions from the foreign correspondents:

Q: Will foreign correspondents be able to witness future launchings, as they are allowed to in the United States?

A: (with a twinkle) Perhaps when American space pilots use the powerful advanced type of rockets required to put them in orbit, foreign correspondents may not be allowed to witness the launchings. The rockets used by them so far were to put them into space, not into orbit, and these are not so advanced and powerful.

Q: (Titov read the question aloud) "You say you could have landed the ship anywhere in the world. Will you tell us if the ship could carry a bomb?" (Titov then turned over the paper on which the question was written, and read out) "*The New York Herald Tribune.*" There was a moment's silence.

A: No! There is no provision in the space ship for any bomb!! The space flight was for peaceful scientific investigation and research!!

At the conclusion of this historic international press conference the hard-bitten press corps again gave Herman Stepanovich Titov a sincere ovation.

New Houses Keep Rising

by JESSICA SMITH

SIXTEEN years ago, when I last visited the Soviet Union, the gaping wounds of the war were everywhere. Today, though not forgotten, they are healed. Where the earth was blasted and torn by bombs and bullets, green grass and trees and flowers and fields of waving grain have grown again. Where cities were leveled to rubble, man's labor has built again all that man's evil had destroyed, and vast new building is arising wherever you look.

Everywhere the Soviet people are building upward toward the sun. Nowhere are they dreaming of burrowing deep into the earth to seek a doubtful safety from atomic bombs and radiation. They are preparing for a life of peace. They are basing all their plans and hopes on the belief that war can be avoided.

This does not mean that they are unaware of the dangers in the world situation today. They cannot accept with equanimity the new center of military power being built up in the West of Germany which has twice in this century brought such fiendish destruction to their own and other lands. And to my shame, despite all the warmth and hospitality they bestowed on me as a representative of that part of America which wants only peace and friendship, it was brought home to me more clearly than ever that it is the policies of my own country, with its distortions of Soviet aims and its

increasing arms development and encouragement of German rearming, that is the main source of this war danger. Not that this was ever said to me. Hopes were still placed in President Kennedy, in spite of the disillusion his policies had brought. And greater hopes were placed in the capacity of the peace and progressive forces of the United States to compel new policies leading to negotiations and peaceful agreements and to general disarmament.

HOW ARE the human aspects of a socialist society working out in practice? What shape is the future communist society taking in the minds of the Soviet people and what are the actual steps toward its development? These, it seemed to me, are questions Americans must ask, living as we do in a time when *anti-communism* is the basis of all our country's actions.

A more complete answer than I could hope to find is now available in the new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union charting the transition toward communism that is to take place in the next 20 years. No one, of course, could hope to examine all the manifold aspects of this majestic plan for human advancement in a two-month trip. But on the basis of everything I saw, I am convinced that, barring only the obstacle of an all-destroying atomic

war, this program represents future reality.

Arriving in Moscow again, my mind turned back not only to September, 1945, but to the ravaged city and the ragged people just emerging from the civil war and famine back in 1922.

Today, Moscow is the cleanest city I have ever seen, bright, vibrant, its wide boulevards lively with traffic, full of amply stocked shops of all kinds, its people well dressed and well shod. No one pays any attention to the clothing or shoes of foreigners any more, although there are myriads of visitors from almost every land on earth. Health blooms in the rosy complexions of the youth and children.

Cranes against the sky mark the continuous building activity. Numerous trees and green squares and flower boxes give the city a gay aspect. Where is that drabness some tourists used to talk about? As weather grows warmer, bright colors of summer dresses glow among the crowds. It is no longer possible to distinguish the working people in the population, workers by hand, that is, from the intelligentsia and professional people. Both fill the streets and theaters and concert halls and museums which bring the culture of the past and present to all. People can be found reading everywhere—on buses, subways, escalators, elevators. Subway kiosks sell classics as well as contemporary literature. (A sampling—Christopher Marlowe's plays, Greek Epigrams, Russian-English dictionary, the Decameron, Science and Youth, Old Russian Masters, Tchaikovsky's Operas, War and Peace, Sholokhov.)

There is a new efficient atmosphere in offices and institutions. Appointments are kept on time—no more of the endless waiting around there used to be. Naturally all useless paper work and bureaucracy cannot yet have been wiped out. Impatience of the youth with such remnants of the past is everywhere evident, however, and one feels sure the young people will take care of these things.

People work very hard and efficiently in their working hours, and relax just as completely in between. You have a feeling that everyone has the possibility of doing the kind of work he wants to do, and also of filling his leisure hours with whatever he wants to do. With the seven hour day everywhere in effect, and still shorter working days in sight, there is plenty of time for other things. At the end of the working day and on week ends in warm weather, people rush out of the city in all directions on excursions or to their dachas, or fill the many parks or embankments of the Moscow river and canal where every possibility for play, entertainment, sport, or just plain leisure is at their disposal. When the theater season is over, you can still see marvelous Plisetskaya or other stars at the great open air theater in the Park of Culture and Rest.

But more than anything else, I was struck by the very great confidence of all the Soviet people I met, the fact that they have an aim, a goal, and they have no doubt they will achieve it.

THE OVER-ALL economic advances of the Soviet Union no longer need argument. Planned advances under the Seven-Year Plan

are being constantly exceeded, and not even the most hostile economists any longer deny the continuing over-all increase in the volume of industrial production. The report of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR Council of Ministers for the first half of 1961 already shows that the plan for the output of industrial goods was over-fulfilled by 2 per cent, and that as compared with the first half of last year the volume of industrial production increased by 8.4 per cent and average daily output by 9 per cent.

Hostile critics of the USSR have therefore had to fall back on the charge that all this has been at the cost of housing, living standards, and "regimentation" of the population. What I saw of advancing living standards, expanding democracy and the wide and manifold variety of forms in which Soviet society is developing, shows that this argument too is being deprived of any validity by life itself. I believe the promises in all these fields are just as realistic as those in the field of economic development. Let us begin with the question of housing.

Housing the Soviet People

The magnitude of the housing program that is going on in the Soviet Union strikes you in the eye wherever you go. I saw it in progress in Moscow and Kiev, in the virgin lands areas, in Alma Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, in Tashkent, on collective and state farms, in the old Siberian city of Irkutsk, in new towns like Bratsk where the trackless Siberian taiga has been torn up to make way for the new hydroelectric station on the Angara, and the great

new industries it will serve. The samples I saw are only a small part of what is going on everywhere.

Housing is noted in the new Communist Party program as still the most acute problem for the well-being of the Soviet people, as it was by all the local leaders I talked with wherever I went. The program says this problem will be fully solved in twenty years, when every family will have a comfortable home or apartment with all the requirements of hygiene and cultured living. On the basis of what I saw, I cannot doubt that this will be accomplished.

I visited friends in Moscow who are still living in the crowded conditions that have been so often described in the past of one family to a room in an apartment, rather than a family to an apartment. I visited many other families who are living comfortably in a single apartment, the goal toward which all are heading. Those who are still crowded have the sure perspective before them of removal to more spacious quarters, which makes it easier to bear remaining discomforts.

Housing today is moving at an ever swifter pace. On May 12, a few days after I arrived in Moscow, Premier Khrushchev reported in a speech in Georgia that in the past two years alone 4,600,000 new apartments had been built in the towns, and adding new housing construction in the rural districts, 20,000,000 people had moved into new homes in this period.

We were taken to some of the new housing districts in Moscow by Georgi Samoilovich Dukelsky, Secretary of the Architecture-Planning Board of the city of Moscow.

"Cobblers always wear old shoes—

that's an old Russian saying," he remarked as we met him in a rather dingy old office building on Kuznetsky Most—"But never mind, housing for the people is the most important question, and we can make do here until the new quarters being prepared for us are ready."

An ardent individual, who looks very much like Ilya Ehrenburg, Dukelsky sat in the front seat of the car as we rushed around Moscow, talking in such a flood of energy and enthusiasm that it was almost impossible for our interpreter, and me with my rusty Russian, to keep up with him, let alone take notes.

As we passed some of the ornate, skyscraper hotels and buildings which had characterized an earlier phase of Soviet architecture, he remarked: "Architecture is the most difficult of all arts. If an architect makes a mistake it stands there as a bitter reproach for the next half century! It takes a long time to eradicate."

While buildings like the Ukraine Hotel must remain as monuments to this era, with their extravagant excess of ornamentation, their wasteful interiors overloaded with columns, gold decorations and gaudy chandeliers, this period of Soviet architecture is definitely over. Soviet architects are seeking simpler, more attractive and economical modern forms that can better serve the needs of the people. It is an open secret in Moscow that the building of certain public buildings long planned, such as the Palace of Soviets, is being postponed until more people are housed.

I was amazed in driving through various sections of the city to see how much of the old dilapidated

housing which used to be the delight of camera-tourists has already given way to new. Dukelsky explained that wherever old housing still has possibilities for decent living it must be retained until there is enough good housing for everyone, so some, of course, still remains. But it is growing less and less, and soon will disappear. The principle, however, is that houses are not torn down, people are not evicted, until there is a new house to move into.

At the same time, everything that has some architectural beauty and tradition of the past is being preserved: "Here," said Dukelsky, as the wide boulevard we were on curved around a lovely little green and white church, "we had to sacrifice traffic needs to save this Fifteenth Century gem!"

Now we were driving through miles and miles of the new housing which stretched out in every direction on the periphery of Moscow. Much of this, Dukelsky said, was too dull and uniform. Some had been too quickly built, and was already in need of repair. Yet the amount of it was astounding, and the tremendous amount of planting both of young and partly grown trees, would in time add graciousness to the boxlike outlines.

Dukelsky pointed out that these brick apartment houses built by the old methods had proved to be too costly. The only answer was prefabricated construction. They had tried both the big block and concrete panel construction method, and the latter turned out to be best. We came to a whole new section being built by this method, and jumped out of the car to have a closer look. Trucks were dashing

back and forth, a forest of cranes busily at work. This was the new Khoroshovo-Mnyovniki residential area.

The house we looked at was five stories high, with six apartments to a floor. Two shifts of eight men each complete the main construction in one month. The pre-fabricated panels, brought from the factories completely finished, with no interior plastering to be done, are lifted into place by cranes. Nothing has to be done by hand, everything is made in the factory and brought out to be assembled. Complete bathroom units are prepared all ready to be installed simply by connecting up the pipes.

Last year 25 per cent of the new housing was built by this method, this year 50 per cent. The amount and tempo of construction will increase as new construction enterprises are built. In 1959, 2,700,000 square meters of living space was built in Moscow; this year it will reach 3,700,000, and by 1965, 4,700,000.

These new pre-fabricated houses are already brighter and more colorful than the older ones, through the use of vari-colored panels. But they still had far to go in this direction, Dukelsky said, speaking with complete candor of the defects and problems they still faced, both from the point of view of aesthetics and more skillful and enduring construction methods. They could have afforded greater diversity, but this would have meant slowing down mass production, and they cannot do this until the people are properly housed. "That is why," he explained, "we prefer to work today on a restricted range of styles and components. As

we grow richer and have greater potentialities, we shall be able to compensate for this."

Pattern of Socialist Living

Next we went to view a number of the completed and lived in projects built by the old methods, but according to the plan which is being followed in all the new housing.

These projects are built on the principles of the micro-district which provides on the spot all the facilities for convenient and healthy living which is the pattern for the socialist housing of the future.

