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SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

AN AIR RESCUE

USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

CONGRESS OF ENGINEERS

NEW NATURAL RESOURCES

CALENDAR OF EVENTS, 1931-32

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Soviet Foreign Relations

CHINA AND THE U.S.S.R. RESUME RELATIONS

THE resumption of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union was announced simultaneously at Geneva, on December 12, by Dr. Yen, head of the Chinese delegation to the disarmament conference and Maxim Litvinov, Foreign Commissar of the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Yen delivered to Mr. Litvinov the following note announcing China's decision to renew relations:

"In pursuance of the conversations which took place during our recent meetings in Geneva, I have been duly authorized to inform you that my government, animated by the desire to develop friendly relations between our countries in the interests of peace, has decided to consider normal diplomatic and consular relations with the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formally restored from this date."

In answer to which Mr. Litvinov handed the following note to Dr. Yen:

"In pursuance of the conversations which took place during our recent meetings in Geneva, I have the honor to inform you that my government, animated by the desire to develop friendly relations between our countries in the interests of peace, has decided to consider normal diplomatic and consular relations formally restored from this date forward."

Mr. Litvinov made the following statement to the press of December 12 in connection with the resumption of Soviet-Chinese relations:

"Dr. Yen and I today exchanged notes whereby diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China were restored. This quite normal act, in my opinion, hardly requires an explanation. What does require explanation is the rupture of relations between States or a refusal of relations—phenomena which are an infringement of normal international life and which sometimes constitute a danger to peace.

Article III

The commission will meet once a year on a day set by mutual agreement between the High Contracting Parties.

The latter may agree to postpone the session until the following year.

They may, on the contrary, in urgent cases, decide by mutual agreement to call the commission in extraordinary session.

The High Contracting Party requesting such a meeting is required to inform the other High Contracting Party of the urgent circumstances giving rise to the request.

Each of the High Contracting Parties will give to the other, through diplomatic channels, a list of the questions which it desires to present to the commission for consideration not later than fifteen days before the meeting of the commission.

Each session of the commission shall not exceed fifteen days unless both governments agree to prolong the session beyond that period.

The meetings of the commission are to be held alternately in Paris and Moscow, the first one to take place in Moscow.

Article IV

Meetings of the commission will have force only when all members are present. Its decisions must be unanimous.

Article V

The commission will determine its own procedure.

Article VI

The commission is obligated to study all questions presented to it by both governments and to recommend whatever interpretation it considers to have a legal foundation, or whatever agreement it considers justifiable.

With this aim it will present to each of the High Contracting Parties, before the end of each session, a report, accompanied by a draft plan for the regulation of each of the questions placed before it in the course of the aforesaid session.

This report may be published, in whole or in part, only with the consent of both High Contracting Parties.

If in the course of its session the commission is unable to work out a unanimous proposal regarding any of the questions on the agenda, then this question may, on the request of one of the parties, be again presented to the commission at an extraordinary session, to take place not later than four months after the closing of the preceding session.

Each of the High Contracting Parties is obliged to inform the other, within three months, whether the proposal presented by the commission is acceptable to it.

Article VII

Both High Contracting Parties are obliged to facilitate the work of the commission, especially by giving it all useful documents and information to as full an extent as possible.

They are also obliged to refrain, during the period of the conciliation process, from all measures depending on them which might appear to predetermine the proposals of the commission, and in so far as possible to take the necessary protective measures in this respect.

Article VIII

The present convention, attached to the treaty of non-aggression, concluded on this day between the President of the French Republic and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., will be ratified under the same conditions as the aforesaid treaty. It will enter into force on the same day and will remain in force during the same period.

Done in Paris, in two copies, November 29, 1932.

DOVGALEVSKY.
HERRIOT.

LITVINOV ON FRANCO-SOVIET PACT

In an interview with the correspondent of the "Petit Parisien," in connection with the signing of the Franco-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, expressed satisfaction at this step forward in the relations between France and the U.S.S.R. and the effect it would have in increasing mutual confidence and opening the way to more fruitful economic relations between the two countries.

"The conclusion of a non-aggression pact with France," he continued, "after the conclusion of a similar pact with Poland and other neighbors, gives us special satisfaction for the further reason that we see in this the fruition of the idea of bilateral non-aggression pacts put forward by the Soviet Government many years ago, long before the Kellogg proposal.

"We now see a recognition on the part of a considerable number of countries, including the French Republic, of the special significance of such bilateral pacts in connection with the existing Kellogg-Briand Pact. And that is understandable. Bilateral pacts are much more comprehensive in their contents, including in themselves obligations called forth by the special conditions in each case of the mutual relations between the two countries party to them, and furthermore, they are free from those numerous reservations which were added on the conclusion of the Kellogg-Briand pact and on which, as we know, its violators have fallen back. It is hoped that the Soviet-French example will find further adherents. . . .

"In view of the doubtful success of the disarmament conference, it is up to all governments to give special consideration to seeking new methods of guaranteeing peace. We, to be sure, are deeply convinced that the best method of guaranteeing peace and general security is complete disarmament or, at least, immediate and appreciable reduction of armaments. But we by no means decline to consider and carry out other, if less effective, guarantees of peace. While not recognizing the authority of the League of Nations, and rejecting military sanctions, we nevertheless do not object to the further spreading and strengthening of obligations to abstain from war and aggression, and are ready to participate in working out any measures against the violators of these obligations under conditions of guaranteeing for all, including the U.S.S.R., complete objectivity in the solution of these problems. Every international effort in the direction of strengthening peace will always find a favorable response from the U.S.S.R. But in order to establish completely peaceful relations between all countries it is necessary that such relations exist between individual countries. From that point of view the conclusion of the Soviet-French pact is a valuable contribution to the cause of international cooperation. It seems to me that the cooperation of the Soviet Union in this should be especially valuable because of the fact that the

Soviet Union has never belonged, does not and never shall belong to any military or political groupings, that it never has changed and never will change the basic line of its foreign policy, leading to the establishment of peace and friendly relations with all peoples.

"We should like today to mark the beginning of a new era in the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and the French Republic. We hope that it will be so."

EDITORIAL COMMENT OF IZVESTIA

Commenting editorially on the signing of the Franco-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, the Moscow *Izvestia* of November 30 said in part as follows:

"The pact of non-aggression signed yesterday between the Soviet Union and France is an important political and historical document. . . .

"The masses of the people of the Soviet Union greet the news of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and France with the deepest satisfaction especially because intervention and the French role in intervention have left deep traces in their consciousness. And every practical proof of the viability of this pact will call forth a lively response from the people of the Soviet Union. . . .

"Soviet public opinion accepts with deep satisfaction the fourth article of the pact which prohibits both sides from taking part in economic warfare against each other. This obligation has special significance in the light of the tendency to discriminate against Soviet export and attempting to create special snares for it.

"The fifth article of the treaty, including the undertaking of mutual obligations not to interfere in internal affairs, not to permit propaganda nor attempts at intervention, not to undermine the political-social system of the other country, not to permit the establishment of military organizations directed against the other country on the territory of either, etc., has special significance in view of the practice of émigré military and terrorist groups, of making France the base of their action against the Soviet Union.

"The carrying out of these obligations will unquestionably improve the relations between the French Republic and the U.S.S.R. In the Soviet Union there will not be the slightest obstacle to carrying them out. There exist no forces in the Soviet Union directed toward disrupting the cause of peace.

"The pact of non-aggression will serve the cause of strengthening peace in Europe, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the French Republic, one of the strongest powers of Europe. Therefore we welcome the fact that the majority of the German papers have rebuffed the tendencies to represent the pact as a step alienating the Soviet Union from the German people. Just as the signing by Germany of a similar pact at Locarno did not remove those interests out of which was created the friendly attitude between the German people and the Soviet Union, similarly the policy of rapprochment between the Soviet Union and France should not injure these relations. Our relations with Germany have been and still are directed to the mutual interests of both peoples. Closer relations with France will not injure those interests, but on the contrary, the strengthening of our relations with France will spike the legend that Germany, in carrying on friendly relations with the Soviet Union, seeks to injure France. . . . That the strengthening of our relations with France will improve our relations with the Western countries connected with France, there can be no doubt. . . . The pact of non-aggression will not paralyze those forces which create the danger of war, but will help to combat them."

SOVIET-JAPANESE CONVERSATIONS ON GENERAL SU PING-WEN

In connection with contradictory reports appearing in the Japanese press and attributed to Japanese officials, concerning the fate of General Su Ping-wen and his anti-Manchurian forces, and especially contradictory references to the exchange of opinion on this question between Mr. L. M. Karakhan, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Amo, Japanese Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, TASS published a statement in the Moscow *Izvestia* of December 11 containing the following information based on authoritative sources.

On December 8, Mr. Amo, on the instruction of the Japanese government, asked Mr. Karakhan to hand over General Su Ping-wen and his soldiers. Mr. Amo, explaining the viewpoint of his government, said in effect:

"The Japanese government is responsible for maintaining order in Manchukuo. You have disarmed General Su and his army, and the Japanese government is grateful to you for having taken this correct action. But even if these anti-Manchurian elements are disarmed, they can endanger the safety of Manchukuo if at any time they return to any place in Manchuria, and those responsible for maintaining order in Manchukuo are taken unawares. If they are sent to China, then they will not only conduct agitation harmful to Japan and Manchukuo, but they will be surrounded with sympathy by the Chinese, and will probably become heroes, as was the case with General Ma. This may encourage lawless elements in the border districts and endanger the order and safety of Manchukuo. Therefore, in the interests of maintaining order, the Japanese government asks the Soviet government to hand over General Su

Ping-wen and all his army now on Soviet territory to the Japanese army."

Mr. Karakhan expressed surprise that the Japanese government should make such a request and declared that the Soviet government, as the government of an independent State maintaining a neutral position, not only could not surrender General Su and his supporters, but could not even discuss the question.

During the exchange of opinions Mr. Amo stated that in the present case the question of neutrality did not apply as General Su could not be regarded as the representative of an independent faction engaged in lawful struggle. General Su rebelled against Manchukuo, destroyed international communications and allowed pillage and slaughter, and should be regarded not as a political opponent, but as a criminal who had perpetrated crimes against Manchukuo.

Karakhan replied that this viewpoint was, to say the least, incomprehensible. From the very beginning of the conflict it was known perfectly well that the U.S.S.R. was neutral and the Japanese government had repeatedly acknowledged this.

Furthermore, it was also known that the Japanese government sent an official commission to Matsievsky Station to negotiate with General Su. The Japanese government would hardly have endeavored to arrange a peaceful conference with General Su on neutral territory, the U.S.S.R., if it considered him a criminal. And it was quite impossible to imagine that the Japanese government would have officially approached the Soviet government with the request that it act as mediator between the Japanese government and General Su—in other words, between the Japanese government and a criminal.

Mr. Karakhan also reminded Mr. Amo that, at the request of the Japanese government, the Soviet government entered into negotiations with General Su for the release of all Japanese residents, the majority of whom were released before the defeat of General Su, and the remainder brought over safely by him to Soviet territory. The correct and gentlemanly conduct of General Su in this respect was in itself sufficient to rule out any question of his being handed over after he had been disarmed and interned.

"Finally," said Karakhan, "there are tens of thousands of insurgent White guards in Manchukuo and Japan who are struggling against and preparing for armed struggle against the U.S.S.R. The Soviet government, however, has never demanded their surrender, and the Japanese government itself, which can hardly regard them as representatives of an independent State, has never proposed to surrender them to the U.S.S.R., apparently understanding that such questions concern the internal politics of the country in question."

Mr. Karakhan then declared that Mr. Amo should regard the refusal to hand over General Su and his supporters as the official reply of the Soviet government.

Late the same evening, Mr. Amo again visited Mr. Karakhan and informed him that he withdrew his request for the surrender of General Su and asked only that his internment should be continued and that the Soviet government should consult with the Japanese government concerning the further fate of his army.

Mr. Karakhan replied that the fate of General Su's former army was an internal affair concerning the U.S.S.R. alone and could not be the subject of discussion or agreement with another government. He pointed out that in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan there was a precedent which should have deterred Japan from making such a request. He referred again to the White guard generals and the thousands of White guard soldiers enjoying complete freedom in their openly hostile actions against the U.S.S.R. on Japanese territory and above all in Manchukuo, where they have their own military and other organizations which enjoy the patronage of official persons, and whose members enjoy official posts in the police and other government departments. These White guards, he declared, persecute Soviet citizens and try to provoke a crisis in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan and Manchukuo, and the Japanese government has never consulted the Soviet government regarding their fate.

On December 10 Mr. Amo repeated the request of his government regarding the continued internment of General Su and consultation with regard to his future fate, and Mr. Karakhan reiterated the Soviet government's refusal to discuss the question.

Natural Resources Reappraised

Compiled from an article by Academician I. M. Gubkin, in the Moscow Pravda of November 18, 1932, and other sources.

LITTLE was known of the riches that lay beneath the surface of the Russian land under the Tsarist regime. Only about 5 per cent of the territory of pre-revolutionary Russia had been explored. Even at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan only 11.5 per cent of the total area had been mapped geologically, and at the present time about 25 per cent. Geological surveying is being developed intensively, new discoveries of mineral wealth are being reported constantly, adding hundreds of thousands of tons to the already known supplies. The following table, from the most recent estimates of Academician I. M. Gubkin, gives a picture of the increase in known mineral resources since Tsarist days:

	1917	*1932*
	(In metric tons)	
Coal	230,500,000,000	1,113,700,000,000
Iron ore	2,056,000,000	*8,654,000,000
Copper	998,000	13,696,000
Lead	483,000	3,120,000
Zinc	892,000	6,593,000

Geological Exploration

The Geological Committee of the old regime confined its operations almost entirely to surveying, and did very little actual geological exploration. They considered that such activity would injure the role of the committee as the servant of "pure science," making, however, certain concessions to industrial requirements in carrying on detailed surveying of the more important mining regions. Before the revolution there existed only about 150 outfits for mechanical drilling in the whole country. In 1931 there were 1,500 drilling outfits.

With the inauguration of the period of restoring the economic structure after the civil war, the whole character of geological work commenced to change. Appropriations for geological work amounted to 500,000 rubles annually before the war. In 1923 they increased to 900,000 rubles, and in 1927 to 10,500,000 rubles. The Geological Committee became an institution in which purely scientific activities were closely coordinated with practical geological exploration.

During the restoration period the decentralization of geological service was also commenced. From the very beginning of the revolution local geological committees began to develop. Branches of the Geological Committee were established in Moscow, in the Ukraine, the Urals, in Siberia, in Central Asia. This process has been still further developed during the reconstruction period.

In this period, when the problem of industralization became the order of the day, the first question to arise was whether the foundation for industralization existed, whether the necessary natural resources with which to build it up were assured. The Geological Committee was then reorganized into the All-Union Geological Survey, and geological exploration was extended rapidly. In 1930, 1,418 geological exploration groups were sent out, and during the present year, 2,500. In 1930 the corps of geologists, scientific workers, engineers and technicians engaged in geological work, numbered 1,700. In 1932 the number grew to 6,000. In addition to this highly qualified group there were altogether about 100,000 workers employed in geological operations in 1932. Furthermore, thousands of engineers and technicians and tens of thousands of workers are engaged in special geological prospecting, carried on directly within the various industrial organizations, especially in the field of coal, non-ferrous metals, gold, oil, etc.

During the past five years the state budgetary appropriations for geological exploration have grown fourteen times, and amount this year to 140,000,000 rubles. The All-Union Geological Survey also received about 60,000,000 rubles by contract from certain economic organizations for which it does special jobs. Annual appropriations for geological exploration activities have increased 400 per cent over pre-war times. If we include the expenditures of the separate economic organizations in searching for natural resources, we may conclude that over half a billion rubles was spent in the Soviet Union in 1931 for this purpose.

Iron Ore

This set-up of geological work in the Soviet Union has brought to light great new reserves of natural wealth. According to the estimate of Professor Bogdanovich, the entire known reserves of iron ore in pre-war Russia amounted to two billion tons. At the present time known reserves amount to 8,654,000,000 tons, exclusive of the Kursk magnetic anomaly, in the Central Black Earth district, and the iron ore quartzite anomaly of Krivoy Rog in the Ukraine.

The Ukrainian metallurgical and coal regions formerly served as the major base for supplying Russian industry with fuel and metal. The Krivoy Rog iron district in the Ukraine, with

*Exclusive of Kursk magnetic anomaly and the Krivoy Rog iron quartzite deposits.

stores of about 466,000,000 tons of iron ore, retains first place as regards the quantity of ore mined. Now, however, a second metallurgical base is being developed in the East, the Ural-Kuznetsky combinat, which will mine and work up the iron ore of the Urals, Bashkiria and Khalilov. Magnitogorsk, the Magnetic Mountain, on which this great industrial project is chiefly based, represents the richest and most highly concentrated deposit of iron ore in the world, with stores estimated at about 300,000,000 tons. The very face of the mountain is made up of rich layers of ore that can be dumped directly into the furnaces after crushing. Rich beds of limestone, essential to steel production, lie near by. The cars bringing coal from Kuznetsk to the huge iron and steel works here, carry iron back to Kuznetsk where another great iron and steel industry is being developed.

The Kursk magnetic anomaly in the Central Black Earth district represents one of the most important iron deposits in the Soviet Union. During the past two years, in a small area of ten kilometers square in Staro-Oskolsky rayon, deposits of ore of the Krivoy Rog type, with an iron content of 55 to 67 per cent have been discovered. Prospecting has already revealed 250,000,000 tons of this rich ore there, or as much as Bogdanovich estimated for the whole Ural region in 1913. This deposit provides the basis for the development of a powerful metallurgical industry in Staro-Osklosky rayon.

These beds, the richest in the world, contain not only these tremendous iron ore deposits, but large quantities of iron quartzite as well—2,000,000,000 tons of which have been discovered in carrying on exploration for the iron. Investigation of the Kursk magnetic ores is still far from complete—it is thought that they may eventually double the world supplies. Extensive beds of iron ore have also been found recently in East Siberia, Kazakstan, the North Caucasus and other districts.

New discoveries of iron-ore deposits estimated at almost twice the size of those of Magnitogorsk have been made on the Kola peninsula between the White and Barents Seas, according to reports presented to the first Arctic Geological conference which met there in November. The reserves are estimated at 500,000,000 tons, of which 213,000,000 have been geologically surveyed. In the Monchetundra bed ore has been found with 60 per cent iron content.

The Kersch region in the Crimea has large iron-ore supplies, but the ore is not of a very high quality. There is also iron in the Moscow district, in Transcaucasia and in Kazakstan.

Manganese

With regard to manganese it is estimated that about two-thirds of the entire world supply is in the Soviet Union. Of 900,800,000 tons, 588,700,000 tons lie within the Soviet boundaries. Recent discoveries have enlarged the known reserves of manganese in the Soviet Union. Manganese has been discovered in the North Caucasas and reserves of 34,000,000 tons have been definitely established to exist there. Soviet geologists have also discovered large new reserves in Kazakstan. By geological exploration the known reserves in Bashkiria have increased from 3,000,000 tons to 5,200,000 tons. In West Siberia over a million tons of manganese have been found. During the past fifteen years known supplies of manganese have increased three and a half times—from 168,000,000 tons to 588,700,000 tons.

Non-Ferrous Metals

In pre-revolutionary times exploration of the

Soyuzphoto.

Khaidarkan Valley, South Fergana, where new rich antimony and mercury deposits have recently been discovered

raw material basis of non-ferrous metallurgy amounted to very little. It was not to the advantage of the foreigners who controlled about 90 per cent of all the mining of non-ferrous minerals in Russia to develop Russian non-ferrous metallurgy to any great extent. Russia represented for them a market for their own copper, zinc, lead, etc.

During the past fifteen years very rich copper deposits have been discovered at Kounrad, on the north shore of Lake Balkhash in Kazakstan, containing about 60 per cent of the entire copper resources of the U.S.S.R. Here the largest copper mining works and smelter in the world are under construction. In the Central Urals are huge deposits of copper and other non-ferrous metals. Each of the newly discovered deposits contain in themselves from two and a half to three times as much as the entire known copper reserves of old Russia. The copper sands of Dzhezkazgan are three times greater than they were thought to be in pre-war days. The reserves of Almalyk in Uzbekistan are estimated at 2,000,000 tons and a number of other rich copper regions have been discovered near by.