The apartment houses are built around large courtyards full of trees and shrubbery and flower beds. All of them have large sections set aside for children's playgrounds, equipped with slides, swings, hobby horses—every kind of device for play—and we saw a lot of darling youngsters having a happy time using them. The remaining area is comfortably arranged for adults' use.

These micro-districts are built with about 1,000 apartments, to accommodate a population of 5,000 (some of them are larger.) All are entirely self-sustaining. For each there is a school, kindergarten, day nursery, restaurant, food stores, clothing stores, shoe stores, furniture stores, toy stores—all kinds of stores catering to ordinary needs which make it unnecessary to go in to the center of town for shopping. Recreation halls are also provided.

While all the apartments have kitchens for home cooking, there are also restaurants in the micro-district for those who wish to use them, for full meals and snacks, with special sections for those on special diet.

We dropped into one of these and found that menus were varied and prices reasonable. The food stores all carried a large assortment of semi-prepared food, all ready to be put in the frying pan or oven, for those women who prefer not to prepare a whole meal after work, yet wish to have a home meal for their families at night.

Through one of the spacious glass windows facing the street outside, we saw an exhibit of paintings and sculpture being put up, the work of the inhabitants of the project.

Wide boulevards separate the micro-districts, with ample bus, tram, subway and auto transportation facilities. Dukelsky pointed out to us that the aim was to arrange the districts so that children would not have to cross the boulevards to reach kindergarten or school, and so that in general all day to day needs of living could be met right in your own project. "Only if you want a grand piano," he added, "you may have to go over to another district." Special care was taken in planning, he said, to assure that hospitals and clinics were within easy reach of all the population.

We remarked on the cleanness and purity of Moscow air. Dukelsky explained that no coal is used any more, only gas for general use, and in the factories there is an air cleansing apparatus. By 1965 all industry of Moscow will be working only on gas—and to prevent any uncontrolled further growth of Moscow, no new industries are permitted to be built around the city. The new system of wide boulevards is also designed to allow maximum airiness.

Last year's extension of the Moscow city boundaries makes it pos-

sible to reduce population density further, and make use of a wide Green Belt in future planning, with new satellite towns built beyond.

Dukelsky continued to talk incessantly and eagerly of the constant increase in housing until they reached the goal of one family to an apartment, one person to a room, and then one person to a room plus one room extra, and of the low rents, in both old and new housing—amounting to 14 kopeks a square meter, never more than 5 per cent of a person's salary (even this to be eliminated under the future plan of free rent.)

"Now," he said "we first have to make sure that every single Soviet citizen has the norm of 12 to 13 square meters per person (9 is the norm for straight living space, the rest includes kitchen, bath, etc.) This is the goal for 1965. After that the norm will be 18 square meters per person, then 22." Already, he told us, 80 per cent of the new apartments were being occupied by single families. (It should be noted that special provision has always been made for separate rooms for all professional people whose work requires privacy.)

The scale and pattern of housing we saw in Moscow was repeated in Kiev and all the other cities we visited, with local variations, and usually with more diversity than in Moscow. In the lovely green city of Alma Ata, there was much use of airy, bright colors—yellow, gold, salmon, blue. In Tashkent, where over 300,000 people, a third of the population will move into new homes by 1965, the contrast between the primitive walled mud huts, always windowless on the street side,

and the bright new buildings rising around them was especially striking. Native decorative elements and balconies give a special flavor to new housing in Central Asia. In Siberia, whole new cities are rising everywhere, and new housing is bursting the seams of old centers like Irkutsk.

And on a State Farm in the virgin

land of Kazakhstan, we met a couple of young Moscow architects who were helping with designs for new convenient and attractive housing, which would help in the realization of the plan of overcoming the age-old differences between town and village, one of the goals of the draft program of the Communist Party.

Meeting with Furtseva

IT IS TO Rockwell Kent that I owe the privilege of having met the leading woman in the Soviet Union, Ekaterina Alexeyevna Furtseva, Soviet Minister of Culture since May 1960, and since 1957 a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, its leading body. It was not easy to find an opportunity to present the letter Rockwell had sent, since she is a very busy person indeed. In addition to presiding over the Ministry that guides the rich and manifold cultural developments within the country, her work also involves personal participation in cultural interchange with other countries, which the Soviet Government considers so essential in the promotion of better world understanding and peace. When I first arrived in Moscow she was away attending the film festival at Cannes, later on cultural missions to Denmark, Iceland and England. But just before I left, the magic of Rockwell's name brought me to her after a day of meetings with various foreign delegations. As I entered the reception room of her office, the members of the cast of the

newly-arrived Japanese theater company, the Kabuki, were filing out.

Mme. Furtseva, wife and mother, former textile worker, now a Minister of State, is a lovely looking woman. Pictures in the press have not done justice to her. She has a mobile, sensitive face of fine, high cheek-boned structure, warm green-blue eyes, soft blonde hair above a high forehead. Her slim figure she is said to attribute to tennis rather than diet by members of the press who pursue these matters, and who also take note of the fact that she wears attractive clothes. I did not go into these details, but found in her a wonderfully attractive combination of feminine charm and strength. She spoke in a low, soft voice, with a quick rush of words. First, looking at the letter I had brought her, she wanted news of the Kents and their health, and spoke of how deeply Rockwell Kent's gift of his paintings and other work is esteemed and loved by the Soviet people, how greatly his gesture of friendship is appreciated.

I spoke of how very much it meant to me to have the opportunity of meeting a woman minister of state—

and especially that her government had raised the matter of culture to one of state importance.

Mme. Furtseva feels that her work in cultural exchange with our country and with all countries is an essential part of developing peaceful and friendly relations. This is the way she put it:

"Every country in the world has its own national and very rich culture. Bringing the men and women who work in various cultural spheres together is very helpful in bringing all people together. We are doing everything possible to develop cultural ties with all peoples and countries, so that artists and cultural representatives of other countries may come to us and we can go to them. The important thing is that the language of art can reach anyone—often without any translation. This is an integral part of developing peaceful relations."

I asked her what she thought could be done toward easing world tensions and lifting the threat of war.

"Under the conditions of today, when the danger of nuclear war exists, we *must* find a way of avoiding it, of saving all the cultural values humanity has created, of saving human life, the most precious thing of all. Therefore the policies of our government are characterized by work for peace, for peaceful co-existence, for disarmament. Disarmament offers the best solution.

"I can say that the Soviet people do not want war. I don't see how anyone can claim that they do. It seems to me that if there is anyone who makes such a claim, it certainly cannot be made honestly.

"And I think the American people do not want war either. This is the

primary condition that will enable us to live together in peace and friendship. The main thing is to decrease distrust and lack of confidence between us, to exchange more and more delegations, to talk frankly to one another and to find peaceful solutions to all the important questions that divide us.

"I believe all this depends not only on the leaders of government—much depends on the people themselves and on the pressure they can exert on those who want to unleash war."

The Soviet Minister of Culture spoke warmly of the Americans she had known and of the American people as a whole:

"The American people are a freedom-loving people. They are brave, creative, gifted, as are many other peoples. By the labors of the American people mountains of riches have been built up. It would be simply insane to destroy these riches and the people who have built them. I believe everyone must think this way, and certainly our people think the same way. There is nothing we wish to take from any people in the world—we have no wish to conquer your country—and I believe and hope your country has no wish to conquer ours!"

Mme. Furtseva indicated she felt there was no question, including the German question, in which the USSR is deeply concerned because of what it has suffered in two world wars, that could not be settled by negotiations between our countries.

She wanted to know what I felt about the spirit I had found among the Soviet people, where I had been. I told her something of what I had seen of the vast new construction

not only in the Western part of the country, but in the virgin lands, in Siberia, in Bratsk.

"Then you must know how unthinkable war is to our people—how can our people think of war when in the last five-year plan alone over 15 million square meters of housing space were built—and in 800 years of Russia's existence before that, only 11 million square meters had been built!

"All our peoples' hopes and strength have gone into all the new things they are building. The builders, the young people, have a passionate thirst for life, an optimism about the future—they feel sure war can be avoided. Of course we have many difficulties yet—we are behind America in many aspects of the standard of living—in consumers' goods, in per capita production. But we shall catch up in all these things. And for our builders and workers, who have such great enthusiasm for their work, we try to do everything for their cultural and spiritual development as well. All the artistic achievements of our people and the world must be open to them—and they must have an opportunity to develop their own artistic gifts too."

Mme. Furtseva spoke then of the great electrification programs as an example of the Soviet peoples' confidence in a peaceful future.

"Only imagine," she said, "when the Dnieproges station was built its capacity was 500,000 kilowatts, and we considered that was a great thing. In its time it was. Now, today, as you have seen, we are building the Bratsk station on the Angara, which will have a capacity of 4,500,000 kilowatts. A station has been

started at Krasnoyarsk, on the Yenisei, with a capacity of 6,000,000 kilowatts. And now we have a project for a mighty station on the Lena river, with a capacity of 20 million kilowatts! This sounds fantastic, even to us, but it is quite realistic. We have the machines, the people, the experience—everything that is needed."

I rose to go, knowing she must be weary after a long day of interviews and discussions, that others were still waiting to see her, and expressed the hope that the way could be found for greater interchanges and friendship and peace among our people.

"Yes, we want more cultural and other exchanges with the United States," she said in farewell, "on an official and every other basis. We also want exchanges of trade union and working people, so we can know each other's lives better, decide together not to make any more armaments, to live in peace and friendship."

"The ordinary rank and file people of the world will get nothing from war—only misery and death. Those who would unleash war will have no place to hide if they do such a dreadful thing—let them remember this. We must be friends, friends!"

Mme. Furtseva's words on the urgency of peace were echoed by everyone I met in the USSR. Banners in factories and construction projects proclaimed peace as their aim. "How could we build like this if we had any plans for war?" I was asked again and again, "War is unthinkable to us—please try to make the American people understand that!"

A Pair of Yellow Gloves

A Short Story

by YELENA MIKULINA

I arrived at the twentieth block of apartments, going up in Moscow's South-West district when it was nearly noon and the dinner hour was approaching.

"Too late to catch the team leader now," said the construction superintendent. "But let's try anyway."

We found the door of the first entrance locked. Nor did we have better luck at the second entrance.

"Shall we wait?" asked my escort. "We might step into the canteen or, better still, go to the recreation hall where there is a concert on, music school students entertaining our building workers."

"I don't mind," I said. "But I would like to drop in on the way to one of the new apartments, and see how the team is managing the tiling."

The tiling was a job well worth seeing. So perfectly suited were the tiles and so even and slender the seams that they were a credit to the precision and skill of the builders.

"That's a job done by the team's girls," said the construction superintendent proudly. "The feminine touch for you."

As we turned to go I caught sight of a pair of rubber gloves near the water can on the floor. They looked as though they had been washed a few minutes before, the yellow fingers spread out and reminiscent of the surgeon's consultation-room.

"Whose are they?"

"Belong to a girl, I suppose, who is especially particular about her appearance."

There was a big, eager crowd at the recreation hall. Holding a violin, a short, dark-haired girl stood on a small platform. She looked very slim in a black dress with a white collar which set off to advantage her sweet, tawny face.

Eyeing the audience, she announced gravely in a soft unaffected voice: "Tchaikovsky's *Autumn Song*." She began to play.

The melancholy strains of the melody flowed smoothly, telling the listeners of Russian fields and woods aflame with the glory of autumn, of summer's farewell, and of new happy dreams.

With the same grave expression she went on, and there was something childishly appealing in her bent head. She played with a confident hand and showed good training.