These beds are in the valley of the River Angren on the spur of the Kuraminsk range, about eighty-five miles from Tashkent. They are surrounded by fertile valleys and rich water resources, and are only thirty-seven kilometers from the Chishkent-Tashkent-Melnikov railroad. The Chinchuk-Khodzhent hydroelectric station will be located near by. After the Kounrad and Central Ural non-ferrous metallurgical basis, the development of Almalyk will receive maximum attention.

The so-called Karamazarskaya semi-metallic ore contains not only silver, lead and zinc, but also arsenic, uranium and radium. Rich reserves of non-ferrous metals have also been found in the North Caucausas.

The known non-ferrous metal reserves of the U.S.S.R. have been increased approximately tenfold in the past fifteen years. Instead of the 1,392,000 tons thought to make up the entire Russian reserves in pre-revolutionary times, we now estimate at least 13,600,000 tons. The known reserves of lead have grown 3.8 times and of zinc 4.8 times.

In Yakutia, the Far East, East and West Siberia and the Ural region large new deposits of gold have been found. As a result of increased prospecting the known gold deposits of the U.S.S.R. have increased 258 per cent as compared with previous estimates. The primitive methods used in gold prospecting and mining in old Russia have been largely discarded, and modern mechanized methods are in use. New roads have been constructed leading to formerly almost inaccessible gold regions.

The Kola peninsula has many other mineral riches beside the iron ore just discovered. Nepheline has been found, making possible the development of an aluminum industry there. Titanum, molybdenum, vanadium and other rare minerals have also been found there.

Between the Yenesei and Lena rivers, covering almost a million square kilometers, are layers of remarkable volcanic formation, the so-called Siberian trapp—or black basalt—containing useful minerals such as graphite, iron ore, sometimes even bauxite. Black basalt itself can be used industrially—as mould for pavements, floors and roofs, insulators, in the manufacture of acid-proof apparatus and in railroad and highway construction.

Coal

The coal reserves of Russia in the period between 1913 and 1917 were estimated at 130 billion tons. Of this quantity more than one-third fell to the share of the Don Basin. At the present time Soviet coal reserves are estimated at 1,113,000,000,000 tons. In coal reserves the U.S.S.R. formerly occupied tenth place among the countries of the world. The Soviet Union has now risen to third place. First place is occupied by the United States with 3,536,000,000,000 tons and after that comes Canada with 1,361,000,000,000 tons. But if it is considered that 75 per cent of the Canadian reserves consist of lignite, while lignite makes up not more than 15 per cent of the total Soviet coal reserves, then in actual energy calories Soviet coal would take second place.

The Donetz Basin, with reserves now estimated at 65,000,000,000 tons, is no longer the chief coal region of the Soviet Union. In Western Siberia there are almost inexhaustible supplies, mostly anthracite. The reserves of the Kuznetsky Basin, estimated in 1917 at thirteen billion tons, are now known to be 440,000,000,000 tons, the Minusinsky Basin, 14 billion tons, and the Cherlimo-Yenesei Basin, which lies partly in Western Siberia, has large supplies not yet computed. There are also numerous small beds of local importance.

East Siberia comes next, with huge supplies at Irkutsk. The supplies of the Cheremkhovo Basin are estimated at 59 billion tons. A new district now being studied in East Siberia, the Kansky Basin, is estimated at 40 billion tons. In the North the Tungus Basin has been discovered with reserves covering 1,200,000 square kilometers that are reckoned in hundreds of billions of tons. This region will probably double the known resources of Russia.

In the steppes of Kazakstan still another new coal bearing district has been opened up—Karaganda, which before the revolution was almost unknown. Here over 15,000,000,000 tons have already been discovered. The stores of

Dredging for gold in the Aldan alluvial beds in Yakutia

Soyuzphoto

Soyuzphoto

Tkvarchelstroy, Transcaucasia, where a new coal field with reserves of 109,000,000 tons is being developed

the Kizelovsky beds in the Urals were estimated altogether at only 70,000,000 tons. The estimates have now been increased almost 30 times and have reached a figure of 2,000,000,000 tons. The reserves of Cheliabinsk have increased by 200 per cent, from 5 to 6 million tons to 1,300,000,000 tons. The newly discovered coal beds in Pechorsky district are estimated at many billions of tons. The total supplies of the Urals in 1917 were counted as 113,000,000 tons and at the present time have reached 4,290,000,000 tons.

In Yakutia, along the Lena river, are important deposits amounting to about 65 billion tons. The Far Eastern region is known to be rich in coal, but has been little studied geologically. About half of the entire area is thought to be coal-bearing. About 50 billion tons of coal are known to exist in the section that has been studied. Coal has recently been found in the Kola peninsula.

Along with the opening up of the entirely new districts exploration work in the old districts is also being intensified. Geological exploration work is being carried on in the northern and northwestern sections of the Donbas region. Explorations to the east of the known supplies have already increased the reserves of that region by 500,000,000 tons. The sub-Moscow Basin is 1200 times richer in general coal reserves than it was thought to be in pre-revolutionary times, and 200 times richer in its stores of industrial coal.

Oil

The oil kings of old Russia wastefully exploited the riches of the Baku and Grozny fields and carried on no exploration beyond the limits of their own holdings. It was absolutely impossible to estimate the oil reserves of old Russia since the geological study of the oil districts was carried on so inefficiently.

When the Soviet Government took the oil industry into its own hands, its first task was to liquidate the disastrous condition which it inherited. The oil fields of Baku were flooded and the oil wells of Grozny were burning away. The oil-bearing areas were completely exhausted.

In 1927 oil exploration commenced on a large scale, with new equipment, and since then the borders of the oil bearing sections have been widened each year, and the drilling has gone deeper. Now the drilling goes down to the lower strata of the oil beds and all of the gushers now come from the lower so-called productive layers. In 1931, 1,100,000 tons of oil were procured from the old wells as against the 21,200,000 tons from the wells drilled under Soviet control. By the most conservative estimates the oil reserves of the Baku district amount to at least 1,200,000,000 tons.

In addition to this the exploration of new oil districts throughout the whole Soviet Union has been developed widely. A number of new districts have been discovered in the Apsheronsky Peninsula, in the Saliansky Steppes, in Grozny and elsewhere. Extensive exploration is under way in the Ural Emba district, where formerly only one oil field was known. The Emba fields now cover 130 to 150,000 square kilometers, or including new fields now being studied, 190,000 square kilometers, an area larger than the territory of England. The reserves of Emba oil are now estimated at half a billion tons. Exploration has begun of a number of entirely new oil fields such as Baikhunas, Sagis, Novobogatinsky, and other sections bordering on the Urals.

Sovuzphoto.

An apatite miner of Khibinogorsk

Splendid results have been achieved in Tamirsky district.

Along the whole western slopes of the Urals, for thousands of kilometers from the far north to the Caspian Sea, through Kazakstan, Bashkiria, North Region, there is a wide belt bearing signs of oil. Exploration work has already established the presence of industrial oil along the river Ukhte, in Chusovsky, in the Northern Region, in the Ural Region and in Sterlitamak, in Bashkiria. Two gushers have been found this year in the latter place. And an oil industry has already been established on the Ukhte.

The work has been extended far into the east of the Soviet Union, exploration is being carried on in Yakutia, around Lake Baikal, on Sakhalin and Kamchatka. Oil is also being sought in West Siberia, Central Asia, Turkestan. In March, 1932, two powerful gushers were struck on the mountain Neftedag in Turkmenistan equal to the richest gushers of the Baku district. Oil has been struck in Georgia, the North Caucasus, the lower and central Volga regions. The reserves of oil of those districts alone where it is already being industrially exploited are 1,500,000,000 tons. If we add to this the remaining districts where exploration is being carried on, then we may consider total reserves to be about 3,000,000,000 tons, or approximately 10 per cent of the world's supply of oil.

Non-Mineral Resources

A few words about our achievements in the field of exploration of our non-mineral resources. In these first place goes to our potassium salt deposits in Solikamsk, unknown to Tsarist Russia. These reserves are estimated at 15,000,000,000 tons of potassium oxide, that is, they surpass the entire world reserves. In this field we have stopped further exploration because the known stores are sufficient not only to cover all the Union's requirements for many years, but also for the export of potassium salt to foreign markets.

Another achievement is the recent discovery in Murmansk of the Khibinsk apatite deposits, now estimated at 530,000,000 tons, which are being industrially developed mainly for fertilizers, and around which a huge chemical industry is growing up.

A powerful raw material basis has been created for the aluminum industry, a new development. Recently discovered bauxite deposits amounting to 3,737,000 tons, which are being used in the aluminum plants, and not far off is the time when the Ural Region will have its own bauxite base to develop the aluminum industry in that region.

Finally, exploration work in the last few years has disclosed 3,308,000 tons of phosporite deposits which was entirely unknown in old Russia.

Congress of Engineers and Technicians

ON November 25 the Fifth All-Union Congress of Engineers and Technicians opened in Moscow. The 600 delegates representing 900,000 engineering and technical workers organized in trade unions, came from all parts of the Soviet Union, from all the great new construction projects and giants of industry, from power stations and state farms. Many different nationalities were represented, and among them were a number of women engineers and specialists.

Shvernik, secretary of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, noted in his speech that in the past few years the social composition of the engineers and technicians had undergone a radical change. About fifty per cent of all the

present engineering and technical workers received their training in the Soviet higher educational institutions and technicums. Thirty per cent of all specialists are party members and comsomols, 60 per cent take part in socialist competition and shock brigades. Shvernik spoke of the difficulties attendant upon the work of the agricultural experts who have no precedent to turn to for solution of the problems presented by large scale mechanized agriculture, who must work in outlying districts, and make over the backward peasant into a modern collective farmer.

Shvernik discussed the failure of some factory managers to use the labor of engineers properly, the tendency to keep them sitting in offices, tied up with paper work, instead of contributing in practical ways to the efficiency of the plant.

"The local trade union groups should strengthen their link with the engineers," he urged, "and support them; keep them from being snowed under with petty routine, so that they can give real leadership. And the unions should see that they got better living conditions."

In an address made to the congress on November 26, Viacheslav Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., emphasized the growing support received by the Soviet Government from the technical intelligentsia.

"The technical intelligentsia," he declared, "hold the foremost positions in the building of the new society and on the growth of its political consciousness and scientific and technical qualifications, so necessary for the administration of industrial, agricultural and transport organizations, much — very much, depends.

"The Soviet Union has before it great problems which can never be solved without struggles and difficulties. We go forward by no smooth road—but fortunately we can already say that we have left behind most of our internal difficulties."

Molotov then discussed organization problems as applied to the village.

"A few years ago," he declared, "when we had an inconsiderable number of collectives and a small system of State farms, our organizational problems in the village were much simpler. Since that time the situation in the villages has radically changed. In the past three or four years the collectives and State farms have come to occupy the dominating position in agriculture. It is enough to say that this year eighty per cent of the spring sowing was done by the collectives and State farms and only 20 per cent by the individual peasants. This was accomplished as a result of the fact that we now have in the U.S.S.R. over 200,000 collectives and over 5,000 State and cooperative farms.

"But everyone knows that to really organize affairs in that great mass of sovhozes and collectives is an exceptionally difficult task. First of all, tens and hundreds of thousands of qualified specialists in different branches of large scale agriculture are necessary. And where to find them? There could not have been any before, unless we count the very limited number of old specialists. For the organization of large scale socialist agriculture, developing on such a wide front, we did not inherit from the old bourgeois society even the meagre but highly skilled corps of specialists which existed in prerevolutionary industry. The masses of the peasantry, moving forward toward the goal of collectivization, could not wait for us to train the administrative and technical workers necessary for mass collective construction. Hence we have had the problem of developing specialists for different branches of agriculture, in the course of development of the collective movement itself.

"The most important result of the Five-Year Plan consists in the fact that in developing our heavy industry, we have created our own base in the U.S.S.R. for technical reconstruction in all branches of the national economy. But that by no means signifies that we are satisfied with the results achieved.

Soyuzphoto.

Tractor column on a State farm in the North Caucasus

Soyuzphoto.

Diaphragm boards for steam turbines formerly imported, now produced in Leningrad

"Even in our heavy industry there are a number of unsatisfactory sections of our work, which hold back our general progress. In spite of the tremendous growth in our machine construction we have still, in many cases, not completely mastered the technique of production. Certain branches of our light industry are lagging behind, which is particularly inadmissible at this period. But no one can dispute the fact that in the main the material base for the technical re-equipment of industry itself, both heavy and light, as well as of transport, so technically backward, and finally of agriculture, with its boundless possibilities of growth, has been achieved."

After outlining the work of the many new factories and enterprises in the Soviet Union, Molotov took up the question of the still comparatively low productivity of labor which he said was largely due to the hundreds of thousands of new and inexperienced workers entering industry, to the lack of a sufficient staff of well trained industrial managers and highly trained specialists, and to defects in labor organization. The basis for improving labor productivity was present, he said, in the new machinery and technique introduced everywhere. Recent steps to improve supplies for workers, stricter measures against workers absent for insufficient reasons are already having effect, he declared. He called upon the technical intelligentsia to take more responsibility in measures to raise labor productivity. With regard to the attitude of the Soviet Government to the technical intelligentsia, Molotov declared:

"In the period of reconstruction a great deal depends on the engineering and technical groups. The number of old-time highly qualified specialists, from the point of view of our present reconstruction problems, is now inconsiderable. That means there is all the more reason for us to protect them and help them in their work. We could not get on in any branch of industry, even now, without this old highly skilled group of specialists.

"However, these old technical intelligentsia no longer occupy their former monopolistic position. The situation has essentially changed, and with each day increases the flood of new technical workers, the flood of Red specialists. The business of Socialist construction now more and more depends on the work of these new economic and technical forces.

"The ranks of engineering and technical workers have increased to a tremendous extent in the past two or three years. In no other branch of our construction is there such rapid growth as in the training of our technical workers—that is our great achievement.

"But even here we may not shut our eyes to the defects connected with this swift growth. We cannot deny the fact that along with all the positive results of the wholesale training of technical specialists there are also negative ones. Some of our specialists are graduated prematurely, some of them are turned out still scientifically and technically illiterate. We cannot ignore the fact that our economic organizations sometimes direct the training in the technical colleges and schools very poorly. In this connection I must emphasize the great political significance of the recent decree of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. providing for a decided improvement in the technical training institutions. Our engineers and technicans should take an active part in putting these measures into effect.

"And finally, with regard to the material and living conditions for engineers and technicians, it must be clear to you that our party and our government are taking a number of serious measures and displaying great concern with regard to the material and living conditions of our technical intelligentsia. You are familiar with the government decree on the improvement of housing conditions for engineers. A number of important measures are also being taken with regard to the improvement of supplies. Payment for the services of engineers and technicians is not falling in the U.S.S.R., as it is elsewhere, but is growing from year to year."

15 Years of the Soviet Academy of Sciences

Based on an article by Academician Volgin published in the Moscow Izvestia of November 7, and other material printed on the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

DURING the fifteen years that have passed since the time of the revolution, the Academy of Sciences has passed through a complicated transition from a position of "neutrality" to one of intensive work in the service of socialist construction. The Soviet Academy of Sciences now represents a complex organism having at its disposal extensive scientific research institutes and museums and a huge number of scientific workers whose activities are coordinated into a harmonious whole.

The Soviet Government, soon after its establishment, took steps to create for the academy conditions which would guarantee the fullest possible opportunities for fruitful scientific work, but with the traditions and class connections inherited from the old regime, it could hardly have been expected that the academy would adjust itself immediately to the new system.

In 1929 the academy was radically reorganized, both in its external structure and in the substance of its work. It was at that time that the old attitude that the academy should consist merely of separate laboratories for the individual academicians was finally abandoned. It was at that time, too, that the academy broke with the old tradition of "pure science," and for the first time entered seriously upon the construction of a plan for its scientific research work. The Academy of Sciences published its production plan for 1931—the first Soviet scientific institution to take such a step—and it took the most active part in the first conference on the planning of scientific work called by Gosplan, the Supreme Economic Council, the Academy of Sciences and other scientific organizations in 1931, and became the center for the application of planning to scientific research, organizing a series of conferences in different branches of scientific activity.

A single plan of scientific work for the Soviet Union does not yet exist. In helping to establish one the academy has at the same time sought direct contact with socialist construction and direct contact with the masses of workers. It has offered its services to meet the scientific needs of the separate commissariats. As a result there have been a number of contracts for special scientific work concluded between the Academy of Sciences and the People's Commissariats—notably with the Commissariats for heavy industry and for agriculture. The Academy of Sciences is accordingly carrying on a great deal of practical work within its own institutions, and has also sent out a large number of expeditions for practical research in industrial and agricultural problems. The academy has also held a number of "visiting sessions" (an entirely new departure in its work) devoted to various local problems of socialist construction.

An example of this was the Ural-Kuzbas session of the academy held last summer, when the academy members spent two weeks in the Ural and West Siberian regions, studying the problems of the Ural-Kuzbas combinat. The basic work of the session took place in Sverdlovsk and Novosibirsk, and various groups of members visited the new industrial projects at Berezniaki, Solikamsk, Magnitogorsk, Cheliabinsk, Uralmashstroy, as well as a number of old factories which have been reconstructed. The scientific workers were able to give valuable scientific advice on the spot in many instances. Still more important, they carried back with them to Leningrad a large amount of material directly connected with the development of the new industries, to work on in their laboratories.

Another special and also entirely new form of work undertaken by the academy is the organization of branches and scientific bases in the districts of especially intensive construction—in the Urals, West Siberia, Transcaucasia, Kazakstan, Tadzhikistan. Socialist construction, creating new centers of economic and cultural life, has created the need for a centralization of scientific work. Scientific institutes directly connected with the different branches of industry and agriculture are being established in those places where not even high schools existed under the Tsarist regime. Along with the need for scientific institutes of a practical character has arisen the need for the creation of theoretical bases for this work. The Academy of Sciences could not ignore this need and remain as of old within the confines of Leningrad. Hence a whole new system of scientific institutions has developed under the leadership of the academy, spread over the whole territory of the U.S.S.R.—from Khibinogorsk in the North to Tiflis and Stalinabad, from Leningrad to Vladivostok. A change in the composition of the staff of the academy has been the logical outgrowth of this new set-up. The old academy was lacking in representatives of technical disciplines. All forms of practical application of scientific thought were foreign to it. There is now a powerful technical group in the academy, including both those holding professorial chairs

Krzhizhanovsky (center) and other members of the Academy of Sciences, consulting with engineers of Uralmashstroy

in the various technical branches and a number of the directors of the larger construction projects.

Around the group of scientists of the old academy — men of such world-wide renown as Ivan Pavlov, N. I. Vavilov, V. L. Gurvich and A. F. Joffe, has grown up a group of gifted young scientists who are working with them and who are doing remarkable work in many fields.

The rapid expansion of general scientific work in the Soviet Union in the past few years may be gauged by the fact that the total number of scientific workers has increased from 20,000 in 1929 to 47,000 in 1932, and the number of aspirants (scientific students training at the institutes for professorships) from 7,000 in 1929 to 24,000 in 1932. More and more special facilities are being granted to scientists for the successful pursuit of their work. They are provided with adequate housing facilities and supplies, extra room for their scientific work, clubhouses, rest homes and sanitaria. There are many hundreds of scientific institutes connected with the various People's Commissariats, functioning in every imaginable field. Of these, 78 stem directly from the Academy of Sciences. Practically every academician is at the head of a scientific institute.

One of the most striking examples of the growth of the scientific activity of the academy may be seen by what has happened in the field of physics. In 1918 the Physico-Technical Institute was founded, consisting of eighteen workers grouped around the distinguished scientist, Joffe. Since then this one institute has developed into three—the physico-technical, still headed by Joffe, the chemical-physical, headed by Semenov, and the electro-technical, headed by Chernikov. The number of physicists has grown to about 2,000, the number of scientific works in this field has increased from fifteen to twenty to several hundred annually. Joffe has done important research work in the physics of solid bodies, and especially in the physics of crystals. Local branches are now developing from the central institutes. An important branch of the Leningrad Physics Center will be the Sverdlovsk Metal Institute, under the leadership of the young physicist, Dorfman, where a group of forty research workers will form the nucleus of an important research center in the Urals where many problems connected with the behavior of metals await solution. A new group of able physicists are working in Moscow. There is also a new physics center at Kharkov where Leipinsky and Sinelikov have been investigating the atomic nucleus and have already succeeded in transmitting lithium and hydrogen into helium.

Another example is the Institute of Applied Chemistry founded in 1919 with a staff of forty scientific workers. The staff has now increased to 400 and a system of laboratories and experimental factories has been developed. Old Russia occupied last place in Europe in botanical work, with but 385 botanists in the country. In 1920 it occupied first place, with 1,440. There are 400 aspirants in the field of botany—young scientific workers preparing at the academy for

higher scientific work. In the field of physical chemistry the Leningrad Center, headed by Prof. N. S. Kurnakov of the Academy of Sciences, has done valuable work on the theory of equilibrium in alloys and salt solutions. Academician V. L. Gurvich's discovery of mito-genetic radiation has been one of the high points in bio-physics. In 1925 Gurvich pointed out that dividing cells have the property of stimulating division in other cells nearby due to the ultra-violet rays given off by dividing cells. In bio-chemistry, academician Bakh's researches on the development of ferments have led to several important practical applications. In biology outstanding contributions have been made by Pavlov in his work on conditioned reflexes. The building of an elaborate new station for his work equipped with all the latest devices is nearing completion in Koltusky, about ten kilometers from Leningrad. The Sovnarkom assigned 2,500,000 rubles for this purpose. Pavlov is continuing his research on conditioned reflexes in higher types of animals and is also doing preliminary work in experimental genetics, higher nervous activity, laws of heredity and behavior of animals. The work of the academy in the field of geology is dealt with elsewhere in this issue. In a number of new institutes in Moscow are a group of scientists correlating their research work with the general needs of the community. Thus Rosiankov, head of the Physiological Institute of Occupational Diseases, is applying Pavlov's methods to the study of digestion of people engaged in various occupations. The Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with the Arctic Institute, the Hydrographic Administration, the Hydrological Institute and the Moscow Oceanographic Institute has undertaken systematic exploration of the Arctic in recent years, as a result of which there are no "white spots" left in the Soviet section of the map of the Arctic.

Soyuzphoto

New construction in Sverdlovsk, Capital of Ural Region

The Latest Pamir Expedition

Nikolay Krylenko recently returned to Moscow from the Pamir expedition, organized jointly by the Academy of Sciences, the Central Geological Department and the Society of Proletarian Tourism, which he headed last summer.

The purpose of the latest Pamir expedition was the geographical and geological exploration of the almost inaccessible mountain peak Garmo which dominates the whole Eastern Pamir region and the mountains of Tadzhikistan. On September 7, Krylenko and Barkhash finally succeeded in reaching the summit nearest the Garmo peak on the north side, the first and most difficult problem of the expedition.

The results of the work of the expedition in geology, geochemistry and physiography, which will undoubtedly add valuable material to the scientific research work of the Academy of Sciences, and the question of the results of exploration for useful raw materials, will be the subjects of special reports to be issued later. The purely geographical results of the study of this district, heretofore inaccessible for scientific research, were summed up by Krylenko as follows:

1. The whole western section of the Garmo peak was thoroughly explored from both a geographic and physiographic point of view. The Gando glacier system and the Finsterwalder glacier still farther to the west of Garmo were also studied.

2. The map of Eastern Pamir made by the German scientist Finsterwalder in 1928, was extended through the pass on the north shoulder of Garmo; all of the chief glaciers of the Garmo valley were studied—the Shokalsky, the Vanch-Dara, and others.

3. A new pass was discovered uniting the valley of Garmo with the valley of the Vanch river—repeating, but more thoroughly, the work of the astronomer-geologist Belayev of the Geographical Society expedition of 1916.

4. Complete theodolitic measurements were taken of the western section of the whole northern slope of the valley of Muuk-Su, until now considered impassable. All but one of the canyons of the slope were studied, including the canyons of Nortambek and the glacier Mushketov, formerly considered entirely inaccessible.

5. Both moving and still pictures were taken of the Bivach glacier, connecting the Fedchenko glacier directly with the summit of Garmo, heretofore entirely unexplored and unknown.

The results of all the sections of the expedition will be published in special editions by the Academy of Sciences. The purely practical results of the expedition in studying gold and other useful resources, will be issued in special studies and reports by the Geological Commission.

An Air Rescue

THE Red Army newspaper, "*Krasnaya Zviezda,*" in its issue of November 2, described an incident that happened during the execution of some difficult air maneuvers carried on at night over the open sea by a squadron of hydroplanes. One of the planes was in command of Bortnovsky, and a young engineer of the squadron, Victor Rusakov, was on board.

At a height of 2,000 meters, when the plane was over the open sea, the cabin and side lights of the plane were suddenly extinguished. The commander of the plane notified Rusakov that the dynamo had been torn loose from the plane and apparently fallen into the water. The duty of the engineer was to look after the equipment of the plane. He was responsible for its condition, and was obliged to react immediately to the slightest defect. Added to that, the consciousness of responsibility for the airplane, and for the lives of the crew meant immediate decision and action, because the dynamo is one of the most important factors in night flying.

Without stopping very long to think, Rusakov made his way quickly into the motor gondola of the plane, boldly hung over the side, head foremost, to see what had become of the dynamo. What had happened was that it had been torn from its fastenings, and hanging by a few cables, was dangling from the plane in such a way that if it were torn loose, it would knock against the propeller in falling. If that happened there would be an accident, unavoidable catastrophe. At night, in the open sea, far from the base, among the raging waves . . . these thoughts flashed through his head like lightning—but action was necessary.

Rusakov briefly informed the commander of the plane that the dynamo was hanging in the air. He asked that the speed be lessened, as he had decided to climb out and seize the dynamo. Easily said, but almost impossible to accomplish. Nonetheless, the decision was taken, and must be executed, because another second—and catastrophe was inevitable.

As to what happened then, we shall let Rusakov speak for himself:

"I passed a note to the commander asking him to reduce the speed still further.

"While the commander read the note by the light of a pocket flash, I instructed the technician Pshenichny to throw me the end of the cable, and with the cable I climbed into the motor gondola.

"Opening the hood of the motor, I pushed the end of the cable through and paid it out. The rush of air carried it back toward the stern. When I had paid out enough so that it would reach to the hatch, I made fast the end, crawled back, caught the loose end and fastened it to the frame of the motor. In this way I achieved something in the nature of a life-line. That would be my support if I climbed out of the plane into space. Everything was ready.

"I warned them that it would take five or ten minutes to grasp the dynamo. I called Pshenichny into the gondola and explained my problem. I climbed out of the gondola. The cold current from the propeller tore my body from the plane. My hands grew numb. Sparks from the muffler flew into my face. Clinging to the rope, I crawled along, pressing against the aluminum of the plane. I reached the dynamo, raised up on my knees, seized it, and it pulled easily away.

"With the precious load in my left hand, alternately holding on to the life-line with my right hand and teeth, I crawled back to the cabin. Alongside the hatch I caught the life-line with one hand. I was growing weaker. The terrible nervous strain was beginning to tell. I tried to pull the dynamo into the cabin, but unsuccessfully. The resistance was so great that I could not pull the dynamo with one hand. Comrade Pshenichny held me with one hand, but neither could he take the dynamo with his other. The thought flashed through my mind, 'Throw it overboard . . . into the water,' but even then it would fall into the propeller and the dynamo was valuable. It had to be pulled aboard. I shook my head, shouted to Pshenichny to take the dynamo, but he did not hear me. How could one hear with the motors roaring overhead!

"Seeing my helplessness, Pshenichny decided, better one than all. He let go of me and bending over caught hold of the dynamo in my outstretched hands. At that moment I was holding on with my teeth only. If the commander of the ship, Bortnovsky, had in all this time shaken or swerved the plane even a little I would have been overboard.

"The most important thing was accomplished. The dynamo was in the cabin. It remained for me to climb in. But danger of a catastrophe had not yet passed. If I should fall, it would mean under the propeller. Making a last effort I crawled to the hatch, but the rush of air did not even allow me to thrust my head in. I decided to climb forward. I dragged myself along the plane, raised my leg. It was thrown up by the air to the hatch and Pshenichny caught me there by the leg, almost breaking it off on the edge of the hatch. He was right: even had my leg been broken, still I was alive. . . ."

Rusakov, one of the best of the junior engineers of the squadron, was originally a worker in the Ural methyl plant. Later he graduated from aviation school and rose in a short time to the position of junior engineer. For his exploit he was awarded the order of the Red Star.

Calendar of Events, 1931-1932

1931

*October**

15—New treaty of non-aggression between U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan goes into effect.

15—Beginning of two-week All-Russian contest for better care of children.

17—Decree of Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) on organization of Committee on Reserves under STO (Council of Labor and Defense), with V. V. Kuibyshev as chairman.

21—Decree of Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee on new measures for introduction of *khozraschet* (economic accounting).

27—Soviet-Persian treaty on settlement, trade and navigation signed at Teheran.

28—Decrees of Sovnarkom and STO increasing wages and supplies for elementary school teachers.

29—Karakhan officially refutes provocative rumors regarding Soviet activities in Manchuria.

31—Protocol extending treaty on friendship and neutrality between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey signed in Angora.

November

1—Construction of Nizhni-Novgorod automobile plant completed.

2—Sokolnikov explains Soviet proposal for economic non-aggression pact to League of Nations Commission.

14—Soviet-German negotiations for further development of trade relations commence in Berlin.

16—Decree of STO on improving supplies of workers and developing Soviet trade.

20—Litvinov answers Japanese note of November 19 in connection with Manchurian situation.

20—City of Tver renamed Kalinin.

21—Decree of Sovnarkom establishing six-day week, with day of rest every sixth day, for all institutions except those serving cultural and social needs or connected with enterprises in continuous operation.

21—Litvinov proposes resumption of negotiations regarding non-aggression pact to Polish envoy.

23—Japanese-Soviet parcel post convention signed in Moscow.

27—Decree of Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee condemning bad management in grain Sovhozes.

30—Exchange of information on armaments in Narkomindel between the U.S.S.R. and Germany and the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain.

December

4—Fourth All-Union Congress of Scientific Workers opens in Moscow.

4—Exchange of information on armaments in the Narkomindel between the U.S.S.R. and France and the U.S.S.R. and Latvia.

16—Increased pay for medical workers decreed by Sovnarkom.

17—Decree of TSIK (Central Executive Committee) and Sovnarkom providing for Central Administration of Accounting for the U.S.S.R., under Gosplan.

21—Litvinov suggests conclusion of Japanese-Soviet non-aggression pact to Japanese foreign minister, Yoshizawa, on his passage through Moscow.

23—Publication in Berlin of joint official statement on results of Soviet-German economic negotiations.

25—Decree of TSIK on control figures for economic plan for 1932.

28—Decree of TSIK on unified State budget for 1932.

31—Saratov plant produces first combines.

1932

January

1—Votyak autonomous oblast renamed Udmurt autonomous oblast.

1—Nizhni-Novgorod automobile plant starts operations.

3—Ratification by TSIK of protocol prolonging Soviet-Turkish treaty on friendship and neutrality.

5—Negotiations for Finnish-Soviet non-aggression pact commenced at Helsingfors.

5—Decrees of Sovnarkom reorganizing Supreme Council of National Economy as People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry, with G. K. Ordzhonikidze as Commissar; establishing People's Commissariats for Light Industry and for the Lumber Industry, with I. E. Liubimov Commissar of former and S. S. Lobov of latter.

11—V. V. Ossinsky appointed chief of new Central Accounting Administration and assistant chairman of Gosplan.

12—Center of Lower Volga region changed from Saratov to Stalingrad.

17—International convention on combatting counterfeit money, ratified in Moscow May 16, 1931, goes into effect for the Soviet Union.

21—Soviet-Finnish non-aggression treaty signed in Helsingfors.

25—Non-aggression pact between U.S.S.R. and Poland initialed in Moscow.

30—XVII Conference of Communist Party meets in Moscow.

31—First blast furnace blown in at Magnitogorsk.

February

5—Latvian-Soviet non-aggression pact signed in Riga.

11—Litvinov addresses Disarmament Conference at Geneva, urging total and general disarmament, offering reduction scheme as first step.

20—Litvinov addresses luncheon given in Geneva by American Committee and Geneva International Club.

24—Soviet government queries Japan regarding activities in Manchuria.

25—Litvinov speaks on behalf of Soviet resolution for general and total disarmament at General Commission of Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

27—Japan answers Soviet communication and receives further inquiries.

March

1—Soviet-Persian treaty on settlement, trade and navigation ratified by Persian National Assembly.

22—Goethe centennial celebrated throughout U.S.S.R.

24—Decree reorganizing Kara-Kalpak oblast into an Autonomous Republic of the R.S.F.S.R.

25—Degree of Sovnarkom on construction of houses for specialists.

26—Geneva convention on improving lot of wounded and sick in active armies goes into effect for U.S.S.R.

28—Supplementary explanations and assurances from Japan published by Izvestia.

28—Completion of Dnieprostroy dam.

29—Moscow ball-bearing factory, "Sharikopodshipnik," starts operations.

April

1—Decree of Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee calling for improvement of livestock sovhozes.

1—First blast furnace of Kuznetsk metallurgical combinat blown in.

2—First All-Union conference to develop a written language for peoples of the North held in Leningrad.

9—First Soviet dirigible launched.

10—Soviet-Polish border agreement signed in Moscow.

12—Litvinov speaks at meeting of General Commission at Geneva on behalf of progressive proportional reduction of armaments.

15—First All-Union Conference on distribution of productive powers.

18—Fiftieth anniversary of death of Charles Darwin celebrated throughout U.S.S.R.

20—Ninth All-Union Trade Union Congress meets in Moscow.

23—Decree of Party Central Committee dissolving the Association of Proletarian Writers (VOAPP, RAPP), and forming instead the Union of Soviet Writers.

*For list of events up to October 14, 1931, see *Soviet Union Review* for November, 1930, and November, 1931.

27—Soviet-Finnish Non-Aggression Pact and supplementary convention on conciliation procedure ratified by Finnish Diet.
27—Air Codex of U.S.S.R. issued by TSIK and Sovnarkom.

May
1—First current goes out from first turbine of Dnieprostroy.
4—Treaty on non-aggression and peaceful solution of conflicts between the U.S.S.R. and Esthonia signed in Moscow.
4—New agricultural tax law issued.
6—Decree on grain procurements and trade issued by Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee.
7—All-Union conference to draw up general plan for the electrification of the U.S.S.R. opens in Moscow.
8—Announcement of extension of long term credit of $8,000,000 by the Soviet government to Turkey.
14—Volkhov aluminum combinat starts operations.
20—Decree of TSIK and Sovnarkom facilitating free sale of agricultural products by collectives and individual peasants.
20—First All-Union Conference on planning health protection and recreation.
28—Consul General of U.S.S.R. in Harbin protests against provocative attitude of White Russian police officials toward Soviet citizens.
29—Hedjas delegation arrives in Moscow.

June
1—Sovnarkom decrees immediate commencement of Volga-Moscow Canal.
11—Announcement of discovery of new oil fields in Urals.
15—New Soviet-German trade agreement signed.
16—Soviet-Esthonian conciliation convention signed in Moscow.
18—Soviet-Latvian conciliation convention signed in Riga.
19—Turkish-Soviet protocol of October 30, 1931, on prolongation of convention on friendship and neutrality, ratified by Turkish Parliament.
22—Ratification documents of Soviet-Persian convention on settlement, commerce and navigation exchanged in Moscow, and convention becomes effective.
22—Litvinov speaks at General Commission in support of American arms reduction proposal.
23—Decree of TSIK and Sovnarkom on reorganization of producers' cooperatives and increasing their production of consumers' goods.
25—Ratification by Turkey of protocol prolonging Soviet-Turkish treaty on friendship and neutrality.

July
5—First All-Union Conference on reconstruction of transport opens in Moscow.
15—Soviet delegation to disarmament conference makes public minimum program.
19—Ratification by TSIK of Finnish-Soviet non-aggression pact and conciliation convention.
21—Litvinov sums up disarmament conference proceedings at Geneva.
21—Protocol prolonging Soviet-Turkish treaty on friendship and neutrality enters into effect.
25—Signing of Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact in Moscow.
28—Latvian-Soviet non-aggression pact and convention on conciliation procedure, ratified by TSIK July 27, enter into effect.

August
6—First All-Union Amateur Art Olympiad opens in Moscow.
8—Soviet oil contract signed with important French oil interests.
9—Finnish-Soviet non-aggression pact and conciliation convention enter into force.
10—Ratification by TSIK of Soviet-Esthonian non-aggression pact and conciliation convention.
13—Soviet-Japanese fisheries agreement signed in Moscow.
18—Soviet-Esthonian non-aggression pact and conciliation convention enter into force.
25—Decision of Party Central Committee on new educational program.
25—Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, chief consulting engineer of Dnieprostroy and members of staff decorated by Soviet government.

September
1—Second International Geological Conference on study of quaternary period opens in Leningrad.
3—Decree of Sovnarkom prohibiting withdrawal of land from agricultural collectives.
6—Icebreaker "Malygin" expedition headed by Profs. Schmidt and Vize and Captain Voronin, establishes northernmost meteorological station in the world at Rudolf Land.
17—Decree on weights and measures.
19—Decree of TSIK on educational program and regime in higher schools and technicums.
20—Professor N. N. Subov's expedition returns to Murmansk after circumnavigation of Franz-Josef Land, formerly considered impossible.
23—Decree of Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee on meat procurements and seed loans.
24—Contract for sale of Soviet refined oil on Japanese market signed.
25—Nationwide celebration in honor of completion of forty years of literary and social activity by Maxim Gorky.
26—Ivan Maisky transferred from post of diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Finland to take George Sokolinkov's place as Soviet representative to England.
26—Vladimir Potemkin transferred from Greece to Italy as Soviet diplomatic representative, and replaced in Greece by Yakov Davtian.
26—Organization of Gorky Literary Institute decreed by TSIK.
27—Decree of Sovnarkom and Party Central Committee on measures for increasing crop yields.
28—Plenary session of Central Committee of Communist Party meets to consider questions of production and distribution of consumers' goods and ferrous metallurgy.
28—Meat procurements decree.
30—Litvinov addresses European Union Commission in Geneva on Stresa conference on cereal and financial problems of Central Europe.

October
1—People's Commissariat for Grain and Livestock State Farms of the U.S.S.R. established, with Tikhon Yurkin as Commissar.
1—Icebreaker "Sibiriakov" reaches Bering Straits, completing the Northeast passage from Archangel through the Arctic Ocean in one season.
7—City of Nizhni-Novgorod renamed Gorky and Nizhegorodsky Region renamed Gorky Region.
10—Formal dedication of Dnieprostroy hydroelectric station.
11—Decree of Sovnarkom establishing Soviet Academy of Art.
15—Sovnarkom decrees organization of All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine.
17—British government gives required six months' notice of abrogation of temporary trade treaty with U.S.S.R. signed in 1926.
20—Decree of TSIK reorganizing administrative and territorial divisions of the Far Eastern Region.
25—Sixth Mendeleyev Congress on theoretical and technical chemistry opens in Kharkov.

November
15—Decree of Sovnarkom and TSIK permitting discharge of workers absent without justifiable reason.
19—Decree of TSIK and Sovnarkom on single agricultural tax for individual peasants.

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

VOL. XI FBERUARY, 1933 NO. 2

◆ In This Issue ◆

STALIN ON PIATILETKA

THE PLAN FOR 1933

WORK IN THE VILLAGE

ADDRESS OF MOLOTOV

JAPANESE-SOVIET PARLEYS

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Resolution on First Piatiletka and the Plan for 1933

A summary of the resolution of the joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party, on the basis of the reports of Stalin, Molotov and Kuibyshev, adopted January 10, 1933. The resolution was published in the Moscow Izvestia of January 13.

I
RESULTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

As a result of the steady advance in the process of industrialization, the working class of the U.S.S.R. has successfully fulfilled the fundamental task of the five-year plan, the task of creating an advanced technical base of its own for the socialist reconstruction of the whole of national economy.

The Growing Industrial Development of the U.S.S.R.

During the period of the first five-year plan the Soviet Union has created an industrial base of its own for the reconstruction of industry, transport and agriculture.

Industrial giants of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy have been constructed, new giant power stations, new chemical plants. Machine construction has developed on a large scale. Many huge new plants are in operation, producing tractors, complicated agricultural machinery of all kinds, automobiles and trucks, locomotives and railroad cars, large turbines and generators, equipment for metallurgical and fuel industries, airplanes and airplane motors, complicated producing machinery and instruments.