As the dinner hour drew to a close, the hall became empty. I could now turn back and see the famous team leader. The construction superintendent had gone somewhere but I knew the way.

Work was at its height. A passing lad I addressed motioned to the second entrance, saying: "You'll find Semyon Petrovich in Number 25."

Number 25 was the very apartment I had dropped into before. There were two girls hard at work there. One was a tall, buxom blonde.

Sitting on her haunches and humming to herself, she tiled the wall with deft hands. The second, of slight build, wearing slacks and a checked blouse with rolled sleeves, stood at the team leader's side, her back turned to me. I might not have taken notice of her but she was wearing the yellow rubber gloves I had seen lying an hour ago near the water can.

"Hello, Semyon Petrovich," I said, my voice ringing unexpectedly loud. "Caught you, at last."

With a start the girl turned—and what a surprise! She was the violinist I had just heard play. The sweet

and tawny face still wore its grave expression.

"Meet Liza Dulkina, one of our team," said Semyon Petrovich smiling, "a top grade plasterer, and . . ."

"Her violin playing?" I asked puzzled.

". . . a student in her last year at music school," the team leader completed the introduction.

"How d'you do," I said extending my hand to her. In a moment her wet glove was off and she held out a long slender musician's hand to me. Her clasp was firm and masculine.

—Translated from *Siroitselnaya Gazeta*, June 9.

A TRUMPET CALL TO PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD

Rockwell Kent on the New Party Program

The fervent joy with which, it is reported, the newly promulgated program has been received by the whole Soviet people wins it the right to be considered as their utterance, a pronouncement of a nation's aims. To read it is to understand a people's soul and know the principles on which their way of life is founded. The program should be read and quietly reflected on by all my countrymen. In every passage breathes the hope, the prayer, the will for world-wide lasting peace; while in the blessings that enduring peace shall bring each one of us may recognize fulfillment of his most fervent heart's desire. To countless tens of millions over all the world—to the millions weary of war's devastation, weary of exploitation, poverty, injustice—the program's words should sound the trumpet call to peace and world-wide brotherhood. To mankind's hopes the Soviet voice has given utterance.

Changing Face of Moscow

by ARCHIE JOHNSTONE

ONE SPRING morning in Moscow I noticed that holes measuring about 2 x 2 x 2 yards had been dug overnight at regular intervals along the wide pavements of all the city's main streets and squares.

Miles-long columns of motor-lorries appeared, each one bearing a full-grown, forty-year-old tree, its roots encased in a 2 x 2 x 2-yard crate. Scores of mobile cranes ran about lifting the trees off the lorries and placing the encased roots squarely, or cubically, into the prepared holes—proving, which is absurd, that the cube “root” of 2 equals the cube of minus 2.

Never before had I seen so large-scaled and so smoothly-organized a civic face-lifting operation. What I didn't realize at the time—it was in 1947, soon after I first arrived in Moscow—was that this was no mere episode and that, apparently, a department of Mossoviet (Moscow City Council) which might be called the Mayor's Beauty Parlor was staffed by enthusiasts who are never satisfied with their own magnificent results.

In those days there were plenty of blemishes on the face of the city. I passed many of them every day, knew them as if they were spots on

my own face and felt as sensitive about them as any native son of Moscow. For that reason it has been a peculiar joy to me to watch these eyesores disappear one after another and to see improvements of all kinds brought into being.

One snag is that any municipal improvement, while it is still in the making, is just another eyesore—a clutter of boarded-up sites, scaffoldings, excavations, cranes and diversions of traffic so extensive that even the taxi-drivers can't keep abreast of them. Moscow still has plenty of that, but usually it is also a bit of a spectacle for rubber-necks like myself who love to lean their elbows on a builder's rail and watch men and machinery at work.

Within three hundred yards of my flat I could show you dozens of changes on the face of Moscow either recently completed or still being worked on—an old monastery and an old church extensively rebuilt and redecorated, the startlingly-designed but very impressive Rossiya Cinema on Pushkin Square and no fewer than three theaters that have had a *kapitalny remont*, a term which I hope explains itself. Against that you have to set the gaunt skeleton of the old Radio Moscow building which is being demolished.

To come even nearer home: Two months ago I had only to look up from my desk to see, over the trees in a little garden, a block-

ARCHIE JOHNSTONE'S articles on various aspects of Soviet life are a regular feature of NWR. Former editor of the British Embassy newspaper in Moscow, Johnstone has lived in the USSR since 1947.

long, six-story eyesore, an apartment building from which most of the plaster-work had peeled off. A month ago it was a cat's-cradle of scaffolding—but please note that all tubular scaffolding in Mosow is now painted an attractive light blue, probably on the ukaz of the Beauty Parlor. Today this building is an attractive two-color job in biscuit and cream color-washes, with the window-sills and details picked out in white.

Fortunately, from where I sit I can't see the rather shabby exterior of our own block of flats, but our turn will come.

Even without raising my head I get evidence of work in progress—loud bangs from the blasting of foundations and at the construction of still more fly-overs and fly-unders—and, although Moscow traffic keeps increasing, these changes are something of a luxury, not a dire necessity as say, in London with its much narrower streets. In works of this kind Mossoviet has, of course, the huge advantage of not having to make fantastic payments, or *any* payments, to the ground landlord!

WHEN THERE was no room left for tree-planting on the pavements of Moscow the municipal beauticians hit upon a bright idea for filling up the gaps. Shallow, pot-bellied bowls of grey concrete, about four feet in diameter, were turned out in their thousands, filled with earth and planted with flowers. Now they make gay splashes of color along the pavements of the main streets and are rapidly spreading into all sorts of odd places, even down the neutral center-strip of some streets.

It takes quite a large motorized force to water and tend these portable gardens, but I don't see why many Western cities shouldn't copy this idea.

When I first came to Moscow practically all the big squares were bare expanses of asphalt or granite setts. Now, with two main exceptions,—Red Square, which has to be kept clear for parades, etc., and Manège Square, also just under the Kremlin walls, which serves as a great open-air theater on holidays—they have all been turned into gardens or otherwise beautified.

One of the few good things in Moscow that the new regime inherited from the old is the seven-mile "Inner Circle" of garden-boulevards—and how the city has added to this heritage! A segment of this ring, starting barely a minute's walk from my house, is typical of the whole. It has an open-air café serving light meals, a beer and soft-drinks bar with tables under the trees, a playground with sand-pits, see-saws and so on, and various "libraries" (free, of course) where children can borrow all sorts of games and where grown-ups can borrow chess, checkers and domino sets, and books, magazines and the day's newspapers.

With the reduction in work hours these misnamed "boulevards" are more popular than ever, especially for pa-ma-baby-and-the-pram outings and I strongly advise any visitor to Moscow to spare a little time for a look at this leisurely side of Moscow life.

I have noticed, by the way, that the Russians are not only great flower-lovers, they are also great flower-givers—sometimes embarrass-

ingly so. I would say that Moscow's flower shops and kiosks outnumber London's by about five to one.

The Russians are also great lovers of festive decoration and this past summer they have had country-wide or worldwide events one after another or overlapping one another that prompted them to hang out more flags and festoons, banners and bunting and all kinds of trappings and trimming such as captive balloons that look like parachutes.

It was, in Konstantin Fedin's words, "No Ordinary Summer," what with the British Trade Fair, the U.S. Plastics Exhibition, the Film Festival, the World Youth Forum, the records-smashing USSR-USA athletic meeting, seasons of British and Cuban ballet and French plays, national dance companies from Ghana and other countries, "decades" (ten-day festivals, not ten-year periods!) of art, music and drama from several of the fraternal republics, the Kramer tennis "circus," the "Icecapades," an air parade that fluttered the world's dovescotes and so on.

BUT, TO return to the more natural beauties of Moscow, not forgetting those for which I have an especially keen eye. On that subject let me quote, but in anglicized form, what an Argyll and Suther-

land kiltie told me at the Trade Show which he and his bandmates did much to enliven:

"I expect you're used to people coming here with loads of wrong ideas. Well, I'm one of them. Everything is much brighter and gayer than I'd imagined—the buildings, the streets, the smogless, almost cloudless sky, and above all the lassies. They've got nice neat figures—that was a big surprise to me—fine complexions, walk smartly and are as pretty as pictures in their bright, summery dresses.

"The first day I was here I thought it was a holiday. I was wrong of course. But Moscow strikes me as a sort of holiday place, or a town on holiday."

A few years ago he wouldn't have been so enthusiastic about the "bright, summery dresses." In this respect—and I feel strongly that this is an extremely important component of any townscape—Moscow has been tripping along at a pretty pace, especially in the last two years.

The Soviet Union expects a million visitors next year (this year's total will be about three-quarters of a million). The great majority of them, experience tells me, will find that Moscow is a much brighter and more beautiful city than they imagined. But even that won't satisfy the boys in the back parlor.

WELSH CHOIR IN HUNGARY

A WELSH CHOIR, 77-strong, from the Aberdare Valley in Wales flew to Hungary in August to take part in a festival and choir competition arranged as part of the 600th anniversary celebrations of the city of Debrecen, in eastern Hungary.

The group, the Cwnbach Male Voice Choir, gave several performances in other Hungarian towns.

Members of the choir heard Hungary's greatest living composer, Zoltan Kodaly, make the closing address at the festival.

The Leningrad Ballet

by NATALIA ROSLAVLEVA

NEARLY 225 years have passed since a group of 12 Russian girls and boys—the children of serfs—were given ballet lessons with the object of forming a national ballet company. It became world famous as the Marinsky Ballet of St. Petersburg. After the revolution, its name was changed to the Leningrad Kirov Ballet.

Fresh air blew into the Marinsky with the revolution.

It is true that many leading dancers emigrated to other countries. But those who remained—the majority—worked hard, and the fruits of their labor were rewarding.

The Leningrad ballet carried on its traditions of devoted service to the best in art, through hardships and tribulations, passing the severe test of time.

Great masters preserved and developed the traditions of the Russian school in the first years after the revolution.

They formed a link with the new spectator, one who came to the theater expecting something vitally important, something equal to an initiation into the realm of art as a whole.

In the first years after the October revolution the old repertory was used, but it had to be danced in a new way.

In pre-revolutionary ballet of the Marinsky Theatre, classical and character dancing were used to create a purely external effect of brilliance and virtuosity.

It was dancing for the sake of dancing, while in between, lengthy pantomimes were put on with the help of conventional gestures understood only by the initiated.

Now, when appearing even in old ballets, dancers had to think over their roles to find a bond with the new, eager audiences.

Conventional mime was replaced by expressive acting, capable of projecting the characterization across the footlights.

Everything was subordinated to the main theme, particularly in the Tchaikovsky classics.

It is interesting that in a short time the audiences themselves picked their favorites, and soon only real masterpieces like *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Princess*, *Nutcracker*, *Giselle*, *La Fille Mal Gardée*, *Le Corsaire* and a few other classics remained in the repertory.

Next came the problem of creating a new, realistic repertory. A long and sometimes involved search for new content and new form began.

Not all of these searches were of equal merit. But anything that was blasé and formal simply did not pass the test of time.

NATALIA ROSLAVLEVA is a well known Soviet ballet critic and historian of the dance.

BY THE 'thirties the Leningrad ballet had a strong company of gifted dancers and the next problem

was the creation of new Soviet ballets with a more profound dramatic content.

The Russian school of classical dance acquired new features, making it a fully Soviet school.

The Soviet style of classical dancing is vigorous, with powerful soaring leaps and proudly arched backs.