All in all, the machine construction industry has increased 4.5 times as compared with 1927-28 (the quota set for the last year of the piatiletka having been exceeded by 54 per cent) and 10 times as compared with pre-war.

A new mining and metallurgical base has been built, namely, the Ural-Kuzbas Combinat.

As a result:

(a) The ratio of industrial and agricultural

output has radically changed in favor of the former as the share of industry has risen from 48 per cent in 1927-28 to 70 per cent in 1932, while farm output has invariably increased, and in industry the output of producers' goods has gained preponderance, the share of heavy industry having grown from 44.5 per cent in 1927-28 to 53 per cent in 1932, which is 10 per cent higher than scheduled by the five-year plan.

(b) The volume of industrial output in 1932 increased to 334 per cent as compared with prewar and 219 per cent as compared with 1928, as against an increase projected in the five-year plan for the last year of the piatiletka to 234 per cent as compared with 1928. The five-year plan has thus carried out in the fourth year of the piatiletka (1932) to the extent of 93.7 per cent the program of the fifth year of the plan, while the fulfillment of the piatiletka in heavy industry equals 108 per cent, the fulfillment of the plan having been accompanied by an annual average increase in output of all industries of 22 per cent.

(c) Capital investment in industry during the four years and three months amounted to 23,-300,000,000 rubles as against 18,800,000,000 rubles called for by the five-year plan, which is 124 per cent of the plan. In socialized agriculture, capital investments amounted to 9,400,-000,000 rubles during the four years and three months instead of 7,200,000,000 rubles scheduled by the plan for the five years, that is, 130 per cent of the plan.

(d) Labor productivity in industry has increased 38 per cent during the four years, which is somewhat below the quota set in the five-year plan.

The Soviet Union has thus been transformed from an agrarian to an industrial country, which has strengthened the economic independence of the land, for the U.S.S.R. is now capable of producing most of its necessary equipment at its own factories.

The rapid growth of industry on the one hand and the successful prosecution of the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the other, have made it possible to provide agriculture with tractors and the most up-to-date agricultural machinery, to unite the petty individual peasant holdings into large collective holdings and to organize a wide network of State grain and livestock farms.

During the period of the five-year plan, rural economy was provided with: (a) More than 120,000 new tractors with 1,900,000 h. p.; (b) agricultural machinery to the value of 1,600,-000,000 rubles, which means more than double the machine equipment of agriculture as compared with 1928, particularly if we bear in mind the enormous increase in modern complex tractor-operated machinery.

During the last four years there have been organized 2,446 machine and tractor stations, equipped with modern implements of labor, repair shops, automobiles, etc.

During the last three years there have been organized more than 200,000 collective farms, uniting more than 60 per cent of peasant households and covering about 75 per cent of all the area cultivated by peasants.

During the same period there have been organized 5,000 State farms (for grain, livestock, and technical cultures), while the collective farms, together with the State farms, cover about 80 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

All this has resulted in:

(a) Eliminating the kulak class and tearing out the roots of capitalism in agriculture, thus insuring the victory of socialism in the village, while the collective farms have developed into strong bases of socialist construction;

(b) The solution of the historical task of switching the petty, individual, scattered peasant holdings on to the rails of socialist large-scale agriculture; the U.S.S.R. has developed from a country of small peasant holdings into a country of agriculture on the largest existing scale;

(c) Increase of area under cultivation by 21,000,000 hectares over 1927-28; while there was a certain under-fulfillment of the plan quotas for grain crops, those for the technical cultures have been considerably exceeded. In 1932, 15,000,000 hectares were under technical crops, while the five-year plan provided for 11,000,000 hectares in 1932-1933;

(d) On the basis of the progress made in agriculture the amount of marketable grain has increased considerably; instead of 700,000,000 poods of grain delivered to the government in 1927-28, of which only 10 per cent was given by collective and State farms, 1,400,000,000 poods were sold to the State in 1931-32, of which no less than 75 per cent was delivered by the State farms and collective farms.

(e) While cattle breeding as a whole continues to lag behind the quota of the plan, the socialist sector of cattle breeding has increased tenfold as compared with 1928, and has exceeded all the quotas of the five-year plan, thanks to the organization of collective farms and the increase of the stock on State livestock farms. The number of cattle in the large State farms and livestock farms alone amounted to 7,600,000 (2,100,000 in the State farms and 5,500,000 in the livestock farms) as against 332,000 in 1928. The number of pigs in the large State farms and

livestock farms alone was 3,600,000 by the end of 1932 (950,000 in the State farms and 2,600,000 in the stock farms) as against 75,000 in 1928. The number of sheep and goats in the large State farms and collective livestock farms alone was 9,900,000 by the end of 1932 (4,400,000 in the State farms and 5,600,000 in the commercial) as against 970,000 in 1928.

A miner drilling at Telbess—the iron-ore base of the Kuznetsk works.

Growth of Goods Exchange Between City and Country in the U.S.S.R. and the Development of Soviet Trade

The successes of industrialization and the growth of collective farming have strengthened the productive union between the working class and the collective farm peasantry and have finally consolidated it as the basic form of union between the city and village. This decisive factor has not been understood by the right opportunist elements in the Party. But only the hopeless "leftists" could believe that this in itself removes the question of the need for strengthening the trading form of cooperation between the city and village or could underrate the economic and political significance of the further extension of the production of consumers' goods, of the utmost increase in the amount of such goods available for the market and the development of trade for the increase of the supply of industrial goods to the working masses and collective farmers.

The absolute predominance of socialist elements in the national economy, the dislodging of the private capitalist elements from trade, and the strengthening of cooperation on a productive basis have lifted its trading form to a new, higher stage—to a stage of Soviet trade in which both in city and village the predominance of State, cooperative and collective farm trade is assured and a systematic struggle is carried on for the eradication of speculation in trade.

As a result of the five-year plan we have:

(a) An increase in the production of light industry by 87 per cent as compared with 1928;

(b) A growth of retail cooperative and State store turnover, which amounts in 1932 prices to 39,900,000,000 rubles, i. e. an increase of the goods in retail trade by 75 per cent as compared with 1928;

(c) A growth of the State and cooperative trade system by 158,000 stores and shops compared with 1929;

(d) An ever-growing development of collective farm trade and agricultural purchases on the part of the individual State and cooperative organizations.

Abolition of Unemployment and the Rising Standard of Living in the U.S.S.R.

The uninterrupted growth of industry and agriculture in the U.S.S.R. has been accompanied by two basic factors which have radically improved the material condition of the workers:

1. The abolition of unemployment and the disappearance of the sense of insecurity among the workers.

2. The joining of collective farms by practically the whole of the village poor on this basis, doing away with the division of the peasantry into propertied and propertyless and the abolition in this connection of destitution and pauperism in the village.

As a result of these fundamental gains in the material conditions of the workers and peasants, we have as a result of the first five-year plan:

(a) A growth of employment in heavy industry by 100 per cent compared with 1928.

(b) A growth of the national income, including the incomes of the workers and peasants, which has reached in 1932, 45,100,000,000 rubles, an increase of 85 per cent as compared with 1928;

(c) A growth of the average annual wages of the workers and employees in heavy industry by 67 per cent compared with 1928, which means that the five-year plan has been exceeded by 18 per cent;

(d) A growth of the social insurance fund by 292 per cent compared with 1928, 4,120,000,000 rubles in 1932 compared with 1,050,000,000

rubles in 1928, which means that the five-year plan has been exceeded by 111 per cent;

(e) An increase in socialized restaurants and kitchens, so that they now provide for over 70 per cent of the workers in the key industries, which means that the five-year plan has been exceeded six times;

(f) The adoption of the seven-hour day in industry affecting the overwhelming majority of the working class.

Extension of the Cultural Base and Growth of Technical Forces in the U.S.S.R.

The growth of the national economy and the rise of the well-being of the masses have been accompanied by a notable extension of the cultural base and rapid growth of technical personnel in the U.S.S.R.

The number of pupils in the elementary schools of the U.S.S.R. has grown from 10,000,000 in 1928 to 19,000,000 in 1932. The introduction of compulsory elementary education is being completed. Literacy among the population has grown from 67 per cent in 1930 to 90 per cent in 1932.

The number of pupils in the intermediate schools has risen from 1,600,000 in 1928 to 4,350,000 in 1932. The number of students in technicums and workers' faculties has increased from 264,000 in 1928 to 1,437,000 in 1932.

The number of students in universities and colleges has grown from 166,000 in 1928 to 500,000 in 1932.

The number of scientific and research institutes has increased from 224 in 1929 to 770 in 1932, while the number of scientific workers has been doubled.

From the First Five-Year Plan to the Second Five-Year Plan

The first five-year plan was a period devoted to new construction which was to give a new technical base for industry and consequently for the reconstruction of the entire national economy. It was also a period during which new enterprises were created in agriculture—collective and State farms—constituting a lever for the organization of the entire agriculture of the country on a socialist basis.

That is why new construction and the enthusiasm born of it characterized the first five-year plan.

But the building of new enterprises in industry as well as in agriculture was made possible primarily by the already existing old and reconstructed industrial enterprises, whose technological processes had already been mastered and whose utilization presented no particular difficulty.

For this reason the proportion in output of old and reconstructed industrial enterprises greatly predominates in the total production of the country. These plants are also responsible for the more rapid rate of industrial production which also characterized the first five-year plan.

The situation will be different during the second five-year plan. In contradistinction to the first five-year plan, the second will be mainly devoted to the complete and efficient utilization of the new industrial enterprises and to the organizational strengthening of new enterprises in agriculture—collective and State farms. These factors do not preclude but presuppose a further growth in new construction.

This means that if the second five-year plan is to bring with it far-reaching successes, the current slogan of new construction must be supplemented by the slogan of mastering the new enterprises and new technology.

The mastering of new enterprises and new technology, however, presents greater difficulties than the utilization of the old and reconstructed plants and factories, where the technological processes have already been mastered. More time is required to raise the qualifications of the workers and technicians and to gain the experience necessary for the full utilization of the new equipment and methods.

Digging the foundation of a blast furnace at Magnitogorsk.

Consequently, during the second five-year plan the leading role in industry will belong no longer

to the old enterprises but to the new, whose technological processes have yet to be mastered, which is bound to result in a somewhat slower increase in industrial output as compared with the tempo of the first five-year plan.

For this reason a slower tempo in the growth of industrial production is inevitable during the second five-year plan, at least during its first two or three years.

In this connection the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission considers that:

(a) The average yearly growth of industrial production during the second five-year plan must be calculated for an increase not of 21-22 per cent as was the case in the first five-year plan, but somewhat less—approximately 13-14 per cent.

(b) Greater efforts must be directed not toward a quantitative growth in industrial output but toward an improvement in quality and greater labor productivity in industry; not toward a further increase in seeded areas, but toward an increase in the yield and a general improvement in the work of agriculture as a whole.

II

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1933)

The results of the first five-year plan have created the fullest possibility for the further considerable development of the country's economy in 1933—the first year of the second five-year plan.

On the basis of the foregoing the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission have decided:

1. To set the industrial growth in 1933 at 16.5 per cent over 1932, of which industries entering into group "A" are marked for an increase of 21.2 per cent; group "B," 10.5 per cent.

2. To set the following obligatory tasks and production figures for the leading branches of industry:

(a) Power production, 16,300,000,000 kilowatt hours.

(b) Iron and steel production, 9,000,000 tons pig iron; 6,200,000 tons of rolled steel.

(c) Coal production, 84,000,000 tons; oil production, 24,400,000 tons.

(d) Machine building, 6,500,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27).

(e) Chemical industry, 1,839,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27).

(f) Light industry, 8,800,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27).

(g) Food industry (including People's Commissariat for Supply and the farm-purchasing committees of the Council of Labor and Defense), 7,700,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27).

(h) Lumber industry (People's Commissariat of Lumber and Forestry), 2,072,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27).

(i) Producers' Cooperatives, 7,920,000,000 rubles (in plan prices of 1932).

3. Agriculture. To set the extent of the spring sowing area for the year 1933 at 95,000,000 hectares and winter grain at 38,500,000 hectares, including:

Spring grains, 63,100,000 hectares, with an average yield of eight centners per hectare;

Cotton, 2,067,000 hectares, with an average yield of irrigated cotton of eight centners per hectare;

Beets, 1,200,000 hectares figured at an average yield of 100 centners per hectare;

Flax, 2,300,000 hectares figured at an average yield of 2.4 centners per hectare.

To increase the number of machine and tractor stations to 2,768;

To increase the number of head of cattle in State and collective cattle farms as follows:

Steers (State farms), 2,550,000 head; livestock farms, up to 6,000,000 head;

Cows (State farms), up to 1,162,000 head; livestock farms, up to 2,500,000 head;

Hogs (State farms), up to 1,150,000 head; livestock farms up to 3,750,000 head;

Sheep (State farms), up to 4,840,000 head; livestock farms, up to 6,205,000 head.

4. To set the 1933 railroad freight turnover at 300,000,000 tons and the daily loadings at 58,000 cars.

5. Corresponding to the extent of the given production tasks in industry, transport and agriculture to set the total capital investments in national economy for the year 1933 at the sum of 18,000,000,000 rubles, of which:

(a) Industry will receive 10,109,000,000 rubles (as against 9,164,000,000 rubles last year), of which Group A will receive 8,527,000,000 rubles and Group B will receive 1,582,000,000 rubles.

(b) Transport, 2,976,000,000 rubles.

(c) Agriculture, 2,148,000,000 rubles.

6. The Plenum considers one of the most important problems of 1933 the mechanization of tasks requiring great labor expenditure, i. e., commercial crops in agriculture, coal, lumber, peat, loading and unloading work, etc. The Plenum proposes to the Council of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and to all party and Soviet organizations to keep constant surveillance over the carrying out of the plan as regards mechanization and the manufacture of equipment for same.

7. In connection with the labor productivity and the lowering of costs, the following increases are set for 1933 over 1932:

(a) Growth of labor productivity in industry by 14 per cent;

(b) Lowering of costs in industry by 3.9 per cent;

(c) Lowering of costs in construction by 15 per cent.

Proper attention must be paid the very important task of improving quality, the failure to do which checks the accumulation of capital and burdens the government budget. During the past year the question of quality was given scant attention in certain industries where quality of output did not even come up to the preceding year's level. The Plenum proposes to all administrative, Party and trade union bodies to concentrate their main attention in 1933 on the complete fulfillment of the tasks relative to increasing labor productivity and lowering of costs, the realization of which will receive primary consideration when the check-up is made of the activities of each enterprise and trust.

8. Aiming at further improvement in the material and cultural level of the workers, the Plenum resolves:

(a) To set the extent of capital investment in municipal improvements at 696,000,000 rubles; and in housing construction at 1,472,000,000 rubles.

(b) To set the total expenditure for the social and cultural needs of the workers (social deductions from profits for cultural and housing construction, for factory schools, etc.) at 11,616,000,000 rubles, representing a 19.8 per cent increase compared with the expenditure for these purposes in 1932.

(c) To set the growth in wages during 1933 in the entire economy of the country at 6.8 per cent in relation to the average level of wages in 1932, and in industry at 9 per cent.

9. To set the government budget as follows: Income at 34,689,000,000 rubles, and expenditures at 33,169,000,000 rubles with an excess in income over expenditure amounting to 1,520,000,000 rubles. All Party, Soviet and administrative bodies are instructed to insure:

(a) Strict adherence to budgetary and credit discipline, in income as well as in expenditure;

(b) Firm application of cost accounting and contract discipline between economic organizations;

(c) No construction work whatsoever outside of the plan is to be permitted.

The plan for 1933, the first year of the second five-year plan, is a further step in the building of a socialist society in the U.S.S.R.

The Plenum expresses the fullest confidence in the fulfillment of the 1933 plan. Further determined effort in improving labor organization in government enterprises and in collective farms, a real mastering of production processes, the creation of socialist discipline in collective farms, the strengthening of the leading elements in the collective farms in the fight against kulak influence wherever it appears, the further growth of socialist competition and shock brigading—these are the vital factors in carrying out the plan for 1933.

Stalin on Results of Five-Year Plan

Report by Joseph Stalin to the combined plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. on January 7, 1933. The following sections of the report are translated from the Moscow "Izvestia" of January 10. The first section of the speech, which is devoted largely to quotations about the plan from foreign sources, is omitted. The remainder of the report is here published as fully as space permits.

THE CHIEF PROBLEM OF THE PIATILETKA

WE shall now take up the question of the substance of the five-year plan (piatiletka) itself.

What is the five-year plan?

In what does its basic task consist?

The chief task of the five-year plan was to transform the U.S.S.R. from a weak agrarian country, dependent on the caprices of the capitalist countries, into a powerful industrial nation, entirely self-sufficient and independent of the caprices of world capitalism.

The main task of the five-year plan was the transformation of the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country, the final elimination of capitalist elements, the extension of the front of the socialist forms of economy and the creation of an economic basis for the elimination of classes in the U.S.S.R., for the building of a socialist society.

The chief task of the five-year plan was the creation in our country of an industry which would be able to re-equip and reorganize not only industry as a whole, but transport and agriculture, on the basis of socialism.

The chief task of the five-year plan was to transform individual, split-up agriculture into large-scale collective economy, thus guaranteeing the economic basis of socialism in the village and eliminating any possibility of restoring capitalism to the U.S.S.R.

Finally, the task of the five-year plan was to establish in the country all the necessary technical and economic prerequisites for the maximum increase of the defensive forces of the country, making it possible to check decisively each and every attempt at military intervention from the outside, each and every attempt at military attack from the outside.

By what circumstances was this basic task of the piatiletka dictated, and on what was it based?

The necessity of liquidating the technical-economic backwardness of the Soviet Union, dooming it to an unenviable existence, the necessity of creating in the country conditions which would make it possible not only to catch up with, but in time even to surpass the foremost capitalist countries in technical and economic respects.

Consideration of the fact that the Soviet government could not hold out for long on the basis of a backward industry, and that only modern large-scale industry, not only not inferior to that of capitalist countries, but capable in time of exceeding it—could serve as a real and trustworthy foundation for the Soviet government.

Consideration of the fact that the Soviet government could not for long be based on two contrasting foundations; on large-scale socialist industry which *eliminates* capitalist elements and on petty individual peasant economy which *generates* capitalist elements.

Consideration of the fact that just so long as a foundation of large-scale production has not been placed under our petty peasant economy, just so long as the small peasant farms have not been combined into large-scale collective enterprises—the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. remains the most actual of all possible dangers.

That is the way matters stand in connection with the basic task of the five-year plan.

But it is impossible to commence the realization of such a gigantic plan in a scattered way, with whatever materials happen to be at hand. In order to realize such a plan it is necessary, first of all, to find the main link of the plan, because only by finding and grasping the main link is it possible to carry along all the other links of the plan.

The basic link of the five-year plan was heavy industry, and its core — machine construction. Because only on the basis of heavy industry is it possible to reconstruct and stand on their feet not only industry as a whole, but transport and agriculture. So the realization of the five-year plan had to begin there. Thus the restoration of heavy industry had to be made the basis of carrying out the five-year plan.

But the restoration and development of heavy industry, especially in such a backward and poor country as was our country at the beginning of the piatiletka, is a most difficult matter, because heavy industry demands, as is well known, huge financial outlays and the presence of a certain minimum of experienced technical forces, without which, generally speaking, the restoration of heavy industry would be impossible. Did the Party realize this, and give itself an accounting on this matter? Yes, the Party knew. And not only did it know, but made statements to this effect for all to hear. The Party knew how heavy industry was built up in England, Germany, America. It knew that heavy industry was developed in these countries either on the basis of large loans, or by the exploitation of other countries, or by both methods simultaneously. The Party knew that these means were closed to our country. On what, then, did it count? It counted on the internal forces of our own country. It counted on the fact that, having a Soviet government and resting on nationalized land, industry, transport, banks and trade—we could carry through the strictest possible regime of economy in order to accumulate sufficient means necessary for the restoration and development of heavy industry. The Party stated directly that this would require grave sacrifices and that we should have to undertake these sacrifices openly and consciously if we wished to achieve our aim. The Party counted on achieving this aim with the internal forces of our country without enslaving credits and loans from outside.

To change over from the impoverished muzhik's horse to that of large-scale machine industry—that was the aim pursued by the Party in working out the five-year plan and putting it into effect.

To establish the strictest possible regime of economy and to accumulate the funds necessary to finance the industrialization of our country—that is the course that must be taken for the restoration of heavy industry and the realization of the five-year plan.

More than that, the conviction of the Party that the piatiletka could be fulfilled and its faith in the strength of the working class were sufficiently strong for the Party to set itself the task of accomplishing this difficult problem not in five years, as required by the plan—but in four years—four years and three months, if we add the special quarter.

Facts showed that without this boldness and faith in the strength of the working class the Party could never have achieved the victory of which we are now rightly proud.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN INDUSTRY

Let us now take up the question of the results of carrying out the five-year plan.

Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party.

What are the results of the five-year plan in four years in the field of industry?

Have we achieved victories in this field?

Yes, we have. And not only that, but we have accomplished more than we expected ourselves, more than the most hot-headed members of our party could have expected. Even our enemies now do not deny that. All the more impossible is it for our friends to deny it.

We had no ferrous metallurgy, the basis for the industrialization of the country. Now we have.

We had no tractor industry. Now we have.

We had no automobile industry. Now we have.

We had no lathe-construction industry. Now we have.

We had no appreciable or modern chemical industry. Now we have.

We had no real and important industry for the manufacture of modern agricultural machinery. Now we have.

We had no aviation industry. Now we have.

In the production of electrical power we stood last. Now we have moved forward to one of the first places.

In the sphere of producing oil products and coal we stood last. Now we have moved forward to one of the first places.

We had only one single coal and metallurgical base—in the Ukraine. We have not only improved that base, but we have created another new coal and metallurgical base in the East—the pride of our country.

We had only a single base for the textile industry—in the North of our country. In the near future we shall have two new bases for the textile industry—in Central Asia and Eastern Siberia.

We have not only created these new huge branches of industry, but we have created them on such a scale and of such proportions that they leave European industries far behind.

All this has led to the final and irrevocable elimination of capitalist elements from industry and the establishment of socialist industry as the only form of industry in the U.S.S.R.

All this has led to the transformation of our country from an agrarian to an industrial country, since the share of industrial production in relation to agricultural production has increased from 48 per cent at the beginning of the piatiletka (1928) to 70 per cent at the end of the fourth year of the piatiletka (1932).

All this has led us to the point where at the end of the fourth year of the piatiletka we have been able to complete our program of general industrial production, estimated for five years, by 93.7 per cent, increasing the volume of industrial production more than three times in comparison with the pre-war level, and more than double the level of 1928. As regards the production program for heavy industry, we have fulfilled the five-year plan by 108 per cent. True, we failed to achieve our general program for the piatiletka by six per cent. But this is explained by the fact that in view of the refusal of neighboring countries to sign non-aggression pacts with us, and the complications in the Far East, we were forced to shift a number of factories hastily to the production of modern implements of warfare, with the aim of strengthening our defenses. And that process, in view of the necessity of a certain period of preparation, led to the closing down of production by those factories for four months, which could not but reflect on the fulfillment of the general production program of the five-year plan for 1932. The result of this operation was that we managed to fill up completely the gaps in the defenses of our country. This could not but react unfavorably on the fulfillment of our production program for the five-year plan. There can be no doubt that had it not been for this circumstance we not only should have fulfilled, but we should have over-fulfilled the figures set for the five-year plan.

Finally, the result of all this was that the Soviet Union was transformed from a country weak and unprepared for defense to a country of powerful defensive forces, a country ready for any eventuality, a country ready for mass

production of all modern defensive weapons and to equip its army with them in case of attack from outside.

Such, in general, are the results of the five-year plan in four years in the field of industry.

We are told that this is all very well—that many new plants have been built, and the foundations of industrialization laid. But that it would have been very much better to have relinquished the policy of industrialization, the policy of increasing the output of the means of production, or at least to have postponed this process in order in the meantime to produce more cloth, shoes, clothing and other objects of general consumption. The production of objects of general consumption has not been adequate for the requirements, and that creates certain difficulties.

But in that case we must have a clear understanding as to whither the postponement of our policy of industrialization would lead us. Certainly we might have used fifty per cent of the billion and a half rubles in gold spent during that period for the equipment of heavy industry, for importing cotton, leather, wool, rubber, etc. Then we should have had more cloth, shoes, clothing. But in that case we should not have had by this time either an automobile or a tractor industry, we should have had no ferrous metallurgy worth mentioning, there would have been no metal for the production of our machinery—and we should have been unarmed in a capitalist world armed according to the most modern technique. We should have been deprived of the possibility of supplying agriculture with tractors and agricultural machinery—and so, we should have been without bread. We should have deprived ourselves of the possibility of vanquishing the capitalist elements in the country—and hence we should have immeasurably increased the chances for a restoration of capitalism. We should then have been deprived of all the modern means of defense, without which no country is able to maintain an independent existence, without which the country would be transformed into an object of military operations for outside enemies. Our situation would then have been more or else analogous to the present situation of China, which has no heavy industry of its own, which has no military industry of its own, and which is picked on by everyone who is not too lazy.

In a word, we should have had, in that case, intervention. Instead of non-aggression pacts, we should have had war—a war dangerous and fatal, a war bloody and unequal, because in that war we should have been practically unarmed before our enemies, equipped with all the modern means of attack. That, comrades, is how matters stand.

It is clear that no self-respecting government, no self-respecting Party could have maintained such a ruinous point of view.

And just because the Party repudiated any such anti-revolutionary policy was it able to achieve decisive victories in fulfilling the five-year plan in the sphere of industry. In carrying out the five-year plan and organizing victory in the sphere of industrial production the Party pursued the policy of the most rapid possible tempo of industrial development.

Was the Party correct in pursuing the policy of most rapid possible tempo? Yes, it was unquestionably correct.

It is impossible not to drive forward a country which is a hundred years behind the times and which is threatened by mortal danger because of her backwardness. Only thus was it possible to give the country the opportunity of speedily re-equipping itself on the basis of new technique and finally to enter upon a broad road of development.

But were the actual possibilities present for the Party to carry out its policy of the most rapid possible tempo? Yes, they were. The possibilities were present not only because the Party was able in time to swing the whole country into the spirit of swift forward progress, but first of all, because it was able to base its extensive new construction on old or reconstructed shops, plants and factories which had already been mastered by the workers and the engineering and technical personnel, and which therefore paved the way for a more rapid rate of development.

May it be said that in the second five-year plan we should carry out precisely the same policy of the most rapid possible tempo? No, that may not be said.

In the first place, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the piatiletka we have already in the main fulfilled its chief task—the establishing of a base of new modern technique for industry, transport and agriculture. Is it now worth while to further urge and drive the country forward? Clearly there is no necessity for that now.

In the second place, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the piatiletka we have already succeeded in raising the defensive forces of the country to the necessary level. Is it, on that basis, worth while to urge and drive the country further forward? Clearly there is not now the necessity for that.

Finally, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the piatiletka we have succeeded in building tens and hundreds of large new plants and *combinats*,* of new and complex technique. That means that in industrial production in the

*A combination of several related industrial processes, or a combination of unrelated industrial processes joined by a common power source.

second piatiletka the chief role will be played not by the old plants, the technique of which has already been mastered, as was the case in the period of the first piatiletka, but by the new plants, the technique of which has not yet been mastered and which must be mastered. But the mastery of new enterprises and new technique presents far greater difficulties than the utilization of old or reconstructed plants and factories. More time is required to raise the skill of the workers and the engineering and technical personnel and to establish new habits for the fullest possible application of new technique. Is it therefore not quite clear, that even if we wished, we could not in the period of the second piatiletka, especially during its first two or three years, continue a policy of the most rapid possible rate of development?

That is why I believe that for the second piatiletka we must undertake a less rapid rate of industrial production. In the period of the first piatiletka the average annual growth of industrial production amounted to 22 per cent. I believe that we should establish an average annual rate of 13-14 per cent growth of industrial production for the second piatiletka.

In the first piatiletka we were able to organize enthusiasm for new construction and achieved decided successes. That is all to the good. But now that is insufficient. We must now add to spirit and enthusiasm, the mastering of the new plants and the new technique, we must apply ourselves seriously to raising the productivity of labor and cutting down costs. That is the main thing now. Because only on that basis can we achieve, let us say, in the second half of the second piatiletka, any new and powerful forward movement in the sphere of construction and in the growth of industrial production.

Finally, a few words about the actual rates and percentages of the annual growth of production. Our industralists have occupied themselves little with this matter and yet it is a very interesting question. Let us take, for instance, the year 1925, during the restoration period. The annual growth of production was then 66 per cent. The gross production of industry amounted to 7,700,000,000 rubles. Sixty-six per cent growth in absolute figures amounted at that time to over 3,000,000,000 rubles. Thus every per cent of growth was then equal to 43,000,000 rubles. Let us now take 1928. In 1928 we had an increase of 26 per cent, that is, a little more than a third, as regards per cent, of the increase in 1926. The gross production of industry then amounted to 15,500,000,000 rubles. The entire increase for the year amounted in absolute figures to 3,280,000,000 rubles. Thus each per cent of growth then equaled 120,000,000 rubles; that is to say, a sum almost three times larger than in 1925, when we had a 66 per cent increase. Let us take finally 1931, when we had an increase of 22 per cent, or one-third of the percentage increase of 1925. The gross production of industry then amounted to 30,800,000,000 rubles. The entire growth in absolute figures was over 5,600,000,000 rubles. Thus each per cent of growth amounted to 250,000,000 rubles or six times more than in 1925, when we had a 66 per cent increase and twice as much as in 1928, when we had over 26 per cent increase.

And what does all this mean? It means that in studying the rate of increase in production, we cannot limit ourselves to considering the percentage increase alone—we must know in addition what is concealed by each per cent of increase and the absolute amount of the annual increase in production. For example, we provide for a 16 per cent increase in 1933, i. e., only one-fourth of that of 1925. But that does not mean that the growth of production in that year will also be only a fourth of that of 1925. The growth of production in 1925 amounted in absolute figures to over 3,000,000,000 and each per cent of growth meant 43,000,000 rubles. There is no reason to doubt that the increase of production in 1933 in absolute figures under conditions of a 16 per cent increase will amount to less than 5,000,000,000 rubles, i. e., almost double that of 1925, and each percentage of growth will amount to at least 320-340 million rubles, i. e., will amount to at least seven times more than each percentage of growth in 1925.

That is how matters stand, if we consider concretely the question of rates and percentages of growth.

That is how matters stand as regards the results of the five-year plan in four years, in the sphere of industry.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN AGRICULTURE

Let us now take up the question of the results of the five-year plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture.

The five-year plan in agriculture is the five-year plan of collectivization. On what did the Party base its policy of collectivization?

The Party based its policy on the fact that in order to solidify the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build a socialist society, not only was industrialization necessary, but the transition from petty individual peasant production to large-scale collective agriculture supplied with tractors and modern agricultural machinery, as the only stable foundation for the Soviet government in the village.

The Party based its policy on the fact that without collectivization it would be impossible to build an economic foundation for socialism and it would be impossible to rescue the many millions of laboring peasantry from pauperism.

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A new factory for knitted fabrics in Kiev. The looms are of Soviet manufacture.

Thus the problem of the piatiletka in agriculture was to unite the scattered and small individual peasant farms, deprived of any possibility of using tractors and agricultural machinery — into large collective enterprises equipped with all the modern implements of highly developed agriculture and to cover the free land with model state farms, sovhozes.

The problem of the piatiletka in agriculture was to transform the U.S.S.R. from a backward country of petty peasantry into a country of large-scale agriculture organized on a basis of collective labor and producing the greatest possible commercial surplus.

What did the Party achieve in carrying out the five-year plan in four in agriculture? Did it succeed in this program or suffer defeat?

The Party achieved this: in the course of three years or so it was able to organize more than 200,000 collective farms and about 5,000 grain and livestock sovhozes, and at the same time to extend the seeded area by 21,000,000 hectares in four years.

The Party achieved this: that the collectives now unite over 60 per cent of the peasant farms and over 70 per cent of the entire peasant seeded area, which means that the five-year plan in this field was exceeded three times.

The Party achieved this: that in place of the 500-600 million poods of commercial grain purchased during the period when individual peasant farms predominated, it is now possible to purchase from 1,200,000,000 to 1,400,000,000 poods of grain annually.

The Party achieved this: that the kulaks as a class have been disbanded, although not entirely wiped out; that the working peasantry has been liberated from the kulak yoke and exploitation and that a solid economic base has been laid in the village, a base of collective farming.

The Party has achieved this: that the U.S.S.R. has been reorganized from a country of petty peasant economy into a country of the greatest large-scale agriculture in the world.

These in general are the results of the five-year plan in four in the sphere of agriculture.

It is said that the collectives and sovhozes are not entirely profitable; that they consume a mass of funds; that there is no reason to support such enterprises; that it would be more expedient to dissolve them, maintaining only the profitable ones. But only those people who are not thinking in terms of the whole national economy can talk like this. More than half of the textile enterprises were unprofitable a few years ago. One section of our comrades proposed then that we shut down these enterprises. What would have happened if we had listened to them? We should have been guilty of a great crime against the country, and the working class, because we should have thus destroyed our growing industry. And what did we do in that case? We waited over a year and finally reached a point where our entire textile industry became profitable. And how about our automobile plant in Gorky (Nizhni-Novgorod)? That is also unprofitable for the time being. Shall we close that down? Or our ferrous metallurgy, which is also unprofitable for the time being? Shall we close that down, comrades? If we consider the question of profitability in this way, then we should develop in general only a few branches of industry giving the greatest profit, for instance, our confectionery industry, our flour-milling industry, perfumery, knitted fabrics, children's playthings, and so on. To be sure, I am not against these branches of industry. On the contrary, they must be developed since they are also necessary for the population. But in the first place they cannot be developed without equipment and fuel which heavy industry gives them. In the second place industrialization cannot be based on them; that is

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Blast furnace No. 6, at the Rykov Metallurgical Plant, Donetz Basin.

the point, comrades. We cannot look upon the question of profitability from a purely mercenary point of view, from a point of view of the given moment. The question of profit must be considered from the point of view of the general national economy over a period of years. Only such a point of view can be called really Leninist, really Marxist. And this point of view must be held not only with regard to industry, but to a still greater degree with regard to collectives and sovhozes. Consider for a moment: in three years we created over 200,000 collectives and about 5,000 sovhozes, i. e., we created entirely new large-scale enterprises having just as much importance to agriculture as plants and factories for industry. Name me a country which is able to create in three years not 205,000 new large enterprises, but even 25,000 enterprises. You cannot name one because there is not, and never has been, such a country. But we have created 205,000 enterprises in agriculture. And yet there are, it seems, in the world, people who demand that these enterprises should be immediately profitable and that if they do not become profitable at once then they should be dissolved and destroyed.

In speaking of the unprofitability of collectives and sovhozes, I do not wish to say that they are all unprofitable. Nothing of the kind! Everyone knows that there are already a large number of highly profitable collectives and state farms. We already have thousands of collectives and dozens of state farms which are already profitable. The collectives and state farms are certainly not everywhere the same. Among them are old ones and new ones. They are still weak, not yet fully formed economic organisms. They are going through in their organization approximately the same period which our plants and factories went through in 1920 and 1921. It is understandable that the majority of them are not yet profitable. But that they will become profitable in the course of two or three years just as our factories and plants became profitable after 1921, there cannot be the slightest doubt. To refuse them help and support on the basis that they are not all profitable at the present time would be the greatest crime against the working class and the peasantry.

In carrying out the piatiletka in agriculture the Party introduced collectivization at a rapid rate. Was the Party correct in this policy? Yes, it was unquestionably correct, although it was not done without certain excesses. In pursuing the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class and stamping out the kulak nests, the Party could not stop at half-way measures. It had to carry the matter through to the end. That is the first point. In the second place, having at its disposal tractors and agricultural machinery on one hand and enjoying the absence of private ownership of land (nationalization of the land!) on the other, the Party had every possibility for accelerating the collectivization of agriculture and it actually achieved the greatest possible successes in this sphere because it surpassed the program of the piatiletka for collectivization three times.

Does that mean that we must pursue a policy of an accelerated rate of collectivization during the second piatiletka as well? No, it does not mean that. The point is that we have already completed in the main the collectivization of the chief districts of the U.S.S.R. Thus we have done more in this field than could have been expected. And not only have we in the main completed the collectivization process, but collectives have become the most acceptable form of economy in the consciousness of the great majority of the peasantry. That is a great victory, comrades. The question is no longer as to whether collectives shall or shall not exist. That question has already been decided affirmatively. Collectives have been consolidated and the way to the old individual peasant economy has been closed for good. The task now consists in the organizational strengthening of the collectives.

Soyuzphoto.

Front view of the Lenin Library under construction in Moscow.

That is the way matters stand with the five-year plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

I have spoken above of the successes in the field of industry and agriculture. What have been the results of these successes from the point of view of improving the material conditions of the workers and peasants? In what consist the basic results of our successes in industry and agriculture from the point of view

of the radical improvement of the material condition of the workers?

They consist first of all in the elimination of unemployment and of insecurity as regards tomorrow among the workers.

They consist in the second place in the inclusion of practically all the poor peasantry in collective construction, in undermining on this basis the process of division of the peasantry into kulaks and poor peasants and the extermination in this connection of pauperism in the village.

Here in the U.S.S.R. the workers have long since forgotten about unemployment. Three years ago we had about 1,500,000 unemployed. It is already two years since we have done away with unemployment. And our workers have been able in that time to forget unemployment, its burdens and its terrors. . . . That is one of the chief victories of the five-year plan in four years.

The same thing can be said about the peasantry. They have also forgotten about the divisions of the peasants into kulaks and poor peasants, about the exploitation of the poor peasants by the kulaks. They have forgotten the ruined farms, due to which each year hundreds of thousands and millions of poor peasants were left without means of subsistence. Three or four years ago the poor element among our peasantry constituted no less than 30 per cent of the entire population. There were more than ten millions of them and still earlier, before the October Revolution, the poor peasants constituted no less than 60 per cent of the entire peasantry. What are the poor peasants? These are people who usually either lack sufficient seeds, or horses, or implements, or all of these things together, to keep their farms going. Poor peasants are people who have lived on the verge of hunger and who as a rule are in bondage to the kulaks and in the old times to both kulaks and landlords. Not so very long ago about a million and a half and sometimes two million poor peasants went every year to find work in the south—in the North Caucasus or the Ukraine—as hired hands for the kulaks and formerly for the kulaks and landlords. Still more of them thronged each year to the factory gates, filling up the ranks of the unemployed, and not only were the poor peasantry in this unenviable position. A good half of the middle peasants were in a condition of the same need and deprivation as the poor peasants. The peasantry have been able to forget all this.

And what has the five-year plan in four years given to the poor peasants and to the lower ranks of the middle peasantry? It has dispersed and broken up the kulaks as a class, liberating the poor peasants and a good half of the middle peasants from the kulak yoke. It has attracted them into the collectives and created a sound position for them. By this process it has eliminated the process of dividing the peasantry into exploiting kulaks and exploited poor peasants. It has raised the poor peasants and the lower ranks of the middle peasants to a secure position, thereby bringing to an end the process of pauperizing the peasantry. We now have no longer a situation in which millions of peasants tear themselves annually from their homes and go to hunt for work in far regions. In order now to attract peasants to work anywhere outside of their own collective it is necessary to sign a contract with a collective, and further to guarantee railroad fare to the collective worker. There is now no longer a situation in which hundreds of thousands and millions of peasantry leave the land and beat at the doors of factories and plants. This was the case, but it has long ago ceased. Now the peasants are secure, collective members, having at their disposal tractors, agricultural machinery, seeds, wage funds, etc.

Certainly we have still by no means reached a point where we are able to meet completely the requirements of the workers and peasants. Nor shall we be able to achieve this in the next few years, but we have certainly achieved a point where the material condition of the workers and peasants improves from year to year.

Such are the results of the piatiletka in the sphere of improving the material conditions of the workers of the U.S.S.R.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR IN TRADE BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

Let us now pass on to the question of the results of the five-year plan in four in the exchange of goods between the city and the village.