The development of this style was largely due to Professor Agrippina Vaganova—one of the greatest ballet teachers of all time. In the course of thirty years work in Leningrad, Vaganova trained three generations.

The first great ballerinas formed by Vaganova—Marina Semyonova and Galina Ulanova—were also the first to introduce new content into the age-old steps of the classical ballet.

Even ballets of the pre-revolutionary repertory, when performed by the new generation of dancers, acquired a contemporary note.

OTHER Vaganova pupils followed—the brilliant virtuoso dancer Natalia Dudinskaya, Alla Shelest—a dancer-actress of great dramatic impact. And young Irina Kolpakova and Alla Osipenko.

While Vaganova taught only girls, her scientific method, embodying all the best achievements of many generations of Russian teachers, also influenced the quality of male dancing.

Leningrad ballet produced strong and virile dancers—Alexei Yermolayev, Vakhtang Chabukiani—to perform heroic roles in the new ballets.

In molding her system, Vaganova based it not only on old and known methods but on everything she saw around her. She took something from each of the works of Soviet choreographers.

On the other hand the extremely fruitful period of the Leningrad ballet in the 'thirties, when outstanding creations—*The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*, *The Flames of Paris*, *Romeo and Juliet* by young Soviet choreographers Zakharov, Vainonen, Chabukiani and Lavrovsky—appeared one after another, were due in no small measure to Vaganova's work.

The successes of that period were also explained by the assistance of leading theater producers Sergei Radlov and Vladimir Solovyev, who helped the choreographers with the *mise en scène* of the new ballets.

It is true that this led to a marked prevalence of mime over dance in some of these productions, a tendency that took some years to wear off.

On the other hand the new ballets had genuine dramatic impact and formed a new and very valuable type of actor-dancer in Soviet ballet.

IN WARTIME the Leningrad State Ballet was evacuated to the Urals, where it continued constant creative work.

When the company returned to Leningrad it found the theater badly damaged by bombs. This building was one of the first to be restored and already in 1945 Fyodor Lopukhov, veteran choreographer, produced a new version of *Swan Lake*.

In 1950 Konstantin Sergeyev did another new version of *Swan Lake*, bringing it much closer to the Petipa-Ivanov production of 1895.

It is this version that lives to this day, as does Konstantin Sergeyev's 1952 production of *The Sleeping Princess*—a loving revival of the Petipa masterpiece.

A great role belongs in these productions to the excellent designer Virsaladze. He is endowed with that rare gift of uniting his setting with the choreography.

Virsaladze is a past master in creating harmonious color schemes as a result of which his costumes, designed to give full freedom, seem to blend one into another.

IN 1958, WHEN Yury Grigorovich, a gifted young choreographer, did his own version of Prokofiev's *The Stone Flower*, he worked very closely with Virsaladze. The result was a production of exceptional unity.

Grigorovich's choreography is built on the symphonic principle of dance suites. He also possesses a remarkable flair for creating dance-mime firmly wedded to the music. His Severian, the wicked baliff is an object lesson in characterization.

He has just produced his second ballet, *Legend of Love* to music by Arif Melikov.

Igor Belsky was only yesterday a leading character dancer. Now he is working at his second ballet to Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, choreographing it in modern idiom.

Choreographers are not born every day. And the fact that along-

side the older masters—Sergeyev, Fenster, Jacobson—young ones are working, augurs well for the Leningrad ballet.

THERE IS every reason to suppose that the Leningrad ballet has entered a new creative period comparable to that of the 'thirties. As then it has talent capable of assisting the choreographers in carrying out their conceptions.

There are the great masters Natalia Dudinskaya, Alla Shelest and Konstantin Sergeyev. Natalia Dudinskaya, while remaining the company's *prima ballerina assoluto*, replaces Vaganova as head of the ballerina's training class and much is expected from her in years to come.

Then we have Olga Moisseyeva, who has just visited Canada with Askold Makarov, Alla Osipenko, Irina Kolpakova, Tatiana Legat, Boris Bregvadze, Alexander Gribov, Anatoly Gridin, and the quite youthful but extremely promising Alla Sizova.

Each soloist, even each member of the Leningrad *corps de ballet* is an accomplished artist and it is this feature that gives this company its unique style and deserved fame.

—Reprinted through the courtesy of Soviet Weekly.

RED CROSS MEETING IN PRAGUE

PRAGUE will be the meeting place of the 26th session of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, the Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun from September 25 to October 7. There will be some 250 representatives of the League of Red Cross Societies from 86 national Red Cross societies at the meeting.

This is the first time since the founding of the League in 1919 that its executive body will be meeting in a socialist country.

In addition to organizational problems the meeting will discuss strengthening peaceful cooperation among nations and the disarmament problem.

The Draft Party Program

A Synopsis

With the threat of atomic war hanging over the world because of the policies of those who look upon communism as an evil thing that must be exterminated even at the cost of hundreds of millions of human lives and the destruction of the material and cultural values created by mankind through the ages, the prime necessity for Americans is to have a true understanding of what communism is, what it means to its advocates and builders.

The publication of the new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to be offered at the Twenty-Second Party Congress in October (New York Times, August 1, as translated by Tass, official Soviet News Agency) offers this opportunity. We believe this text should be read in full by everyone concerned with human progress and peace, with the future of the world. Because of its length, we print only a condensation, which we hope will lead to a careful reading of the entire document.

Peace Can Be Won

The introduction states that the first party program, adopted in 1903 and calling for the overthrow of the Tsarist Government, was fulfilled by the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The second program, adopted in 1919, promulgated the building of a socialist society, which has likewise been carried out. This, the third program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, deals with the building of a communist society, proclaiming the following aim:

The supreme goal of the party is to build a communist society on whose banner will be inscribed "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The party's motto, "Everything for the benefit of man,"

will be put into effect in full . . . Communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and proclaims peace, labor, freedom, equality and happiness for all peoples of the earth.

The first part of the program traces the development, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, from capitalism to socialism in the USSR on the principle of "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." It traces the growth of socialism on a world scale and of the national liberation movements, the rise of new independent states among former colonies, it analyzes the decline of capitalism, and the dangers from a dying imperialism. It declares:

Communists have never held that the road to revolution lies necessarily through wars between countries. Socialist revolution is not necessarily connected with war. Although both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, culminated in socialist revolutions, revolutions are quite feasible without war. The great objectives of the working class can be realized without world war. . . . Where the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind.

Declaring that the method of transition to socialism, whether through parliamentary or other methods, can only depend on the concrete historical conditions in a given country, the program suggests that there may arise situations

where the bourgeoisie would agree to the means of production being purchased from them.

The section headed "Peaceful Coexistence and the Struggle for World Peace," begins:

The C.P.S.U. considers that the chief aim of its foreign-policy activity is to provide peaceful conditions for the building of a communist society in the USSR and the world socialist system and together with other peace-loving peoples to deliver mankind from a war of extermination.

Stating that small states as well as large ones are in a position today to carry on an independent foreign policy, the program continues:

The issue of war and peace is the principal issue of today. Imperialism is the only source of the war danger. The imperialist camp is making preparations for the worst crime against mankind—a world thermonuclear war that can bring unprecedented destruction to entire countries and wipe out entire nations. The problem of war and peace has become a life-and-death problem for hundreds of millions of people.

The peoples must concentrate their efforts on curbing the imperialists in good time and preventing them from making use of lethal weapons. The important thing is to ward off nuclear war, not to let it break out. This can be done by the present generation.

The consolidation of the Soviet state and the formation of the world socialist system were historic steps toward the realization of mankind's age-old dream of banishing wars from the life of society. In the socialist part of the world there are no classes or social groups interested in starting a war.

The program refers to the growing number of neutral countries who resist the hazards of being drawn into military blocs, and the great anti-war movement

of the masses of the people everywhere as major factors in the struggle for peace:

It is possible to avert a world war by the combined efforts of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist countries, the international working class and all the forces championing peace. The growing superiority of the socialist forces over the forces of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, will make it actually possible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in a part of the world. The victory of socialism throughout the world will do away completely with the social and national causes of all wars. To abolish war and establish everlasting peace on earth is a historical mission of communism.

Disarmament and Peaceful Coexistence

"General and complete disarmament under strict international control" is the best way of guaranteeing peace, and delivering mankind from the absurd waste of national wealth which the imperialist burden of armaments places on the people; the peoples must force disarmament. The socialist principle of peaceful coexistence between states put forward by Lenin is the only reasonable principle for relations between states:

Peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist countries is an objective necessity for the development of human society. War cannot and must not serve as a means of settling international disputes. Peaceful coexistence or disastrous war—such is the alternative offered by history.

Peaceful coexistence implies renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes, and their solution by negotiation; equality, mutual understanding and trust between countries;

consideration of mutual interests; non-interference in internal affairs; recognition of the right of every people to solve all the problems of their country by themselves; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; promotion of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Peaceful coexistence is further described as the best basis for peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and "a specific form of the class struggle between them." Furthermore:

Support for the principle of peaceful coexistence is also in keeping with the interests of that section of the bourgeoisie which realizes that a thermonuclear war would not spare the ruling classes of capitalist society either. The policy of peaceful coexistence is in accord with the vital interests of all mankind except the big monopoly magnates and the militarists.

The following are among the tasks undertaken by the Communist Party of the USSR in the field of foreign relations:

To use, together with other socialist countries, peaceful states and peoples every means of preventing war and providing conditions for the complete elimination of war from the life of society;

To pursue a policy of establishing sound international relations, and work for the disbandment of all military blocs opposing each other, the discontinuance of the "cold war" and the propaganda of enmity and hatred among the nations, and the abolition of all air, naval, rocket and other military bases on foreign territory;

To work for general and complete disarmament under strict international control;

To strengthen relations of fraternal

friendship and close cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are fighting to attain or consolidate national independence, with all peoples and states that advocate the preservation of peace;

To pursue an active and consistent policy of improving and developing relations with all capitalist countries, including the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy, and other countries, with a view to safeguarding peace;

Steadfastly to pursue a policy of consolidating all the forces fighting against war. All the organizations and parties that strive to avert war, the neutralist and pacifist movements and the bourgeois circles that advocate peace and normal relations between countries will meet with understanding and support on the part of the Soviet Union;

To pursue a policy of developing international cooperation in the fields of trade, cultural relations, science and technology;

The C. P. S. U. and the Soviet people as a whole will continue to oppose all wars of conquest, including wars between capitalist countries, and local wars aimed at strangling people's emancipation movements, and consider it their duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples and their just anti-imperialist wars of liberation.

Building a Communist Society

Part II of the program outlines the tasks of the C. P. S. U. in building a communist society. Answering the question What is Communism?:

Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology, all sources of public wealth

will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, in which labor for the good of society will become the prime and vital requirement for everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

A high degree of communist consciousness, industry, discipline, devotion to the public interest, will typify the communist man. Continuous development of social production and high labor productivity will be insured by rapid scientific and technological progress, powerful machines will increase his power over nature, a high stage of planned organization of the social economy will make possible the most effective and rational use of material wealth and labor reserves to meet the growing requirements of the members of society. Under communism, classes, socioeconomic and cultural distinctions, differences in living conditions between town and countryside will disappear completely:

The countryside rises to the level of town in the development of the productive forces and the nature of work, the forms of production relations, living conditions and the well-being of the population. With the victory of communism mental and physical labor will merge organically in the production activity of the people. The intelligentsia will no longer be a distinct social strata, since workers by hand will have risen in cultural and technological standards to the level of workers by brain.