The tremendous growth of production in industry and agriculture, the increase of commercial surplus, both in industry and agriculture, and finally the increase in the demands of the workers and peasants could not but lead and actually have led to a revival and extension of the goods exchanged between town and country. The productive *smychka* (union) between city and country is the chief form of *smychka*, but a productive *smychka* alone is not enough. It must be supplemented by a goods *smychka* in order that the union between town and country should become solid and unbreakable. This can be achieved only through the development of Soviet trade. It would be incorrect to consider that Soviet trade should be developed through one channel only, for example, through the cooperatives. In order to develop Soviet trade it is necessary to make use of all channels—the cooperatives, the State stores and trade organizations of the collectives. Some comrades consider that the development of Soviet trade,

especially the development of collective trade, is a return to the first stage of the NEP. (New Economic Policy of 1921.—Ed.) That is entirely untrue.

Between Soviet trade, including collective trade, and the trade of the first stage of NEP there is a radical difference. In the first stage of the NEP we permitted a revival of capitalism, we permitted private trading, we permitted the operations of private traders, of capitalists, of speculators. That was more or less free trade limited only by the regulating role of the State. At that time the private capitalist sector occupied quite a large place in the trade turnover of the country. I am not speaking of the fact that at that time there did not exist such a developed industry as now, nor collectives and State farms working according to regular plan and turning over for the disposal of the government tremendous reserves of agricultural products and manfactured goods.

Can it be said that we are now in that position? Certainly that cannot be said.

In the first place, Soviet trade cannot be put in the same category with trade in the first period of the NEP, even though it was regulated by the government at that time. Trade during the first stage of the NEP permitted the revival of capitalism and the functioning of the private capitalist sector of the trade turnover, while Soviet trade is based on the denial of both. What is Soviet trade? Soviet trade is trade without capitalists—great or small, trade without speculators, great or small. It is a special kind of trade which has never before been known in history, and which is practiced only by us, the Bolsheviki, under conditions of Soviet development.

In the second place, we now have a well developed State industry and a whole system of collectives and State farms guaranteeing to the government huge reserves of agricultural and industrial goods for the turnover of Soviet trade. This was not true and could not have been true of the first stages of the NEP.

In the third place, we have succeeded in the recent period in driving out private traders, merchants, middlemen of all kinds, from the trade system. Certainly that does not preclude the possibility of the reappearance, according to the law of atavism, of private traders and speculators, making use of the most convenient field for their activities—namely, collective trade. Furthermore, the collective members themselves have not been entirely averse to dabbling in speculation, which, of course, is no honor to them. But over against these unhealthy manifestations we have the recently published law of the Soviet government on measures for suppressing speculation and punishing speculators. You know, of course, that that law is not characterized by any special leniency. You understand, of course, that there was not and could not have been such a law under conditions of the first period of the NEP.

You see, that to speak of a return to the trade of the first period of the NEP, after all this, means to understand nothing, nothing whatever of our Soviet economics.

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A Sovhoz harvest worker

That is the way matters stand with questions connected with the development of Soviet trade.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN THE STRUGGLE WITH THE REMNANTS OF THE HOSTILE CLASSES

As a result of carrying out the piatiletka in the sphere of industry, agriculture and trade we have consolidated the principle of socialism in all spheres of the national economy and driven out the capitalist elements.

The basis of our structure is social property, just as the basis of capitalism is private property. To permit the stealing and plundering of social property—whether it be the property of the government, of the cooperatives, or of collectives—and to pass by such counter-revolutionary outrages means to assist in the disruption of the Soviet structure which rests on the foundation of social property. It was this consideration that actuated our government in its recently published decree on the preservation of social property. This is the basis of revolutionary law at the present moment. And the obligation to carry it into effect in the strictest possible way is the first duty of every communist, every worker and collective member.

It is said that the revolutionary law of our time in no way differs from the revolutionary law of the first period of the NEP, that the revo-

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New apartments for government workers in Moscow.

lutionary law of our time is a return to the revolutionary law of the first period of the NEP. That is entirely untrue. Revolutionary law of the first period of the NEP directed its edge chiefly against the extremes of military communism, against "illegal" confiscation and exactions. It guaranteed to the private owners, to the capitalists, preservation of their property on condition that they strictly observe Soviet law. It is quite a different case with the revolutionary law of our time. The edge of the revolutionary law of our time is turned against thieves and damagers, against hooligans and the plunderers of social property. The chief concern of revolutionary law of our time consists in the preservation of social property and not in anything else.

That is why the struggle for the protection of social property, a struggle to be carried on with all means put into our hands by the laws of the Soviet government, is one of the fundamental tasks of the Party.

As a result of realizing the piatiletka we have managed to drive out the last remnants of the hostile classes from their positions in production, we have routed the kulak class and prepared the ground for its complete dissolution.

It cannot be said that these former people can by their damaging activities and thieving machinations in any way change the present position of the U.S.S.R. They are too weak and powerless to resist the measures of the Soviet government. But if our comrades are not armed with revolutionary vigilance, and if they do not reject the practice of narrow-minded complacency in the face of the robbing and plundering of social property, then these former people may accomplish no little damage.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It would be a mistake to assume, on the basis of these successes, that all is well with us. Certainly all is not well with us. There are plenty of defects and mistakes in our work. Mismanagement and disorder are still to be found. I, unfortunately, can not dwell on our defects and mistakes now, since the time given me for this report will not permit that. But that is not the important point. The important point is that notwithstanding the defects and mistakes, the presence of which none of us denies, we have achieved important successes which have delighted the working class of the whole world, we have achieved victories of real, world-wide, historical importance.

What factor could have played the chief role, and what factor actually did play the chief role in the accomplishment by the Party of such decisive successes in carrying through the five-year plan, in spite of the mistakes and defects?

Where are those basic forces which have guaranteed for us this historic victory in spite of everything?

They are to be found, first of all, in the activity and unselfishness, the enthusiasm and initiative of the millions of workers and collective members who have developed, together with the engineering and technical forces, colossal energy in the development of socialist competition and the *udarniki* (shock brigade workers) system. There can be no doubt of the fact that without this circumstance we should not have been able to achieve our end, we should not have been able to move forward a single step.

They are to be found, in the second place, in the strong leadership of the Party and the government, urging the masses forward, overcoming each and every obstacle on the road to its goal.

They are to be found, finally, in the special merits and advantages of the Soviet system of economy, generating in itself colossal possibilities necessary for overcoming all difficulties.

These are the three basic forces responsible for the historic victory of the U.S.S.R.

Work in the Village

Extracts from speech of Joseph Stalin at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee of the All-Union Communist Party January 11, 1933, translated from the Moscow Izvestia of January 17.

I BELIEVE that the speakers have correctly described the conditions of Party work in the village, its defects and its merits, especially its defects. However, it seems to me that they have not said the most important thing regarding the defects of our work in the village, have not exposed the roots of these defects. And that is the aspect of the question which is of the greatest interest to us.

The main defect of our work in the village consists in the fact that grain procurements this year presented for us greater difficulties than during 1931.

To explain this unfavorable situation by the harvest is by no means permissible, because our harvest this year was not worse but better than that of last year.

What then was the matter? What was the reason for this defect in our work? How can we explain this discrepancy?

1. It is explained first of all by the fact that our comrades in the districts, our village workers, were not able to estimate the new situation in the village created by permitting the collectives to trade with their grain. While there was no collective grain trade, while there did not exist two prices for grain—the State and the market price—the situation in the village was one thing. With the initiation of collective trade in grain the situation had to change radically, because the opening up of collective trading meant the legalization of a market price for grain higher than the price established by the government. It is not necessary to demonstrate that this circumstance could not but create among the peasantry a certain reluctance in the matter of selling their grain to the government.

But the difficulty here was that our village workers, in any case many of them, did not understand this simple and natural reaction. In order not to disrupt the tasks of the Soviet government the Party leaders in the villages should under these new conditions have strained every effort to prepare for the grain procurements campaign from the very first days of the harvest, in July, 1932. That was what the situation demanded. And what did they do actually? Instead of pushing the grain-selling campaign they began to encourage the organization of all kinds of funds thereby increasing still further the reluctance of the holders of grain in fulfilling their obligations to the State.

By what were the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) and the Central Committee guided in introducing collective grain trading?

First of all their purpose was to extend the base of commodity exchange between city and village and to improve the supply of agricultural products to the workers and city goods to the peasantry. There can be no doubt that State and cooperative trade alone are not sufficient for this. These channels of commodity exchange had to be supplemented by a new channel—collective trade. They were further guided by the necessity of giving to the collective members an additional source of income and strengthening their economic condition. And finally by the fact that in introducing collective trade they would give the peasants a new impetus for improving the work of the collectives both in seeding and in harvesting.

You know that all these considerations have been completely confirmed by facts from recent experiences of the collectives. The collectives

Soyuzphoto

A class for bookkeepers in a collective farm in the Lower Volga district.

Soyuzphoto

A collective in the Stalingrad district loading newly threshed grain for the State Grain Delivery Station.

have been further strengthened, fewer peasants are leaving them, there is a growing movement of individual peasants into the collectives, and the collectives are exercising a greater degree of selection in taking in new members—all these things and many others demonstrate incontrovertibly that collective trade has not only not weakened but, on the contrary, strengthened and solidified the position of the collectives.

Thus the defects of our work in the village are to be explained not by collective trading in itself, but by its incorrect carrying out, by inability to estimate the new situation.

2. The second reason for the defects of our work in the village consists in the fact that our comrades in the districts—and not these comrades alone—have failed to understand the change in the conditions of our work in the villages which has occurred in connection with the dominating position of the collectives in the chief grain regions. We all rejoice that the collectives have become the dominating form of agricultural economy in the grain regions. But not all understand that this circumstance does not decrease, but increases our concern and our responsibility for the development of agriculture. Many think that having achieved, let us say, seventy or eighty per cent collectivization in this or the other district or region, then everything necessary has been accomplished, and we may leave things to take their natural course, supposing that collectivization will do its own work, will itself raise the level of agriculture. But that is profound deception, comrades. As a matter of fact the transition to collective economy as the predominant form does not decrease, but increases our concern about agriculture. To leave things to their natural flow is now more than ever dangerous for the development of agriculture, and might ruin everything.

While individual economy prevailed in the village the Party could limit its interference in the development of agriculture to separate acts of aid, counsel or warning. Then the individual peasant had to be concerned about his own holding because he could not lay the responsibility for it on anyone else. Then the individual peasant had to be concerned himself about seeding, about harvesting and in general about all the processes of agricultural work if he did not wish to become a victim of hunger. With the transition to collective agriculture the whole situation changed. The collective is not an individual concern. Concern and responsibility are now distributed among all the collective members.

The center of gravity of responsibility for the management of the farm has now been shifted from the individual peasants to the management of the kolhoz. The peasants now demand concern about farming and wise administration of affairs not from themselves so much as from the management of the collective, and this means that the Party can no longer limit itself to separate acts of assistance in the process of agricultural development. It must now take in its hands the direction of the collectives, take upon itself responsibility for the work and aid to the peasants in carrying forward their affairs on the basis of the latest science and technique.

But that is not all. The kolhoz is a large enterprise. And a large enterprise cannot be carried on without plan. A large enterprise in agriculture embracing hundreds and thousands of farms can be carried on only on the basis of planned direction, otherwise it will fall into ruin and decay. Here is still another new condition arising under a collective system radically differing from that of individual farming. Is it possible to leave the management of such an enterprise to the so-called natural flow of events? Clearly it is not possible. It is necessary to guarantee to the kolhoz a certain minimum of at least literate people able to plan the work and carry it on in an organized manner. It is clear that without systematic assistance on the part of the Soviet government in collective construction it is impossible to carry on properly such enterprises.

3. The third reason for the defects of our work in the village is that many of our comrades have overestimated the agricultural collectives as a new form of economy, and turned them into icons. They have decided that as soon as the

Training a new tractor driver on a North Caucasus sovhoz.

collectives have been established as a socialist form of farming that thereby everything has been done, the correct conduct of collective affairs has been guaranteed, the correct planning of kolhoz economy achieved, and the collectives transformed into model socialist enterprises.

They have not understood that in the sense of their organizational structure the collectives are still weak and need the most serious assistance from the Party. Our comrades have not understood that the collectives in themselves, notwithstanding the fact that they are a socialist form of enterprise, are still far from secure from all kinds of dangers and from the possibility of counter-revolutionary elements penetrating their leadership.

4. The fourth reason for the defects of our work in the village has been the inability of many of our comrades in the village to change the tactics of their struggle against the kulaks. The kulaks have understood the changed situation, have understood the strength and power of the new structure of the village, and hence have changed their tactics — have given up their method of direct attack against the collectives for underground work. The present kulaks need not be sought far from the collectives—they are in the collectives, occupying posts of warehouseman, business manager, bookkeeper, secretary, etc. They never say—"down with the kolhoz." But they carry on such damaging activities and sabotage within the collectives that the collectives are hardly better off for their presence.

5. Finally, one more reason for the defects of our work in the village. This is the underestimation of the role and responsibility of the communists in the matter of kolhoz construction and in the matter of grain procurements. In discussing the difficulties in the grain buying campaign the communists usually put the blame on the peasants. But this is entirely incorrect and unjustifiable. If it is a question of responsibility and blame, the responsibility falls solely and completely on the communists and it is only we ourselves who are at fault.

It may be thought that I have drawn too gloomy a picture, that all our work in the village consists of defects alone. But that, of course, is untrue. As a matter of fact our work in the village, along with its defects, has many of the most serious and decisive achievements. But, as I stated at the beginning of my speech, I am now undertaking to describe not our achievements, but merely the defects of our work in the village.

Can these defects be corrected? Yes, unquestionably, they can. Will we correct them in the near future? Unquestionably we will. Of that there can not be the slightest doubt.

Molotov Addresses Plenum

A JOINT plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party was held in Moscow from January 7 to January 12. Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party, made the opening speech, devoted to the results of the first five-year plan. Viacheslav Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, reported on the plan for 1933—the first year of the second five-year plan. V. V. Kuibyshev, head of Gosplan, dealt with achievements in the field of technical reconstruction of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. The questions of political work in the villages and of the organization of political departments in the machine and tractor stations and the collectives, were presented by Lazar M. Kaganovich, secretary of the Central Committee. The final sessions of the plenum were devoted to internal Party questions. Joseph Stalin made a closing speech dealing with defects in Party work in the village. The joint plenum decided that a Party cleansing would be carried on during 1933 and no new members accepted until the completion of the cleansing.

In presenting the program for 1933, the first year of the second five-year plan, Molotov stressed the fact that no large new tasks of a quantitative order would be undertaken, and that the emphasis would be on the improvement of existing enterprises in every field rather than on the establishment of new ones.

In the field of industry he stated that the main task for 1933 was the increase of labor productivity by 14 per cent.

In this connection, he said:

"That the proposed increase of labor productivity represents a serious and rather difficult task may be seen from the following: During the whole of the first five-year plan the productivity of labor in industry advanced by 40 per cent. True, in heavy industry, especially in some of its branches, a greater increase of productivity has been achieved. But the task set for the present year is above the average increase of productivity recorded during the past four years.

"The increase of labor productivity constitutes a most important element in the reduction of the cost of production in industry. And this task,

the task of reducing cost of production, confronts us this year very sharply, while we must simultaneously improve the quality of the output. During the present year, initial costs of our industrial production must be reduced by 4 per cent (3.9 per cent, to be exact).

"The demands of the national economy and the requirements of our people grow so fast that the growth of production in our factories does not keep pace with them. This frequently leads to insufficient attention being given to quality of production. Yet the situation in regard to quality of production in a number of fields, including even the most advanced industries, cannot be regarded as normal.

"By January 1, 1932, the fixed capital of our industry had been renewed during the years since the revolution by 57 per cent. Heavy industry renewed its fixed capital during these years by more than two-thirds. There are some industries, such as coal, oil and electric power, in which the fixed capital has been renewed by more than three-quarters and even by more than four-fifths.

"Add to this the fact that the so-called power equipment of labor, that is, the amount of mechanical and electrical energy per worker in industry, has grown during the first five-year plan alone by 41 per cent, while the electric power equipment of labor, alone, has been more than doubled. All this testifies to the tremendous growth of the technical base of our entire economy, first of all our industry.

"But we know well that it is not merely a question of building new enterprises of a modern industrial type and equipping this or that industry with the latest machinery. After this is done the question arises of mastering the technique of the new industry, of assimilating the new factories and the new technique. And in this respect we still meet with enormous difficulties which it takes a good deal of time to overcome.

"During the past four years, two and a half million new workers have been absorbed by our industry, including about two million who are employed in skilled labor. The majority of these workers were formerly quite unfamiliar with the lathes, tools and machines with which they were confronted in the factories and mills.

"But Lenin's statement that the increase in labor productivity largely depends upon raising the educational and cultural standards of the population has been taken into account by us. During the four years of the five-year plan, we achieved enormous progress in the elimination of illiteracy. Only recently more than half of our population was still illiterate. Now less than 10 per cent remain illiterate. The other forms of cultural and educational work among the masses have also been developed on a tremendous scale.

"On the other hand, the number of students in the workers' faculties increased nine-fold during the period of the five-year plan. The number of students in the factory apprenticeship schools has grown five times. The number of pupils in technical middle schools has also grown five times. while the number of students in universities and colleges has increased three-fold. The number of students in industrial colleges has increased almost five-fold during the first five-year plan. The speedy growth of technical forces in our country has enabled us to double the percentage of specialists in our factories during the five-year plan (from 3.8 per cent to 7 per cent)."

In the field of agriculture, Molotov pointed out that since collectivization had in the main been accomplished, the important task now was the organization of labor in collective and State farms in order to insure increased crop yields. In outlining what had been achieved so far, he said:

"Let us take the results of the 1932 sowing campaign and compare the productivity of labor on the collective farms served by machine and tractor stations with that of collective farms not so served, and of individual farms. What do we see?

"The following:

"(1) Seven million farms of collective farm members served by machine and tractor stations sowed 35,000,000 hectares (about 87,500,000 acres), or in other words, five hectares for each collective farm household.

"(2) Eight million farms of collective farmers not served by machine and tractor stations sowed 31,000,000 hectares, that is, about four hectares for each houshold.

"(3) Ten million individual farmers sowed 19,000,000 hectares, less than two hectares for each one.

"And so we already have striking facts testifying to the advantages of collective toil, especially if joined with tractors and agricultural machines of the machine and tractor stations. The facts mentioned show that by last year the productivity of labor of kolhoz members, even without the help of machine and tractor stations was twice the productivity of the individual farmer's labor. And the labor productivity on collective farms under machine and tractor stations was two and a half times that of individual farmers and 25 per cent higher than on collective farms not served by machine and tractor stations.

"I shall give one more example. According to a survey of individual farms—and farms fairly well off, that is, having large agricultural machines—the labor put into sowing one hectare of spring wheat was, in 1926-27 about 15 working days. On the other hand, according to the data of the Central Board of Statistics on the collective farms of the North Caucasus, in 1931, the labor spent in sowing one hectare of spring wheat was slightly more than six working days. The farms of the State Grain Farm Syndicate in

the same year put into the sowing of one hectare of spring wheat slightly more than two days altogether.

"How do collective and state farms take the lead over individual peasant holdings? By joining in their work and using the leading farm technique, the best agricultural machines and tractors.

"Take the facts. At the beginning of the five-year plan the entire value of the machines and equipment in our agriculture was 1,150,000,000 rubles. In these four years 1,600,000,000 rubles worth of machines and equipment went into agriculture. And, moreover, the new machines are much more productive than the old.

"Even at the beginning of the five-year plan the wooden plow played a considerable part in agriculture. There have been great changes from those times. By the end of the five-year plan tractor plowing began to play the biggest part.

"Toward the beginning of the five-year plan hand sowing dominated. Matters changed entirely during the piatiletka. The seeder has become the basic and decisive sowing equipment and much of the work is already done by tractor-drawn seeders.

"The sickle and scythe in many sections were still the main implements for harvesting grain in 1928. Here also the change is striking. By the end of the five-year plan the horse-drawn harvester and tractor-drawn combine have become the main grain-harvesting implements.

"Flails and other hand tools still threshed the harvest from tens of millions of hectares in the period just before the five-year plan. Now the picture is completely different. At present the main threshing equipment is horse-drawn and mechanical threshers and combines. It is well known, moreover, that the combine carries out at one time a number of important agricultural tasks—that is, it reaps, threshes and sorts.

"I will not treat in detail the role of tractors in our agriculture. It is enough to say that by spring of 1933 the number of tractors in our agriculture will be 27,000 more than last year, an increase of 19 per cent.

"Machine and tractor stations have occupied a special place in the technical reconstruction of agriculture. By last year more than half of the sowing in collective farms was done with the help and under the leadership of machine and tractor stations. This spring the tasks of the MTS (machine and tractor stations) are still greater since they must embrace not less than 60 per cent of the sowing on collective farms. They are taking a really leading part in the technical reconstruction of our agricultural production. This part is literally growing daily. At the same time great defects are revealed in the work of the MTS which demands the increased attention of the Party. Machine and tractor stations have existed altogether only three or four years, yet there are already 2,500. They have already become the chief lever of socialist reconstruction of peasant farming.

"In live-stock breeding we have a less satisfactory position, and in some fields an absolutely intolerable one. For 1933 we have set the task of considerably increasing the stock in all branches of collective and state farm animal breeding."

As regards the question of commodity exchange between town and country and the production of consumers' goods, Molotov stated that while the manufacture of consumers' goods was constantly growing, it was still far from meeting the needs, and that the year 1933 would make a further increase in the production of light industry, and improved production and organization of food supplies.

Soyuzphoto.

Dividing the harvest at a kolhoz in the Central Black Earth Region.

Japanese-Soviet Parleys

A statement by TASS published in the Moscow "Izvestia," January 17.

ON December 13, 1932, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, delivered to Mr. Troyanovsky, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Tokyo, a verbal note, containing the official Japanese answer to the proposal which was made by Mr. Litvinov in the name of the Soviet government on December 31, 1931, to Mr. Yoshizawa, returning at that time to Tokyo by way of Moscow, to occupy the post of foreign minister.

In the note delivered to Mr. Troyanovsky, the Japanese government points out that different opinions are possible regarding the question as to the time which might be considered fortuitous for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact. One opinion advocates the conclusion of a non-aggression pact which would guarantee the settlement of different questions of dispute which might arise between the two countries in the future. The other opposing point of view is that first of all the causes of possible disputes should be eliminated, and that only then might more general questions, such as that of a non-aggression pact, be considered. The Japanese government, for its part, also finds that the moment for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact has not yet ripened, and considers it preferable to take up the consideration of the different questions now existing in the relations between the two countries. For the present moment the Japanese government would prefer the exchange of opinion as to methods of averting difficulties which might arise as a result of contact between the troops of both sides, and the peaceful settlement of such difficulties by local means—for example, by the establishment of a Japanese-Soviet-Manchurian committee for averting border incidents.

In answer to the statement of the Japanese government, postponing for the present the proposal of the U.S.S.R., that a non-aggression pact be concluded, Mr. Troyanovsky, on January 4, 1933, presented to the Japanese government a verbal note. In this note the Soviet government expressed its complete agreement with the first of the above-mentioned opinions, and noted with satisfaction that this point of view was shared by certain Japanese circles. The Soviet government expressed regret that the Japanese government had not found it possible to hold this opinion and had adopted the opposite opinion, the subsequent developments of which would inevitably lead to the complete negation of the idea of the non-aggression pacts, and the idea embodied in the Kellogg-Briand pact of the international repudiation of war as a means for the settlement of disputes. The Japanese government apparently considers the conclusion of non-aggression pacts appropriate only between those governments which are not involved in any disputes. But under the present economic and political mutual interdependence between peoples such a situation hardly exists and is hardly possible, particularly between States which are more or less close neighbors. Furthermore, the solution of existing disputes is no guarantee that new disputes will not arise in the future. The Soviet government further points out in its note that governments concluding non-aggression pacts with the U.S.S.R. by no means thereby acknowledge the absence of mutual disputes and claims. In particular, the U.S.S.R. has very recently agreed to the conclusion of a non-aggression pact with a neighboring State with which it has a dispute concerning the border and very well founded territorial claims. The meaning of non-aggression pacts, as of the Kellogg-Briand pact, in the opinion of the Soviet government, consists in the fact that the governments concluding them, actuated by the existence or possibility of disputes between them, reject the solution of such disputes by violent methods.

The Soviet government on its part by no means considers that between the U.S.S.R. and Japan there exist any disputes which could not be settled by peaceful means or which it would not agree to settle peacefully. The denial of this would lead to a contradiction of the Kellogg-Briand pact to which both the U.S.S.R. and Japan are parties. In proposing a pact of non-aggression to Japan, the Soviet government by no means ignored the existence of that international act, but merely attempted to strengthen it and by bilateral agreement to extend it and adapt it to the special conditions of the two countries.

The Soviet government declares in its note that this proposal was not called forth by any considerations of the moment, but was the outgrowth of its whole peace policy and therefore will remain in force in the future.

The Soviet government expresses doubt as to whether the refusal of one side to conclude a non-aggression pact will assist in the creation of an atmosphere favorable for the settlement of all disputes and the allaying of misunderstanding.

The Soviet government takes into consideration the statement of the Japanese government included in the verbal note to the effect that "Japan and the Soviet Union are each prepared scrupulously to respect the sovereign rights of the other and to refrain strictly from violating in the slightest degree the boundaries of the other," and expresses its conviction that if these

obligations are strictly observed, there will not arise, as there have not arisen in the past, any border incidents even under conditions of the temporary stationing of Japanese troops at the Soviet border.

At the same time the Soviet government expresses its readiness to study and consider the Japanese proposal for the creation of a Japanese-Soviet-Manchurian committee to avert border incidents along the lines of similar committees in existence between the Soviet Union and Rumania, Poland and other neighboring States.

Miscellaneous News

ALL-UNION BOOK EXHIBITION

A book exhibition recently opened in the House of Trade Unions in Moscow displaying books published by 140 publishing houses in the U.S.S.R. and issued in sixty-three languages of the various nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. Soviet publishing houses have issued over 200,000 titles during the past fifteen years, of which about 12,000 are on display. The books are divided according to epochs in the first room, including a section devoted to the Bolshevik press up to the October Revolution, then during the civil war period and finally during the restoration and reconstruction periods.

The exhibition shows tremendous development of book publishing among the nationalities in particular. While in 1913 the share of books in national languages constituted six per cent of the total circulation, their share now amounts to twenty-five per cent. The national publishing houses have issued eleven different elementary text books for the nationalities inhabiting the North, also text books for the nationalities in Central Asia and Transcaucasia which previously had no written language of their own. During the past fifteen years the number of books published in the Ukrainian language has exceeded four-fold the number published during 120 years prior to the revolution.

SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Five years ago the publication of a series of encyclopedias was commenced in the Soviet Union. A special stock company, "The Soviet Encyclopedia," was formed to publish encyclopedias in different branches of science.

The largest of these publications is the "Bolshaya Sovietskaya Encyclopedia," which covers problems of economics, technique, history, philosophy, geography, literature, art, etc. This encyclopedia comprises seventy volumes, of which twenty-five have already been published, and ten more are to be published during 1933.

A "Malaya Sovietskaya Encyclopedia" of ten volumes has also been published. The demand for this has been so great that the first edition of 150,000 copies were bought up immediately and at the present time several tens of thousands more copies are being printed to cover previous subscriptions. A revised and enlarged edition is in preparation.

The company is also publishing a technical, medical, literary, military and a number of other special encyclopedias. During the present year seventeen encyclopedias on various technical problems—building, transport, chemistry, etc., and a Children's Encyclopedia, will be published.

PROGRESS OF MEDICAL WORK

Figures recently compiled by the Central Accounting Administration of the U.S.S.R. and the Public Health Section of Gosplan, illustrate the progress of medical work in the Soviet Union in camparison with pre-revolutionary days.

The number of medical aid points in the various enterprises has grown from 487 in 1917 to 4,009 in 1931, and reached 5,506 in 1932. In 1917, 23,224 visits were made to the city dispensaries, and in 1932, 365,000,000. Visits to village dispensaries during the same period increased from 40,170 to 159,000,000.

The growth of medical work in the national republics has been especially striking. In the Turcoman S.S.R. there were altogether only six city dispensaries in 1913, and by 1930 the number had grown to 35. In the Uzbek S.S.R. the number of city dispensaries grew in the same period from 22 to 150, the number of village dispensaries from 32 to 172. In the Tadzhik republic the number of visits to city dispensaries grew from 26,000 to 435,000.

In 1913 there was not a single dispensary on the territory of the present Uzbek S.S.R. At the end of 1930 there were 28 tuberculosis and venerealogical dispensaries.

The number of maternity homes and maternity departments in hospitals grew from 6 to 63 in the Uzbek S.S.R. and eight have been established in the Tadzhik Republic, where none existed before the revolution.

Expenditures for public health work in the U.S.S.R. grew from 128,500,000 rubles in 1913 to 1,025,800,000 rubles in 1930. Furthermore, appropriations for health work in Uzbekistan increased forty times, in the Turcoman republic, 70 times, and in the Tadzhik republic, 100 times.

In 1932 expenditures for public health work

throughout the whole Soviet Union amounted to 1,975,000,000 rubles.

THE ARTISTIC EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

Soviet educational institutions are giving a great deal of attention to problems connected with the artistic education of children. There are at present, in the R.S.F.S.R. (Soviet Russia proper) alone, twenty-one special establishments for the artistic training of children in various lines, sixty-one children's theaters, twenty marionette theaters, four special dramatic schools to train actors for the children's theaters, thirty-one musical high schools, and so on. A quarter of all the schools are equipped with radios, and over 4,000 of the schools have cinema equipment.

Moscow has a central institution for the artistic education of children, named after Bubnov, Commissar for Education, which directs the whole work, and draws up programs for the schools in connection with all branches of artistic education. This central institute has a most valuable collection of drawings — over 75,000, made by Georgian, Kirgiz, Armenian, and Samoyed children, and children of many of the other nationalities within the Soviet Union. The collection also includes pictures by children in Holland, Sweden, France, Germany, the United States and Japan, which illustrate vividly the difference in the methods of the Soviet and foreign schools.

The institute carries on exceptionally interesting work in connection with the organization of an orchestra composed of instruments made by children from various odd materials. Some of the foremost dramatists of the Soviet Union are engaged in writing plays for the children's theaters. The organization of a special operatic theater for children is at present under discussion.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LENINGRAD

The Leningrad press has recently published the results of the municipal development of Leningrad during the present year.

The city has built about 800,000 square meters of housing space. The center of the city has been connected with the outskirts by 39 new tram-lines, on which 265 more cars are operating than a year ago. There are 500,000 square meters of new pavements in the outskirts of the city, 50 kilometers of new water supply pipes, and 80 kilometers of concrete sewerage pipes have been installed. More than half a million trees and shrubs have been planted in the city, while during the last 35 years of Tsarist rule only 275,000 trees were planted.

A number of workers' villages are growing up around Leningrad in connection with newly built factories; these will be connected with the center by electric lines, buses and river ferries. The first new town of this kind is being built around the "Electrosila" plant and will have a population of 110,000.

During the last five years the population of Leningrad has increased 79.7 per cent, and it is now 2,900,000. In population Leningrad stands second in the U.S.S.R., fifth in Europe, and seventh in the world.

TSIK CONVENES IN MOSCOW

On January 23 the Sixth Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. (TSIK), convened for its third session in the Kremlin, Moscow. Reports were given on the plan for 1933, the first year of the second five-year plan, by Viacheslav Molotov and V. M. Kuibyshev; G. F. Grinko and S. E. Chutskayev reported on the State budget for 1933; Y. A. Yakovlev discussed the problem of strengthening the collectives; A. S. Enukidze reported on recent decrees passed by the presidium of the TSIK.

BRON CHAIRMAN OF U.S.S.R. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Saul G. Bron, a member of the collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, formerly chairman of the Amtorg Trading Corporation and later trade representative of the U.S.S.R. in England, has recently been elected chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.S.R. in place of Eliava, who was liberated from his duties as chairman at his own request.

POLISH-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION PACT

On December 23, in Warsaw, the exchange of ratification documents on the Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact took place between representatives of Poland and of the U.S.S.R. The pact goes into effect from this date.

CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN SERVICE

On December 31, Boris Efimovich Stein was appointed plenipotentiary representative of the U.S.S.R., in Finland, in place of Ivan Maisky, now Soviet diplomatic representative in England.

On January 1, Dmitri Bogomolov, formerly Soviet diplomatic representative to Poland and later first counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Great Britain, was appointed plenipotentiary representative of the U.S.S.R. in China, following the renewal of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and China, announced at Geneva, December 12.

GEOGRAPHICAL CHANGES

On December 27 it was officially announced by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. that the city of Ivanovo-Voznesensk in Ivanovsky Industrial Oblast, had been renamed Ivanovo.

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FOREIGN TRADE FOR 1932

LITVINOV AT GENEVA

SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

STATE BUDGET FOR 1933

THE NORTHEAST PASSAGE

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Soviet Foreign Trade for 1932

THE foreign trade of the Soviet Union for 1932 showed a substantial falling off in value for the first time since the depression set in, accompanied by a substantial cutting down of the adverse trade balance as compared with 1931, and a marked shift in the import list, with the United States slipping to fourth place on that list (behind Germany, England and Persia), as compared with first place in 1930 and second place in 1931. Soviet imports from the United States in 1932 were only 12 per cent of those in 1930, the peak year; Soviet imports from Germany, England and Italy in 1932 were nearly 130 per cent of those in 1930. In 1930 Soviet imports from the United States amounted to $136,162,000; in 1932 they fell to $16,446,000.

The Soviet foreign trade turnover for 1932 was $650,227,000, of which exports were $290,400,000 and imports were $359,827,000. Exports showed a falling off of 30 per cent as compared with 1931 and imports fell off 37 per cent.

Statistics of Soviet foreign trade for the past three years are as follows:

	Exports	*Imports*	*Total*
1930	$533,731,000	$544,295,000	$1,078,026,000
1931	417,773,000	569,093,000	986,866,000
1932	290,400,000	359,827,000	650,227,000

The above figures do not include exports of gold, which, of course, affect the trade balance.

Among the countries furnishing Soviet imports Germany continued to hold first place in 1932, followed in order by England, Persia, United States, Italy and Sweden. It is noteworthy that all these except Persia are countries from which the Soviet Union imports machinery and equipment. Imports from all these countries held up or showed gains in 1932 except in the case of Germany, which showed a moderate recession, and the United States, which showed a sharp drop.

Imports for the past three years from the four principal countries furnishing imports of this character are as follows:

	1930	**1931**	**1932**
United States	$136,162,000	$118,406,000	$16,466,000
Germany	129,176,000	211,482,000	167,072,000
England	41,266,000	37,791,000	46,830,000
Italy	5,601,000	15,324,000	13,979,000

As noted above, since 1930 imports from the United States fell off 88 per cent while imports from Germany, England and Italy combined gained nearly 30 per cent. Had imports from the United States increased at the same rate as those from the three other countries, instead of showing a decrease, the Soviet Union in 1932 would have been the third best foreign customer of the United States, taking upwards of $175,000,000 in American products.

On the list of countries taking Soviet exports in 1932 England stood first with $69,170,000, followed by Germany, $50,501,000; Mongolia, $21,318,000; France $14,696,000; Italy, $13,396,000, and Persia, $13,065,000. The United States was ninth on the list with $8,762,000.

On the list of Soviet imports, industrial machinery and parts, electrical machinery and factory supplies made up nearly half of the value, or close to $175,000,000. Imports in

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Prospecting for gold in the Kolyma River, Yakutia

this category showed a decrease of only 13 per cent as compared with 1931 and an increase of 13 per cent as compared with 1930. Other important imports were ferrous metals, $39,490,000; articles manufactured of iron and steel, $21,970,000; wool, $13,330,000; cotton; $9,190,000. The principal exports were: oil products, $54,220,000; lumber and lumber products, $40,420,000; grain, $26,500,000; cloth, $26,400,000; furs, $21,460,000. Grain exports included wheat, $9,650,000. The quantity of wheat exports was 19,725,000 bushels, as compared with 91,710,000 bushels in 1931.

Exports and imports by countries in quantity and in thousands of rubles, for 1932, 1931 and 1930, are shown in the tables below. Foreign trade is computed in dollar values; the ruble is valued at 51.46 cents.

Soviet Russian Exports

	1932		1931		1930	
Country of Destination	*Quantity in metric tons*	*Value in th. rbls.*	*Quantity in metric tons*	*Value in th. rbls.*	*Quantity in metric tons*	*Value in th. rbls.*
England	4,265,170	134,311	6,897,333	266,071	6,159,984	279,909
Germany	1,630,447	98,061	1,948,548	129,338	2,548,933	205,702
Italy	2,062,330	26,012	2,118,478	39,749	1,789,540	53,150
Mongolia	58,452	41,395	55,477	37,343	35,074	17,819
Persia	142,446	25,368	136,522	32,476	171,343	60,284
Holland	992,918	20,800	1,346,546	29,265	1,428,976	34,845
France	1,352,181	28,536	1,229,421	28,330	1,205,148	44,146
Latvia	120,979	9,623	374,735	27,810	551,264	32,207
United States	624,250	17,014	850,538	22,690	969,660	40,932
Japan	743,157	10,099	729,607	19,817	609,713	16,025
Belgium	702,439	18,752	633,059	18,238	694,979	26,904
Western China	8,006	15,698	7,148	13,954	10,958	16,027
Denmark	281,339	6,526	460,967	13,655	359,957	14,170
Turkey	190,900	5,391	392,277	12,575	446,575	16,195
Afghanistan	10,978	14,574	10,337	11,523	7,176	7,850
China	291,510	8,086	380,286	11,064	503,373	12,493
India	198,551	4,903	241,671	10,152	223,696	6,778
Greece	639,551	9,203	546,804	10,081	441,099	10,473
Esthonia	72,257	7,382	163,601	8,352	163,489	6,433
Poland	59,951	4,695	209,617	7,510	226,690	14,131
Sweden	367,900	6,141	302,530	6,681	148,659	5,139
Czechoslovakia	70,878	1,372	649,247	5,134	235,463	4,145
Finland	297,644	5,259	240,897	4,616	173,531	3,733
Lithuania	368,243	4,127	195,498	4,165	31,489	2,586
Norway	318,086	3,819	216,299	3,968	244,102	6,259
Egypt	419,226	6,161	243,189	3,681	277,636	9,063
Spain	437,277	7,955	134,153	3,469	405,733	12,057
Argentine	25,886	675	68,274	3,139	87,360	3,891
Tannu-Tuva	4,301	4,388	2,837	2,652	2,135	2,092
Austria	14,177	1,293	37,040	2,214	20,945	3,565
Switzerland	1	3	2,137	44	7,284	151
Other Countries	775,631	16,262	953,833	21,454	1,304,431	67,217
TOTAL	17,547,062	563,884	21,778,906	811,210	21,486,395	1,036,371

Soviet Russian Imports

Country of Origin	1932 Quantity in metric tons	1932 Value in th. rbls.	1931 Quantity in metric tons	1931 Value in th. rbls.	1930 Quantity in metric tons	1930 Value in th. rbls.
Germany	1,123,009	324,411	1,481,944	410,645	510,628	250,828
United States	27,449	31,665	216,139	229,915	311,213	264,393
England	315,574	90,932	250,179	73,381	342,957	80,129
Persia	157,645	49,940	96,895	46,453	101,346	44,392
Czechoslovakia	32,245	10,283	342,391	35,736	200,797	27,143
Poland	81,513	5,521	438,896	31,172	415,960	38,760
Italy	27,093	27,144	61,422	29,755	25,841	10,876
Mongolia	54,508	19,278	84,147	28,833	52,461	19,745
Egypt	1,048	946	26,988	19,810	17,255	18,432
Norway	62,422	14,137	82,835	18,910	92,390	16,555
Sweden	21,096	21,521	34,490	15,598	20,471	19,538
France	8,813	3,879	27,266	14,998	49,322	29,710
Latvia	12,404	5,770	31,401	14,549	26,111	14,761
Japan	12,158	4,786	32,480	12,668	51,331	16,784
Austria	4,352	4,010	14,151	12,028	16,060	14,844
Afghanistan	12,602	11,782	13,555	11,615	12,739	9,628
Western China	21,838	12,305	23,936	10,212	27,232	16,033
India	13,715	4,557	34,128	9,140	41,565	18,317
Argentine	4,738	1,817	12,119	7,210	59,096	17,366
China	39,788	5,888	20,636	6,931	22,338	8,432
Turkey	34,719	5,700	24,338	6,961	44,769	11,382
Switzerland	1,245	4,896	5,018	6,325	1,776	5,639
Finland	13,155	2,806	69,786	5,216	121,940	12,430
Denmark	5,759	2,760	11,078	4,736	11,762	7,272
Australia	85,539	5,861	3,909	3,061	15,033	12,165
Holland	824	3,405	2,911	2,140	7,720	4,712
Esthonia	342	39	13,554	2,128	17,917	2,871
Lithuania	3,526	1,161	15,911	1,363	16,333	1,009
Tannu-Tuva	8,079	2,191	2,027	895	2,618	917
Brazil	291	117	1,411	693	1,168	1,397
Canada	44,520	2,058	864	144	9,737	1,437
Other Countries	68,202	17,127	87,547	31,813	208,014	61,018
TOTAL	2,300,211	698,693	3,564,352	1,105,034	2,855,900	1,058,825

The International Situation

From Molotov's speech at the Third Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., January 23, 1933.