All people will have equal status in society, will actively participate in the

management of public affairs, harmonious relations will be established between the individual and society on the basis of unity of public and personal interests.

The purpose of communist production is to insure uninterrupted progress of society and to provide all its members with material and cultural benefits according to their growing needs, their individual requirements and tastes. People's requirements will be satisfied from public sources. Articles of personal use will come into full ownership of each member of society and will be at his disposal.

Everyone will work willingly for the public benefit under their own inclinations:

Communist production demands high standards of organization, precision and discipline, which are insured, not by compulsion, but thanks to an understanding of public duty. . . . Labor and discipline will not be a burden to people, labor will no longer be a mere source of livelihood—it will be a genuinely creative process and a source of happiness. . . .

Under communism the nations will draw closer and closer together in all spheres on the basis of a complete identity of economic, political and spiritual interests, of fraternal friendship and co-operation.

Communism is the system under which the talents and abilities of free man, his best moral qualities, blossom forth and reveal themselves in full. Family relations will be completely freed from material considerations and will be based solely on mutual love and friendship.

The program declares that in defining its basic tasks in building a communist society, the party is guided by Lenin's formula "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the

whole country." The C.P.S.U. asserts that facing the tasks before them scientifically, the building of communism will be carried out by successive stages, thus:

In the current decade (1961-70) the Soviet Union, in creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country, the USA, in production per head of population, the people's standard of living and their cultural and technical standards will improve substantially, everyone will live in easy circumstances, all collective and state farms will become highly productive and profitable enterprises, the demand of the Soviet people for well-appointed housing will, in the main, be satisfied, hard physical work will disappear, the USSR will become the country with the shortest working day.

In the next decade (1971-1980) the material and technical basis of communism will be created and there will be an abundance of material and cultural benefits for the whole population. Soviet society will come close to the stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs, and there will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership—public ownership. Thus a communist society will on the whole, be built in the USSR. The construction of communist society will be fully completed in the subsequent period.

On the creation within two decades of the necessary material and technical base of communism:

This means the complete electrification of the country and the perfection on this basis of the techniques, technologies and organization of social production in industry and agriculture, the comprehensive mechanization of production operations and a growing degree of their automation, the widespread use of chemistry in the national economy, the vigorous development of new,

economically effective branches of production, new types of power and new materials, the all-round and rational utilization of natural resources, the organic fusion of science and production, rapid scientific and technical progress, a high cultural and technical level for the working people, substantial superiority over the more developed capitalist countries in productivity of labor. . . . As a result, the USSR will possess productive forces of unparalleled might, it will surpass the technical level of the most developed countries and occupy the first place in the world in per capita production. This will serve as the basis for the gradual transformation of socialist social relations into communist social relations and for a development of industry and agriculture that will make it possible to meet in abundance the requirements of society and all its members.

Planned socialist economy will make it possible to do all this under conditions of full employment. Technical progress will require higher standards of production and of vocational and general education of all workers. New machinery will make it possible to improve and ease working and living conditions, reduce the length of the working day, eliminate hard physical work and subsequently all unskilled labor.

The Development of Industry

All this requires the further development of heavy industry on the basis of which all other branches of the national economy—agriculture, the consumer goods industries, the building industry, transport and communications, as well as trade, public catering, health, housing and communal services will be technically reequipped. The growth and technical progress of heavy industry "must insure the expansion of those branches of economy producing

consumer goods to meet ever more fully the requirements of the people."

Total industrial output is planned to increase by approximately 150 per cent in the next ten years, exceeding the present level of U. S. industrial output, and by not less than 500 per cent in 20 years, leaving the present over-all volume of U.S. industrial output far behind. This means raising labor productivity over 100 per cent in ten years, by 300 to 350 per cent in twenty years, which would mean doubling the present rate of U. S. labor productivity.

Priority development will be assured to electric power output as the backbone of the economy. An almost threefold increase of electrification is provided which will mean completion in the main of the electrification of the whole countryside in the course of the second decade. This means that annual output of electricity must be brought up to 900,000-1,000,000 million kwh by the end of the first decade, 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh by the end of 20 years. A single power grid for the whole USSR will be built, able to transmit electric power from the Eastern regions to the European part of the country and to link up with the power grids of other socialist countries. Atomic power stations will also be increased, and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the national economy, medicine and science.

Within 20 years, metallurgy will be developed sufficiently to produce about 250,000,000 metric tons of steel a year.

Expansion is mapped in other branches of industry, including output of light, nonferrous and rare metals; aluminum; oil and gas output; all-round development of the chemistry industry; all types of modern machinery, machine tools, automatic, telemechanic and electronic devices and precision in-

struments, all on the basis of comprehensive mechanization in all fields in the first decade, and comprehensive automation of production in all fields during the twenty year period, with cybernetics, computers and control systems introduced on a large scale. Rapid development and technological modernization of the building industry is called for.

All these developments in turn will be used to increase the output of consumer goods:

To meet all the requirements of the Soviet people and to build and equip enterprises and establishments catering to the household and cultural needs of the population. Along with the accelerated development of all branches of the light and food industries, the share of consumer goods in the output of heavy industry will also increase. More electricity and gas will be supplied to the population.

The recital continues: accelerated development and modernization of all transport facilities by road, rail, water, air, of up-to-date jet engineering, especially in air transport and space exploration; of all means of communication, post, radio and television, telephone and telegraph.

A more rational geographic distribution of industries, with special emphasis on the areas East of the Urals with their rich natural and power resources.

Everything will be done to enhance scientific and engineering progress, to develop the initiative of the economic councils, enterprises, and all workers by hand and brain in applying and creating technical improvements, with the widest dissemination of progressive Soviet and foreign methods, for better organization of work, for systematic improvement of the qualifications of all employed in the national economy:

The planned training, instruction and rational employment of those released from various jobs and transferred to other jobs due to mechanization and automation are essential.

Existing enterprises will be developed into "enterprises of communist society," with increased automation, improvement of the cultural and technical standards of the workers, increasing fusion of physical and mental labor, promotion of labor emulation, extensive participation of workers' collectives in the management of enterprises.

Development of Agriculture

The task of developing a diversified and highly productive agriculture as an imperative condition for the building of communism is divided into two parts:

(a) To build up an abundance of high quality food products for the population and of raw materials for industry.

(b) To effect the gradual transition of socialist relations in the countryside to communist relations and eliminate in the main the distinctions between town and country.

This means comprehensive mechanization and intensification and high efficiency in crop farming and stockbreeding based on science and progressive experience in all collective and state farms with the aim of agriculture approaching the level of industry in technical equipment and the organization of production, and farm labor turning into a variety of industrial labor. The development of virgin and disused land, establishment of new large-scale state farms, the reorganization of machine and tractor stations, the sale of implements of production to the collective farms and enhancement of material incentives for agricultural workers con-

stitute an important stage in the development of agriculture. The further advance of the countryside to communism will proceed through the development of the two forms of socialist farming—collective farms (kolkhozes) and state farms (sovkhozes).

To satisfy the needs of the population and of the national economy, total agricultural production must be increased in 10 years by about 150 per cent, outstripping the United States in output of key products per head, in 20 years by 250 per cent.

Total grain yields are to double in 20 years. Meat will increase three fold in the first 10 years, nearly fourfold in 20 years, milk output will double in the first decade, triple in 20 years. Cattle and poultry will be increased and improved; reliable resources of corn, sugar beets, fodder beans and other fodder crops built up.

Labor productivity will rise 150 per cent in 10 years, 500-600 per cent in 20, on the basis of further mechanization, automated devices and electrification, improved organization of labor, improved cultural and technical education of the farm workers. Science will be applied on the widest possible scale, with agricultural research and educational establishments chiefly located in rural areas so that students may learn while working and work while learning.

Remolding Social Relations

The economic basis for the development of collective and state farms lies in the constant growth and best organization and use of their productive forces, and on strict observance of the principle of higher payment for good work. The state will insure satisfaction of the needs of the kolkhoz in machinery, training of skilled workers, and will considerably increase capital investments in the

countryside in addition to greater investments by the kolkhozes themselves; availability of manufactured goods will increase; contracted commitments to the state must be strictly observed, on the basis of coordinating plans of state purchases with production plans of the kolkhozes. Every kolkhoz must raise its members' income and living standards as labor productivity rises. The party will seek to overcome the lag between economically weak and strong kolkhozes, to extend kolkhoz democracy and promote the principle of collectivism in management. Further:

The economic advancement of the kolkhozes will make it possible to perfect kolkhoz internal relations; to raise the degree to which production is socialized, to bring the rate-setting, organization and payment of labor closer to the level and forms employed at state enterprises and effect a transition to a guaranteed monthly wage, to develop community services more broadly (public catering, kindergartens, nurseries and other services.)

At a certain point the collective production at kolkhozes will achieve a level at which it will fully satisfy members' requirements. On this basis, supplementary individual farming will gradually become economically unnecessary. . . . When the collective farmers see for themselves that their supplementary individual farming is unnecessary, they will give it up of their own accord.

Interkolkhoz building of jointly needed farm and building enterprises will develop and:

As the commonly owned assets increase, the kolkhozes will participate more and more in establishing enterprises and cultural and other welfare institutions for general public use, boarding schools, clubs, hospitals and holiday homes. All these developments, which must proceed on a voluntary basis and when the

necessary economic conditions are available, will gradually impart to kolkhoz-cooperative property the nature of public property.

State farms have a long way to travel to the point of greater specialization and becoming mechanized, well-organized factories of grain, cotton meat, milk, wool, vegetables, fruit and other products, with seed farming and pure strain animal husbandry developed to the utmost. Their material and technical basis will be extended and improved, living and cultural conditions will approach those of the towns, greater democracy will prevail.

Production ties of kolkhozes and state farms with each other and local enterprises will grow stronger, agrarian-industrial associations will gradually emerge, affording the possibility of transition to communist forms of production and distribution:

The kolkhozes will draw level in economic conditions with the nationally-owned agricultural enterprises [sovkhozes]. They will turn into highly developed mechanized farms. By virtue of high labor productivity all kolkhozes will become economically powerful. Kolkhoz members will be adequately provided and their requirements fully satisfied out of collective farm production. They will have the services of catering establishments, bakeries, laundries, kindergartens and nurseries, clubs, libraries and sports grounds. The payment of labor will be the same as at nationally-owned enterprises and they will be provided all forms of social security (pensions, holidays, etc.) out of kolkhoz and state funds.

Gradually, the kolkhoz villages will grow into amalgamated urban communities with modern housing facilities, public amenities and services and cultural and medical institutions. The rural population will ultimately draw level with

the urban population in cultural and living conditions.

Management and Planning of the National Economy

A whole section under this head deals with the importance at all levels of the most rational and effective use of labor, material and financial resources—"The immutable law of economic development is to achieve in the interests of society the highest results at the lowest cost."

The party attaches prime importance to the more effective investment of capital, maximum growth of output per invested ruble, continuous improvement of quality of output so that it will be higher than that of the best capitalist enterprises.

Maximum development of democratic principles of management is called for, coupling with a strengthening and improvement of centralized management by the state, expansion of economic independence and rights of local organs and enterprises within a single economic plan, and an increasing role for plans and recommendations at lower levels beginning with the enterprise. The transfer of a number of functions of economic management by the all-union bodies to those of the republics, by republican bodies to those of the regions and by regional bodies to those of the districts should be continued, the work of the economic councils improved, the initiative of local enterprises enhanced. Also:

The direct and most active participation of trade unions in elaborating and realizing economic plans, in matters concerning the labor of factory and office workers, in setting up organs of economic administration and management of enterprises, must be extended more and more at top level and locally. The role of the collectives of factory and

office workers in matters concerning the work of enterprises must be enhanced.

Material and moral incentives, public recognition of achieved results and the sense of responsibility of each will become continuously greater. Such instruments of economic development as cost accounting, money, price, production cost, profit, trade, credit, budget and finance will play a big part until the transition to the communist form of people's property and the communist form of distribution is completed, when commodity-money relations will become economically outdated and will wither away. Economically justified reductions are the main trend of the price policy in the period of communist construction.

Living Standards

The C.P.S.U. undertakes "the historically important task of achieving in the Soviet Union a living standard higher than that of any of the capitalist countries." During the next 20 years, while distribution of public funds will be increased to meet the needs of the population, distribution according to work will remain in force; the transition to communist distribution will come about "when there will be an abundance of material and cultural wealth and labor will become life's prime necessity for all members of society."

National income of the USSR in the next 10 years will increase nearly 150 per cent, and about 400 per cent in 20 years. Real income per head, [with no income tax] will be increased by 250 per cent in 20 years. In 10 years real incomes of factory and office workers will be almost doubled, in 20 years will increase by 200-250 per cent. In ten years low-paid brackets will be eliminated, approximately trebling. Incomes of col-

lective farmers will more than double in ten years, and increase four times in 20 years. Popular consumption and the share of animal products, fruit and high grade vegetables will rise substantially.

The demand of all sections of the population for high-quality consumer goods; attractive clothes, footwear and goods improving and adorning the daily life of the Soviet people, such as comfortable modern furniture, up-to-date domestic goods, a wide range of goods for cultural purposes, etc., will be amply satisfied. Production of motor cars for the population will be considerably expanded.

The most acute problem for the well-being of the Soviet people will be solved; in the second decade every family will have a comfortable flat with all the requirements of hygiene and cultural living. Peasant houses will be replaced by modern dwellings. Full public services will be provided. In the second decade all rent will become free.

Within 10 years there will be a six hour working day with one day off a week, or a 34 to 36 hour working week with two days off, in underground and harmful jobs a five hour working day or a thirty hour, five day working week, with a still shorter working week in the second decade. Minimum paid holidays will increase to three weeks and then a month, and be extended to kolkhoz workers. Working conditions will be constantly eased, night shifts, except where essential, gradually abolished.

Health services will be improved to fully meet all needs of the population. Remnants of the unequal position of women in domestic life are to be eliminated making possible for women to combine motherhood with the fullest participation in social labor and scientific and cultural pursuits, with relatively

lighter, but well paid jobs. All kinds of devices for lightening domestic work are to be provided, public catering extended, with free dinners at all enterprises and kolkhozes in the second decade. Cost-free children's institutions of all kinds will be extended to meet the needs of all, with free dinners, uniforms and educational aids, boarding schools or extended school hours for all who wish them. All citizens incapacitated by old age or disability will be completely taken care of. Pensions raised and extended to kolkhoz members. At the end of 20 years the following will be provided at public expense:

Free maintenance of children at children's institutions and boarding schools (if parents wish),

Maintenance of disabled people,

Free education at all educational establishments,

Free medical services for all citizens, including the supply of medicines and the treatment of sick persons at sanatoria,

Rent-free housing and, later, free public services, free public transport facilities,

Free use of some types of communal services,

Steady reduction of charges for, and partially, free use of holiday homes, boarding houses and tourist camps,

Increasingly broad provision of the population with benefits, privileges and scholarships (grants to unmarried mothers, scholarships for students),

Gradual introduction of free public catering (midday meals) at enterprises and institutions, and for kolkhoz farmers at work.

This program, it is emphasized, can be fulfilled under conditions of peace:

The program set forth can be fulfilled with success under conditions of peace. Complications in the interna-

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tional situation and the resultant necessity of increasing defense expenditures may hold up the fulfillment of the plans for raising the living standard of the people. An enduring normalization of international relations, reduction of military expenditures and, in particular, the realization of general and complete disarmament under an appropriate agreement between countries, would make it possible greatly to surpass the plans for raising the people's living standard.

Extension of Democracy

The program declares that having brought about the complete victory of socialism and the transition of society to full-scale communism:

The dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the USSR from the point of view of the tasks of internal development. . . . The party holds that the dictatorship of the working class will cease to be necessary before the state withers away. The state as an organization embracing the entire people will survive until the complete victory of communism.

The extension of socialist democracy means active participation of all citizens in the administration of the state, and the gradual transformation of organs of state power into organs of self-government. The Soviets are to become more and more like social organizations with the masses participating directly in their work. To bring fresh forces into them, at least one third of the total number of deputies should be newly elected each time. Leading officials of union, republic and local bodies should be elected as a rule for not more than three consecutive terms; exceptions may be made in the case of especially useful officials only if elected by at least three quarters of the vote. More emphasis is to be placed

on accountability of Soviets and deputies to their constituents and the right of recall. The role of standing committees (which includes the volunteer work of citizens who are not deputies) must be increased. Rights of local Soviets are to be extended. Trade unions, Komsomols and mass organizations must be entitled to propose draft laws. All draft laws and decisions must be subject to wide popular discussion, and the most important draft laws put to national referendum. People's control must insure strict observance of legality and eradicating bureaucracy. Negligence or abuse of power of any official must be combatted and punished. Salaried government staffs must be reduced, the principle of collective leadership exercised at all levels.

In the administration of justice, attention should be focussed on crime prevention. Crimes dangerous to society must be severely punished, but the ultimate replacement of judicial punishment by measures of influence and education is envisaged.

Trade Union Activities

Trade unions are to take a growing share in economic management and to make the standing production conferences increasingly effective. The trade unions shall:

Work constantly to increase the communist consciousness of the masses, organize an emulation movement for communist labor and help the people in learning to manage state and social affairs, take an active part in controlling the measure of labor and rate of consumption;

Encourage the activity of factory and office workers, enlisting their aid in the work for continuous technical progress, for higher productivity of labor, for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans;

Work steadfastly for the improvement of the skill of factory and office workers and their working and living conditions, protect the material interests and rights of the working people;

Insure that housing and cultural development plans are fulfilled and that public catering, trade, social insurance and health resort services are improved;

Insure control over the spending of public consumption funds and over the work of all enterprises and institutions serving the people;

Improve cultural services and recreation facilities for the working people, encourage physical training and sports.

Other Social Organizations

Emphasizing the Party's regard for youth as a great creative force in the struggle for communism, the program calls for greater activity of the Komsomols in "the moulding of a buoyant, industrious and physically and morally sound organization."

A greater role is to be played by kolkhozes, consumers, housing and other cooperative organizations; by scientific and inventors' organizations; by associations of writers, artists and journalists, cultural-educational associations and sports societies.

Labor emulation and communist forms of labor are to be promoted in every possible way. Within a few years social organizations are to be entrusted with the management of theaters and combine half of their members at each cultural-educational establishments now controlled by the state. They shall be encouraged to play a greater part in promoting public order particularly through the people's volunteer squads and comradesly courts.

Salaried staffs are to be cut down, public bodies renewed by as many as one half of their members at each election, leading functionaries to be elected

as a rule for not more than two consecutive terms.

Thus communist self-government will gradually replace the socialist state, embracing the Soviets, the trade unions, cooperatives and other mass organizations, insuring the active participation of all members of society in the management of public affairs. Bodies in charge of planning, accounting, economic management and cultural advancement will lose their political character and become organs of self-government.

A section on defense reiterates the the Soviet policy for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, but declares that "as long as imperialism survives, the threat of aggressive wars will remain," and therefore the strengthening of the Soviet defense forces is a sacred duty of the party and the people:

In terms of internal conditions, the Soviet Union needs no army. But since the danger of war coming from the imperialist camp persists, and since complete and general disarmament has not been achieved, the C.P.S.U. considers it necessary to maintain the defensive power of the Soviet state and the combat preparedness of its armed forces at a level insuring the complete and decisive defeat of any enemy who dares to encroach on the Soviet Union.

National Relations

Close and equal association, fraternal mutual assistance and friendship among all the nations of the USSR is to grow and strengthen. The program sets forth in detail the following tasks:

To continue the all-round economic and cultural development of all Soviet nations.

To pursue the line of comprehensive development of the economies of the Soviet republics on the basis of a rational geographic location of produc-

tion, wealth of labor, economic interdependence. For active participation, be seen, nation, motion, nation, those, develop. To develop people, tent, further, procl, inter, ation, cultu. To develop people of e, dren, tary, chan, tures. To tion, man, nar, and, train. **Id** T of out, thro, ism, rais, vele, in

tion, planned working of national wealth, promotion of a socialist division of labor among the republics. Extension of rights of the republics in economic management along with greater interconnection and mutual assistance. For greater coordination of economic activities, inter-republican organs may be set up for such matters as irrigation, power grids, transport, etc. Promotion of equality of all nations and nationalities with special attention to those areas in need of more rapid development.

To work for the further all-round development of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR, socialist in content, national in form, to promote their further mutual enrichment and rapprochement, the consolidation of their international basis and thereby the formation of the future single worldwide culture of communist society.

To continue promoting the free development of the languages of the people of the USSR, the complete freedom of every citizen to bring up his children in any language, and the voluntary study of Russian to facilitate exchange and access of each to the cultures of all.

To pursue the principles of internationalism, while struggling against manifestations of chauvinism, national narrowmindedness and exclusivism, and promote growing interchange of trained personnel.

Ideological Work and Education

This section outlines the importance of the shaping of the scientific world outlook of the new communist man through the study of Marxism-Leninism, and its application in the problems raised by life. It stresses the need of developing a communist attitude to labor in all members of society:

Any labor for society, whether physical or mental, is honorable and commands respect. . . . Everything required by life and human progress is created by labor. . . . It is impossible for a man living in communist society not to work. . . . Work according to one's ability will become a habit, a prime necessity of life, for every member of society.

These are the principles set forth as comprising the moral code of the builder of communism:

Devotion to the communist cause, love of the socialist motherland and the other socialist countries;

Conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat;

Concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth;

A high sense of public duty, intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest;

Collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: one for all and all for one;

Humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother;

Honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty and guilelessness in social and private life;

Mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children;

An uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty and careerism;

Friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR, intolerance of national and racial hatred;

An uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations;

Fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples.

The period of transition to com-

munism is seen as one providing the greatest opportunities for all-round and harmonious development of the individual:

All-round development of the individual has been made possible by historic social gains—freedom from exploitation, unemployment and poverty, from discrimination on account of sex, origin, nationality or race. Every member of society is provided with equal opportunities for education and creative labor. Relations of dependence and inequality between people in public affairs and in family life disappear. The personal dignity of each citizen is protected by society. Each is guaranteed an equal and free choice of occupation and profession with due regard to the interests of society.

As less and less time is spent on material production, the individual is afforded ever greater opportunities to develop his abilities, gifts and talents in the fields of production, science, engineering, literature and the arts. People will increasingly devote their leisure to public pursuits, cultural intercourse, intellectual and artistic endeavor. Physical training and sports will become part and parcel of the everyday life of people.

Extensive criticism and self-criticism are called for in combating survivals of the past and manifestations of individualism and selfishness.

It is emphasized that peaceful coexistence does not imply discontinuance of the ideological struggle:

The party advances the scientific ideology of communism in contrast to reactionary bourgeois ideology. Communist ideology, which expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people, teaches them to struggle, to live and work, for the happiness of all. It is the most humane ideology. Its ideals are to estab-

lish truly human relations between individuals and peoples, to deliver mankind from the threat of extermination, and bring about universal peace and a free, happy life for all men on earth.

Public Education and Culture

The task of education is to insure that instruction of the rising generation is bound up with life and productive labor and that the adult population may combine work with further training and education.

In the next decade compulsory secondary general and polytechnical eleven-year education is to be introduced for all children of school age. In the subsequent decade everyone is to receive a complete secondary education.

The growing number of pre-school institutions and boarding schools of different types will fully meet the requirements of all working people who wish to give their children public upbringing.

School construction will be extended, all schools will go over to a one-shift basis. All will have study workshops and laboratories, rural schools their own farming plots, large factories will have production training shops for school children. Cinema, radio and television will be widely used. All kinds of sports facilities and facilities for creative endeavor of children in music, painting, sculpture, etc., will be expanded everywhere.

Higher and secondary education will become available to everyone, people's universities, conservatories, studios etc., will be increased in all areas, scientific progress and theoretical investigations in all fields will be a main concern. Scientists will have a wider role, science and production will be more closely coordinated.

Communist culture, absorbing and developing all the best that has been created by world culture, will embody

the versatility and richness of the spiritual life of society, and the lofty ideals and humanism of the new world:

In the period of transition to communism, creative effort in all fields of culture becomes particularly fruitful, becomes accessible to all members of society. Soviet literature, music, painting, cinema and theater, and all the other arts, will attain higher standards in their ideological make-up and artistry. People's theaters, mass amateur art, technical invention and other forms of creative endeavor by the people will produce new gifted writers, artists, musicians and actors. The development and enrichment of the arts are based on a combination of mass amateur endeavor and professional art.

The party will work unremittingly to insure that literature, art and culture flourish, that every individual is given full scope to apply his abilities, that the people are educated aesthetically and develop a fine artistic taste and cultural habits.

The following material base will be provided for cultural development:

Book publishing and the press will be vigorously developed, and the printing and paper industries will be expanded accordingly;

There will be more libraries, lecture halls and reading rooms, theaters, clubs, houses of culture, and cinemas;

The country-wide radio diffusion network will be completed, television stations covering all industrial and agricultural areas will be built;

People's universities, people's theatrical companies and other amateur cultural organizations will be widely developed.

A large network of scientific and technical laboratories and of art and cinema studios will be provided for the use of all who have the inclination and ability.

The party considers it necessary to

distribute cultural institutions evenly throughout the country in order gradually to bring the cultural standard of the countryside level with that of the town and achieve rapid cultural progress in all the newly-developed areas.

High standards in urban development, in the architectural treatment and planning of towns and rural communities, industrial, cultural and service premises and dwellings acquire great importance. Art will inspire labor, adorn life and ennoble man. . . .

The high-road of literature and art lies through the strengthening of links with the life of the people, through faithful and highly artistic depiction of the richness and versatility of socialist reality, inspired and vivid portrayal of all that is new and genuinely communist, and exposure of all that hinders the progress of society.

In the art of socialist realism, which is based on the principles of partisanship and kinship with the people, bold pioneering in the artistic depiction of life goes hand in hand with the cultivation and development of the progressive traditions of world culture. Writers, artists, musicians, theatrical workers and film makers will have better opportunities of displaying creative initiative and skill, using manifold forms, styles and genres.

The importance of expanding the Soviet Union's cultural relations with the socialist and with all other countries is stressed "for the purpose of pooling scientific and cultural achievements and bringing about mutual understanding and friendship among the peoples."

Inner-Party Democracy

In the final section on the role of the party in this period of communist construction, the necessity of extending inner-party democracy, as a model in developing self-government, is urged:

Undeviating observance of the Leninist standards of party life and principle of collective leadership, enhancement of the responsibility of party organs and their personnel to the party rank and file, promotion of the activity and initiative of all Communists and of their participation in elaborating and realizing the policy of the party, and self-criticism are a law of party life.

This is an imperative condition of the ideological and organizational strength of the party itself, of the greater unity and solidarity of party ranks, of an all-round development of inner-party democracy and an activation on this basis of all party forces, and of the strengthening of ties with the masses.

The cult of the individual and the violations of collectivism in leadership, of inner-party democracy and socialist legality arising out of it are incompatible with the Leninist principles of party life. The cult of the individual belittles the role of the party and the masses and hampers the development of the ideological life of the party and the creative activity of the working people.

To effect the principle of collective leadership, bring in fresh forces and rule out the possibility of excessive concentration of power in the hands of individual officials, the following steps are considered necessary by the party:

A regular renewal of the members of all elected party bodies from primary organizations to the Central Committee. The renewal of not less than one quarter of the members of the Central Committee and its presidium at all regular elections. Presidium members as a rule not to be elected for more than three successive terms. Particular party workers may by virtue of their generally recognized authority and high political, organizational and other abilities, be elected for longer periods

but only if not less than three-quarters of the vote are cast for him by secret ballot.

Members of the Central Committees of the parties at republic, territorial and regional level shall be renewed by not less than one third at each regular election, and of lower bodies by not less than one half. Members of leading party bodies may be elected consecutively for not more than three years, secretaries of primary party organizations for not more than two consecutive terms—with exceptions in special cases only on the basis of a three quarters vote.

Decisions on removal from the Central Committee and other leading organs must be by secret ballot and not less than two thirds of total membership of the body concerned.

More meetings, freer discussions are called for, fuller development of criticism and self-criticism, reduction of salaried staffs, greater responsibility, extension and deepening of ties with the people.

In the concluding paragraphs, the C.P.S.U. asserts that it will continue its efforts in the joint struggle against the danger of a new world war, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism:

It is not through war with other countries, but by the example of a more perfect organization of society, by rapid progress in developing the productive forces, the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses.

The draft program concludes with the words: "The party solemnly proclaims: the present generation of Soviet people shall live under communism."

"Youth's Stake in Peace"

by W. G. ANDREWS

Winner, Third Prize, NWR Essay Contest

YOUTH'S stake in peace is this: if there is not an interest, knowledge of and participation in peace, youth may not live long enough to reach adult status.

With this obvious observation established, what policies can youth suggest to the "new" Administration to insure lasting peace? Before anyone can make suggestions, one must define "administration." It is composed of the military, political and economic leaders of the USA. These people are the decision makers for the rest of us.

Before young people can suggest anything to these leaders, they ought to understand something about these leaders; what they believe and why.

1. Tradition. Our society is like a tree: seed, roots and the portion we see. Private profit is the seed, the roots are history. Just as the tree turns to the roots for nourishment, so do policy makers turn to history for justification of the present. These men and nearly all Americans have become "yes-men" to traditions.

2. These men have already formed their beliefs. The ideas they were taught as children and the people with whom they've associated, have determined their beliefs. Mostly they are living in the past, relying upon the past to solve today's problems. Anything "radically" new is hard to fit into their concepts.

3. These beliefs are founded upon

ignorance, hate, prejudice, greed and fear.

4. These men have become dominated by symbols. Man created symbols then promptly became a slave to them. Words like "free world," "communism," "free enterprise," "democracy," "freedom," etc., mean different things to different people, yet they guide our actions.

5. Some of these people honestly believe that any way of life and government contrary to their fixed concepts is dangerous to *everyone*. If they don't like something then, logically, the rest of us don't like it either.

6. Then there is the "lunatic fringe." These men and women may and may not be "lunatics" but they are all intensely motivated by *self interest*. "To hell with anyone else as long as I get my way" type of interest.

7. Also there are those who distrust the political leaders of the USSR. Is this distrust based upon a personal contact with USSR leaders?

8. Still others believe that in a disarmed world, the USA must compete with the USSR and that our system isn't capable. Our economy is based on "trial and error"—the USSR economy is based on "drill and review" or planning.

9. Other of these policy makers are intelligent enough to know that peace is not profitable. They recog-

nize that our economy is approaching maximum military spending to keep the "free enterprise" system operating.

The USSR philosophy states that if the USA is left alone, it will fail by itself due to inborn contradictions. Our leaders see that all we produce is not always sold. Thus military items do not rely upon competition or markets and there is never overproduction. The "new" Administration will buy it all. Just one customer. (Socialism for private profit?) And again, who is the Administration? No need to worry about widespread unemployment if millions of Americans gain their living through military work. Since there is no competition, just one customer, the prices can be high enough for everyone to make a fine profit. Without exception, every person in the USA and many foreign countries depend upon our military Ferris wheel to keep food on the table. This varies from fat profits to some, to profits indirectly to others. One small example of indirect profits is in the State of New Mexico. If the Federal Government withdrew its military establishments (walk a mile and you chance to walk into one) the state would revert to its condition of 1000 A.D. ("Civilization" would be gone and the Indians could have their land back.)

It is in this atmosphere that youth must go to the Administration and suggest policies for peace. I do not wish to appear cynical. I'm an optimist and look for the best in people. I do not believe there is such a thing as a 100 per cent "good" or "bad" person. We will then assume that these policy makers are really

rational men who are not *all* motivated by self-interest, but would like to see a planet free of war implementations. (Happily, some self-interest is found in helping others.) This all leads to my suggestions to the youth of the United States who are interested in preventing war.

First, young people cannot go to the Administration as an individual. The idea of organization is a timely and necessary one. Youth must organize. To be effective, the organization must have large numbers. Most people do not think of it this way but youth is a minority group and if organized, could be very powerful. Once organized (and may I humorously add—and probably labeled "subversive") youth would go to Congress and to the President as a "pressure group" interested in lasting world peace. The demands of this group could be:

1. Total disarmament with the realization that our concept of the "Soviet threat" is emotional, not based upon such questions as, which system of economics and society is best for the greatest number of people, which needs war to survive.

2. Disarmament if realized would not be enough. Intensive education in a new concept of thinking about our fellow peoples must follow—a concept based upon respect and trust, not self-interest and hate.

3. A proposal to channel the military expense into public housing, conservation, public works, space projects, help to underdeveloped countries, etc. Certainly disarmament couldn't be done quickly or the whole country would collapse like a building made of toothpicks.

4. Suggest to the Administration that they cannot hope to kill an

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idea with bullets. Communism is an idea and so is capitalism. It is my belief that if the USA and USSR teamed up to destroy communism, they could not do it. Also democracy and communism are two different ideas and they are compatible—just as capitalism and democracy are two different concepts, yet exist side by side. Democracy is not absolute—if you have it—you do not have ALL of it—it comes in degrees and the USA has one of those degrees. Tell the Administration that the only way to kill an idea is with a *better* idea.

5. Instead of a "peace corps," suggest allotting \$50 million for a visitors exchange program. If I am correct, we spend \$50 million per week on armaments. This money could be used to bring people to see the USA and send American citizens to the USSR. In other words, intensify the cultural and personal exchange programs 100 per cent. This way, people may see for themselves what is considered the "threat."

6. Have Administration leaders recognize the extent to which their "fear" of the USSR (and China) is based upon emotions, training and assumptions. True, the socialist countries are not perfect but the question remains, are they interested in war as a means of achieving their ideals?

While on recommendations, I recommend to the youth that they

talk with as many policy makers as is possible to find. I feel personal interviews are very, very valuable. Talk with politicians, military men, business leaders (and even your own parents). Ask them if their view of the world is based on emotion or intellectual honesty?

This section I put to young people. Young people must *question!* Question everything! Define words: "war," "free world," "totalitarianism," "democracy," etc. Believe nothing until you can find facts for it. On the subject of politics (policy making) this is youth's business too. If young people fail to question and recommend or force improvements, their future and the future of all peoples could be compared to the future of a person attempting to swim the Atlantic Ocean. The fact is, it can't be done and neither will peace be gained by those who never question.

The bed-rock question is: Which nation is the greater threat to the safety of this planet? How long will the people of the U.S. support the arms program in the name of the "free world," "democracy," "self-determination," when these words become a greater mockery each day in view of United States foreign policy? One thing the policy makers of the USA might consider is this famous observation: "You can fool some of the people all the time; all the people some of the time, but NOT ALL the people ALL the time."

SOVIET VACCINE TO JAPAN

TEN MILLION doses of live anti-polio vaccine pills, manufactured in the Soviet Union, were flown to Japan in July in accordance with a contract between the USSR foreign trade organization Medexport and several Japanese companies.

The World Youth Forum

A communication from Conrad Cohen, Youth Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, who was a delegate to the forum.

IN THE MIDST of heightening world tensions, 800 representatives of 350 youth organizations from 94 different countries met in Moscow July 25 to August 3. This World Youth Forum was called by the Committee on Youth Organizations of the USSR, for the purpose of discussing the problems that face youth in the world today. The discussions were frank, free and open. We were divided into the following basic panels:

1. Youth understanding, cooperation and peaceful coexistence. 2. Youth in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for national independence and problems of world peace. 3. Youth and disarmament. 4. Youth, their rights and duties in society. 5. Youth and progress.

Differing opinions and viewpoints were constantly heard. Yet the overriding necessity for peace and the desire to end colonialism and imperialism paved the way for the Forum to pass its final resolution unanimously. Here are a few excerpts:

Mankind has never known rest from wars in the entire history of its existence. In our age alone imperialism has drawn mankind into monstrous wars that took the toll of dozens of millions of lives. And today the fire of war kindled by the colonialists is blazing in Algeria, Angola, Congo, Tunisia and other parts of our planet, threatening to develop into a world atomic war. The unsettled issue of Germany and West Berlin is fraught with tremendous danger for world peace . . .

We are not only fully conscious of the need for struggle for peace but we know

that the young generation together with all peoples have all the possibilities and strength to avert a world war, to exclude it from the life of society. *We must do all our best to ensure peace on earth.*

Peaceful coexistence must and can become the only form of relations between countries with different social and economic systems . . .

Colonialism and all other forms of suppressing foreign peoples must be abolished once and for all . . .

Our conscience, our feelings are burning with anger and hatred towards racism and discrimination, the most abominable manifestation of colonialism.

The race of armaments aggravates international tension and threatens the world peace. That is why *we, the young people of the world, demand universal, complete and controlled disarmament. We demand, that all the military bases on foreign territories must be abolished!*

We demand that the rights of the youth be insured everywhere!

The time has come when the young people of the world must unite their efforts.

Bridges of friendship must span the mistrust, lack of understanding, and at times even hostility that unfortunately, still divide our countries.

Even in the period of the greatest international tension the young people of different countries have found a common language and ways for cooperation. Congresses, assemblies, conferences, festivals, meetings, discussions, seminars held on a national, regional and international scale, exchange of delegations, tourists, cultural groups, sportsmen, students, exhibitions, literature, films and last but not least, our World Forum—these are various forms of such cooperation that help to overcome prejudices in relations between

different countries and different organizations.

With full determination and hope we appeal to you, the young people of the world, to strengthen the unity of your ranks, to develop in every way international cooperation.

Our world, our future, must not be marred by war, colonialism and imperialism, inequality, hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty. We shall not grow tired in our struggle and we shall triumph. We are proud of our duty and shall fulfill it to the end.

CORLISS LAMONT SPEAKS IN TOKYO

We print below excerpts from the speech of Dr. Corliss Lamont, member of the American delegation, at the opening session of the Seventh World Conference Against A and H Bombs, in Tokyo, on August 9th.

THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, more numerous than ever before, stands united with all of you here today in a firm determination to abolish the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons; and to bring about total disarmament in every nation.

Horrible and inexcusable as was the first atom bomb attack on Hiroshima, we must remember that a hydrogen bomb possesses at least 50 times the explosive power of the original A bomb. One single H bomb could devastate the whole of New York City or Moscow or London or Tokyo; and the radioactive fallout from the explosion would extend for hundred of miles. These terrible nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate the whole human race.

Now in Berlin another international crisis confronts the world and carries with it the fearful menace of war. I do not believe that this Conference should try to decide upon the details of the Berlin controversy; but we can and ought to urge all the governments involved to come to a settlement through peaceful negotiation, and to make clear *immediately* that under no conditions will they resort to nuclear violence.

As Bertrand Russell recently said in England, the peoples of the world must not permit themselves to be brainwashed, through a barrage of threats and vituperation, to acquiesce in a large-scale nuclear conflict. Let me add, however, that in my opinion the Berlin situation will *not* result in war.

My Government, that of the United States, bears a heavy responsibility for the present critical international situation extending throughout the earth. But all of the Great Powers have made serious mistakes in foreign policy during the past two or three decades; and all share to some degree or another the responsibility for this period of storm and stress in world affairs. . . .

I believe that the U.S. Government, backed in a bipartisan manner by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, has adopted a dangerous and aggressive attitude in foreign relations . . .

My friends, we must always distinguish the American *people* from the American Government. The American people do not want to fight anyone; they have deep feeling for the peace which I think our American delegation here truly represents. Our people remember America's long tradition of peace, and the fact that the United States was not an aggressor in either the First or Second World War. There are important peace activities going on constantly in the U. S. A. . . .

I can report, too, that a new national Peace Committee will in all probability be initiated early next fall. It will be open to all sincere workers for peace and disarmament . . .

Mankind's struggle for peace has been going on for thousands of years. We of this twentieth century are at last going to win this long and arduous fight—you and I and hundreds of millions of our fellow human beings throughout this planet . . .

TWO VIEWS OF CHINA

A review by MAURINE AUSTIN

China in the Morning, by Nicholas Wollaston. Roy Publishers, New York, 1960. 208 pages. \$5.95.

The Twain Shall Meet, A Symposium by W. Irvine, N. & R. Peterson, H. Bronson, W. A. Stevens and B. C. Tanner. Order from: W. Irvine, 10140 - 107th Street, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. 175 pp. \$2.00.

THE PERCEPTIVE reader will find many contradictions in the impressions of a two months tour of the People's Republic of China, written by a rather ill-tempered British tourist, Nicholas Wollaston.

The author looms large in the picture, so that his observations are never quite disentangled from his subjective reactions. One learns a lot about him. He is often bored and attributes boredom to others. He is self-conscious and resents being stared at—"Women never stared; it was only men." He gets angry and makes demands. His journey is a series of frustrations designed by the Chinese to prevent his going and seeing what he is interested in, which is never the same as what they want to show him.

Mr. Wollaston admits, "It is difficult to be dispassionate when one is in a bad temper." But there is this to be said, however much the reader may question the interpretation of his observations and however one may differ as to conclusions, one is always conscious that the facts are seen through Mr. Wollaston's eyes, and one knows his particular mood at the time of observation, and one has confidence that they are honestly evaluated in relation to his own background and experience.

There are interesting expositions on the three keys of education and how they are achieved in real life, and the "five frees" of the communes and their

significance. Under the tribute section one could list the complete absence of racketeering, tipping, gambling and beggars. Not so highly approved by the author was "the atmosphere of work, work, work," which was his deepest impression. "To me," he writes, "hating but admiring, it is astonishing that the Chinese people don't get bored with it all."

One feels that Mr. Wollaston is more temperamentally than intellectually at odds with the Chinese, for as the reader reaches page 121, he is wholly unprepared for this sympathetic presentation:

... Spectacular things are happening all over the country, and they are only happening because the people, infected with enthusiasm that goes far beyond the sort of coercion usually associated with totalitarian states, want them to happen and are willing to work for them. The grip held by this colossal job on the people's imagination is astonishing. Not without reason is China called the People's Republic, and the Chinese people are never in doubt that it is their country and it is they themselves who are ruling it.

So we find that despite the author's exasperation with so many things, he was impressed by "the unity and purposefulness and friendly good spirits of everyone," and even goes so far as to state, "If I were a Chinese I'd certainly add my flower to the altar of Chairman Mao."

In Part Two—Indo-China—the author covers his travels in North and South Vietnam, his trip down the Mekong River and through Laos and Cambodia. He was made uneasy by what he observed, which was in such contrast with the purposeful and advanced unity achieved by the Chinese people. American policies, and especially foreign aid, are sharply criticized.

The Twain Shall Meet is an interesting collection of the impressions of six Canadians who visited China in the summer of 1960. All are educators except one graduate of law who chooses to farm because he loves the wide open spaces.

Everything a tourist can see or learn about in a foreign land is touched on—the countryside, cities, people, housing, education and schools, train and plane travel, construction, food and consumer goods, cultural life, status of women, public health system. There are intimate and vivid impressions of the people, their inter-relations, their enthusiasm, their morale.

First, there are the letters from Roy and Nellie Peterson to their friends and relatives back home. These warm and personal accounts, whether written from Hong Kong, Canton, Peking, Shanghai, or in transit, are rich with observations and impressions. Many of the things described in the Wollaston book were observed also by the Petersons, but with what different eyes! Here was perspective, understanding, the knowledge of what had been, as well as what is now, and what is planned for the future.

Byran F. Tanner, the lawyer who chose to farm, was engaged by the *Toronto Telegram News Service* to study China's food supply in relation to its present and future population. His excellent exposition on the communes, their scope and operation, makes clear that what Mr. Wollaston called their "surreptitious" appearance in 1958 was in reality the current stage of an organic development, beginning with the mutual aid teams which came into being with the land reform, and which had grown over a period of eight years into cooperatives. The cooperatives in their turn, he points out, in response to the necessities of vast irrigation and flood control projects involving more resources and people over greater areas, yielded to the communes as the most efficient form of organization.

There is an excellent brief chapter on the achievements of education in the New China, followed by an exposé of press and propaganda distortions of the facts of Chinese progress.

In the section *China: Yesterday and Today*, Mr. Irvine reports his discussions with the Chinese intellectuals of the basic philosophy of the socialist system which has made possible the rapid growth of the Chinese economy. The Chinese portrayed socialism in its basic principles to be ethical, democratic and humanistic, as contrasted with the old system in which each individual was supposed to grab all he could by any means at hand, no matter what the cost in suffering to others.

Written by six individuals, these impressions and observations of life in the New China, conveying as they do the variety of struggle, the rapid changes and the progress, mutually supplement one another. What emerges is a testimonial to the courage, wisdom and determination of the Chinese people to build socialism in their country and to so organize their internal affairs as to satisfy the material, spiritual and cultural needs of all as rapidly as possible.

As the title indicates, this symposium goes beyond reporting on progress in China and deals with East-West relations and specifically with Chinese foreign policy. In addition to a special section on the questions of recognition and UN membership, each writer, through his personal observations and interviews with officials and representatives from all sections of the people, has shown the interdependence of peace and progress in every area of Chinese life.

The Canadian visitors, unlike Mr. Wollaston, had no difficulties in seeing the places and people in which they were interested, and Americans will welcome their first-hand accounts and their supplementary background material as a contribution to better understanding of China and its importance to world peace.

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