OUR relations with other States have as a rule developed quite normally despite the changes which have taken place in the governments of different countries. Inasmuch as our relations with foreign powers are determined primarily by our internal growth, by the growth of the forces of the Soviet power, these relations have been strengthened as a matter of logical development.

A special place in these interrelations belongs to Germany. Among the different countries maintaining diplomatic relations with us, the strongest economic relations have existed and continue to exist between us and Germany. And this is not accidental. It is in the interests of both countries.

You also know that the visit to the U.S.S.R. of the Premier of the Turkish Republic, Ismet Pasha, and of his closest associate, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rushdi Bey, led to further consolidation of the cooperation between the two countries. This, too, is a result both of the international situation and the interests of world peace as well as of the necessity for further extension of this cooperation.

It will be remembered that the presence in Moscow of the political leaders of the Turkish Republic facilitated the conclusion of a number of important practical agreements along financial and cultural lines.

During the past year, certain new factors should be noted in the development of the foreign relations of the U.S.S.R. These include the resumption of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China. It will be remembered that the initiative in breaking these relations was taken by the Nanking government. I may add that the initiative in restoring these relations also came from this government, and met with our full support. We think the mistake committed in relation to the U.S.S.R. has thus been rectified.

On the other hand, we cannot but note the fact of the denunciation of the trade agreement concluded in 1930 between the U.S.S.R. and Eng-

land. The denunciation of this agreement was on the initiative of the British government. We do not as yet know the real purpose of this act. We can only make conjectures about it. If in breaking the trade agreement someone is attempting to frighten the Soviet Union, it is simply not to be taken seriously. We have never feared and do not fear such things. If this rupture was intended to cause any injury to our country, it was a miscalculation. It may be assumed that those in England who are so badly in need of Soviet orders will well appreciate this. All we know, and we know it firmly, is this: Those countries which have maintained normal diplomatic and trade relations with the U.S.S.R. have definitely benefited, compared with the other States; especially in that the Soviet Union, in contrast to certain capitalist States, has always punctually and accurately fulfilled all of its obligations. And even though this is becoming a rare phenomenon in international relations, the U.S.S.R. as always, remains true to itself in this respect as well. Of course, we remember the statement of the British government to the effect that it continues to be interested in the development of trade relations between our countries.

What has been said above must be connected up with the basic questions of international politics, primarily with the basic task of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., the policy of a consistent struggle for universal peace and for peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and other countries.

Our attitude towards all questions connected with this matter, the matter of securing universal peace, and particularly, peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and other nations, as well as towards all questions connected with the dangers of new wars, has been particularly attentive and responsive. This, incidentally, determined our position on the question of disarmament.

At the International Disarmament Commission Comrade Litvinov fully developed the viewpoint of the Soviet government on the question of general disarmament. There is no need at present of explaining once more our position on this question. All I need do is to remind you of the resolution submitted by the Soviet delegation to the General Disarmament Commission in February of last year. Here is the resolution which the Soviet delegation submitted to the Disarmament Commission in Geneva. It reads:

"Inspired by a strong desire for real and firmly organized peace;

"Guided by the desire to create real security for all States and nations by the prevention of new wars;

"Convinced that the very existence of armaments and their clearly manifested tendency towards continuous growth inevitably lead to international armed conflicts which tear the toilers away from their peaceful occupations and cause untold misery;

"Believing that the military expenditures which constitute an unbearable burden upon the masses of the population, further intensify the present economic crisis with all of its consequences, and noting that the States represented by the Conference have renounced war as an instrument of national policy;

"Believing that the only effective means of promoting peace and establishing security against war is the general and complete abolition within a short period of all armaments on the basis of equality to all;

"Convinced that the idea of universal and complete disarmament is in accord with the sincere aspiration for peace on the part of the masses;

"The Conference decides to base its proceedings upon the principle of universal, complete disarmament."

It will be remembered that this proposal of the Soviet delegation was not accepted by the majority of the Commission. But in the discussion of this resolution the delegations of a number of countries were forced to engage in various ingenious maneuvers and sometimes in outright unworthy manipulations in order somehow to hush up or at least sidetrack the proposal of the Soviet delegation for real general disarmament. In any case, the discussion of this Soviet resolution in the General Commission in no small measure helped to expose the true position of the representatives of a number of States which are unwilling and apparently incapable of taking any real measures for real disarmament.

We, on the other hand, continue to insist that in this proposal of the Soviet delegation the desire for general peace not only on the part of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. but also on the part of the peoples of other countries finds its expression. Thus, in the proposals of the Soviet government at the Geneva Disarmament Commission, we have an expression of the genuine interests of general peace as well as an expression of the interests of the peoples of all countries.

The policy of the struggle for peace which has been steadfastly pursued by the Soviet government finds its expression in the proposals for non-aggression pacts which it has made to a number of States. Only last year we finally secured some real progress on the question of non-aggression pacts, though the respective proposals had been made by us several years ago. We believe that from the standpoint of the interests of general peace we must credit the Soviet government with such facts as the signing and ratification of non-aggression pacts by Poland, Finland, Latvia and Esthonia. We believe that these pacts are important for the strengthening of peace. A non-aggression pact has been concluded between

Soyuzphoto.

Joseph Stalin and Viacheslav Molotov

the U.S.S.R. and France as well. This matter, however, has not yet been completed inasmuch as France has not yet ratified this pact.*

It cannot but be noted, however, that in regard to Rumania the situation has taken a different turn. Owing to Rumania's refusal to sign a corresponding pact, there remains in the West only one State bordering on the U.S.S.R. which has refused to sign a non-aggression pact. Without going into a detailed discussion of this question, I consider it necessary to note only the following point: possibly the refusal of the Rumanian govevrnment to sign a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. is due not to this or that view on this question on the part of the Rumanian government itself, but to certain outside causes, so to speak. In the political encyclopedia, among the so-called "independent" States, are sometimes mistakenly listed also States which are not really independent, say, in their foreign policy, but are subordinated in reality to the foreign policy of other States which are more powerful, and are therefore able to dictate their will to certain "independent" governments. Be that as it may, only Rumania and its government will lose by it.

Finally, regarding the questions connected with the Far East.

You know what a fuss has been going on in the League of Nations around Far Eastern affairs. It is now more than a year since the League of Nations has been about to adopt some decision on events in Manchuria, events in the Far East. Many times the League of Nations has fixed dates for passing its decisions on these questions. The League of Nations has discussed the situation in China and Manchuria many times and has sent a special commission to investigate the situation on the spot. Plenty of time has already passed since the return of this commission and the publication of its report. The League of Nations is creating commission after commission on these matters, but still cannot make up its mind to pass any decisions. Matters have reached an impasse. There is progress in only one respect and that is the further discrediting of the League of Nations in the eyes of the whole world.

But you are well aware of the fact that we have never tied up our hopes with the League of Nations and with its commissions. The question of international relations in the Far East, however, concerns us very closely. In this connection we must take a number of measures.

Considering the situation which has been created in the Far East, the Soviet government more than a year ago addressed a proposal to Japan to sign a non-aggression pact. The entire political significance of this proposal in the given international situation cannot but be appreciated. The Japanese government recently informed us, however, of its refusal to conclude a non-aggression pact at the present moment.

I will not go into an appraisal of the motives for the rejection by the Japanese government of our non-aggression pact proposal. We believe this rejection to be only temporary, however, but still cannot disregard a fact.

The Soviet government has been consistently adhering, in the Far East as well, to the policy of non-interference and strict neutrality in relation to other nations. We still continue firmly to adhere to this position and will as consistently

*It was announced on February 16 that France and Soviet Russia had exchanged ratifications of the pact.

pursue it in the future as we have in the past, in the interests of peace. Certain recent facts concerning the attitude in some Japanese quarters towards the U.S.S.R., however, deserve special attention. Things have developed so far that the Japenese War Ministry has recently published a provocative statement about the Soviet government and the future embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China. And despite the categorical denial of these anti-Soviet inventions on our part, Mr. Uchida, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, repeated them in the Japanese Parliament on January 21.

I consider it unnecessary to deny these anti-Soviet inventions; they will defeat themselves. As regards the resumption of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China, the Soviet Union decides such questions regardless of whether this is agreeable or disagreeable to anyone. The U.S.S.R. in such cases acts in the interests of world peace, and on the basis of its own peaceful policy.

Mr. Uchida declared in parliament that since the beginning of the Manchurian incident nothing untoward has happened in the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, because the Soviet government has adhered to a "cautious position." I consider it necessary to state that it is not merely a case of a cautious policy on the part of the Soviet Union. This policy is not only cautious but thoughtful, the Soviet government proceeding here also primarily from the standpoint of the interests of world peace and of the consolidation of its peaceful relations with other countries.

This policy, the policy of peace, the government of the U.S.S.R. is determined to pursue consistently and steadfastly in its relations with other States in the future as well, no matter how this or that government regards it.

The international situation again reminds us of the need for special vigilance, and particularly special attention to the situation in the Far East. This must find its reflection in our entire work and in our entire construction which constitutes the basis for the growth of our economic and political power.

Litvinov on French Proposals

Statement by Maxim Litvinov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, at the meeting of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, February 6, 1933.

THE French delegation has appealed to us to refrain from vague general remarks, but to make clear the attitude of each delegation to the French Plan. I am in complete sympathy with this appeal and consider it thoroughly apposite. We are too fond of promising to study proposals without, however, really making a practical study of them or even considering them. The Conference has received any number of proposals, and we have spent a whole year not on their discussion but on their postponement, pigeon-holing them for some future occasion, or putting them into cold storage in technical commissions. I can assure our French colleagues that the Soviet delegation, which has always spoken frankly and sincerely on all the questions brought before us here, will not now mince their words and will give a precise definition of their attitude. The French delegation has asked us to give "considered approval" or "exact criticism" of its proposals. I shall endeavor to give both.

The Soviet delegation has studied with the deepest interest the French proposals now under discussion, and I am happy to declare that some of them can be supported by it. While far from desiring to minimize their importance, I am, nevertheless, bound to remark that we are unable to find among them any new proposals for the reduction of armaments, or if any such are to be found therein they are made to depend strictly on the acceptance by the Conference of the French scheme on security. We are invited first to draw up definite premises which should enable us subsequently to discuss measures for the reduction of armaments. It may not be irrelevant to remind ourselves that, as long ago as 1927, at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission, the French delegation, in the person of the present minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Paul-Boncour, demanded that the Commission should investigate the problem of security before drawing up a draft disarmament convention. This proposal was supported by other delegations and resulted in the creation of a special "Committee for Arbitration and Security," which, in the course of two years produced a series of proposals, and work was begun upon a draft convention for disarmament.

If I go back to this it is in part for the purpose of paying due respect to the consistency and tenacity of the leaders of French politics. Now, however, whether because the proposals worked out by the Security Committee have failed to satisfy the French delegation, or because they have been rejected by other delegations, we are confronted by new French proposals for security.

This means that, after four years of work on disarmament by the Preparatory Commission and in the second year of the Conference itself, we have been thrown back to the place where we were five years ago and are compelled once more to leave the question of disarmament in the background, and take up the problem of security. Let us hope this cycle will not repeat itself, and that we shall not find ourselves, at the end of another five years, back again where we now stand.

The Soviet delegation has repeatedly shown its attitude to the question of security, both in the Preparatory Commission and at the present Conference. It has not the slightest desire to ignore the problem of security, the enormous importance of which it thoroughly realizes. We have always, however, been convinced and still are convinced that the best, if not the only, guarantee of security for all nations would be total disarmament, or at least the utmost possible reduction of armaments in the shortest possible period. We have always considered and still consider that the problem of security approached by any other method is so complex, and evokes such serious political questions and international differences, that it could hardly be solved fortuitously and in a short time, and that to take it up would mean to abandon all idea of disarmament for a very considerable period.

But apparently there is no escape from this problem, if only because it has been raised by a great and powerful State, whose representatives have declared that until it is solved they cannot undertake any obligations whatsoever with regard to the reduction of armaments. If, therefore, we want to advance, and not just to go round and round, we shall have to consider with all seriousness the French proposals, and make up our minds whether there is any possibility of reaching an international agreement based upon these and other proposals which may be made on security by other delegations, proceeding subsequently to questions of disarmament, or whether such an agreement will prove impossible, in which case we shall have to admit that, owing to the attitude of some States, the whole problem of disarmament and security is insoluble and that it is not through international conferences that humanity will rid itself of the heavy burden of armaments and the scourge of war. In either case some clarity will have been shed on the fate of the Conference.

In turning to the essence of the French memorandum I feel bound to state that only its first chapter could affect all the States here represented. The other chapters seem to be intended only for members either of existing international organizations or of future voluntary organizations. Chapter 2, for instance, has in view members of the League of Nations only, chapter 3 and to a certain extent chapter 5, European States only, and moreover those connected in a formal way with the League of Nations, chapter 4, signatories to the Washington naval agreement, and Mediterranean States, and these if they are ready to consider the decisions of the League of Nations binding for themselves. It is to be presumed that the authors of these chapters did not have in view the participation in the organizations proposed by them of the Soviet Union which is situated on the continent of Asia as well as of Europe, is not a member of the League of Nations, and is not a signatory of the Washington agreement.

It seems to me indubitable that, inasmuch as special and very serious obligations are to be imposed upon the participants of the proposed organizations, they are entitled to demand that these obligations should be extended at least to their nearest neighbors. Consequently, since the Soviet Union has not only European States upon its borders, but also Asiatic States, such as Japan, China and others, which are excluded in advance from the organizations proposed and, thus exempted from the new obligations, it can hardly be expected that the Soviet Union itself should undertake these obligations. Further, the fulfilment of these obligations and the manner of their fulfilment is left entirely to the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations, which is further proof that this part of the French proposals is not meant to apply to the Soviet Union.

In the circumstances the Soviet delegation sees no necessity at the present moment for detailed analysis of the proposals contained in chapters 2-5 of the French memorandum, the more that it has already expressed its opinion on certain of these proposals, such as for example the internationalization of armed forces, when put before the Disarmament Conference by M. Tardieu, then head of the French delegation. It nevertheless reserves to itself the right to revert to them if and when the States for which they are intended show readiness to accept them.

As I have already pointed out, only the French proposals contained in the first chapter, dealing with the interpretation and considerable extension of the obligations undertaken by the signatories to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, may be considered as addressed to all the States here represented, including the U. S. S. R. I am happy to be able to state that the Soviet delegation raises no objections to these proposals and would be ready to sign a convention embodying them. I venture, however, to make a few observations, in my opinion, of the utmost relevance.

I assume that if we aim at the strengthening and extension of obligations under the Pact, we are bound at the same time to see to it that the obligations already undertaken remain in force for all its signatories, and are not limited or

minimized by those reservations made on their own account by certain States—reservations practically nullifying the whole Pact. These reservations, it is true, have no legal force, inasmuch as the other signatories to the Pact have not given their assent to them, but for all that, cases have been known of aggression being justified by reference to them. The Soviet delegation, therefore, will propose in due time that the States which have made these reservations should formally repudiate them, or that they should be deprived of all legal and moral force by an international agreement.

Further, the French proposals provide for certain international sanctions with regard to a State infringing the Pact, that is to say to a State found to be the aggressor in any armed conflict. This inevitably brings us to the questions: How is the aggressor to be determined, and who is to determine the aggressor? Apparently we must either think about setting up a special international organ for this purpose, or invest a conference of all signatories to the Pact with the necessary judicial powers. In either case the question of the impartiality of a decision on a matter of such vital importance for any State, as its stigmatization as an aggressor and the application to it of international sanctions, is bound to arise. This question is of interest to all States, but is of special interest to the State which I represent, and on this point more than any other, perfect frankness and mutual understanding are indispensable. We represent the only country in the whole world which has altered its political system, created a perfectly new political system of Soviets, destroyed capitalism and is building up a new social order, while all the other States have preserved the capitalist régime. You are aware that the phenomenon of a Soviet Socialist State was so distasteful to the whole capitalist world that at the time attempts were even made by way of intervention to restore the capitalist order in the country, or at least by way of dismemberment to reduce the dimensions of the new State.

These attempts were fruitless, and have not been renewed, but it cannot be said that the idea of fresh attempts has been completely abandoned. On the contrary we know that it is still cherished in many countries by extremely influential politicians, leaders of great parties, former, future, and even present members of governments, making a crusade against the Soviet Union almost the centre of their foreign policy, and for this purpose keeping up close organizational and financial connections with émigrés, adherents of the old Russian régime. It must be admitted that the capitalist world as a whole has not yet completely reconciled itself to the existence of a country building up socialism, and this irreconcilability continues to give rise to hostility to such a country, hostility continually finding the most varied means of expression. I will not weary you by enumerating all the many and various anti-Soviet campaigns which spring up from one year to another. I will merely remark that taking into account all the States in both hemispheres, the majority have not as yet established normal relations with the Soviet Union, in other words, are applying a boycott against it, one of those very sanctions proposed to be applied in the future only against an aggressor. In such circumstances it is permissible to enquire whether the Soviet Union may expect a fair attitude towards it and impartial decisions from any international organ, when such an organ consists exclusively of representatives of a capitalist world which is hostile to it, and may have a majority of representatives of the governments of countries boycotting it. It seems to me there can be no two answers to this question, and should anyone doubt this I would recommend him to imagine for the sake of hypothesis that his own State is the only capitalist country in the midst of countries which have established the Soviet system and are building up socialism, and I would ask him to tell us if he thinks his country would entrust the solution of questions vital to itself to an international organ consisting exclusively of representatives of the governments of Soviet countries? A moment's thought will show why the Soviet Union, as long as the present attitude to it lasts, cannot agree to acknowledge as binding upon itself the decisions of such international organizations as the Assembly or the Council of the League of Nations, existing international tribunals and arbitration courts, although by no means rejecting on principle the idea of international cooperation or arbitration. This question becomes acute for us every time there is talk of setting up international organs with judicial, controlling and similar functions. It is natural enough in such circumstances that we should demand such composition of these organs which should ensure for us the same measure of impartiality and fairness as is enjoyed by capitalist States. And such a demand will have to be made by the Soviet delegation when, in consequence of the French proposals, the question of the establishment of such organs comes up for discussion. We do not think, however, that the fulfilment of this legitimate demand need meet with serious practical obstacles.

Whatever its composition, however, any international organ called upon to determine the aggressor would be bound to experience extraordinary difficulties in existing circumstances, if only from the simple fact that there is no universally acknowledged definition of aggression, and that, in practice as well as in theory, multitudinous discordance prevails on this point. This is demonstrated among other things by the reservations made when signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

What is the meaning of these reservations? Do they not amount to the insistence of certain States on freedom of action, pact or no pact, in certain cases or in certain parts of the globe? And what these cases or localities are is left for each State to decide. What, it may be asked, are the guarantees that those very circumstances which have hitherto been made pretexts for war will not be regarded as such cases? Experience has shown us that numerous and various circumstances have been used as justification for aggression such as: the desire to exploit the natural riches of a given territory, the infringement of some international agreement, the measures taken by some State, encroaching upon the material interest of another, the defense of nationals, voluntarily residing at their own risk in a given country, the infringement of established privileges by some State, the outbreak of revolution or disorders, and so on. Such justifications for attack have been made not in the middle ages, not in past centuries, but in quite recent times. And this practice has been enriched with new theories. There seems to be a tendency nowadays to justify attack by actual or alleged chaotic condition of another State, by the extent of capital investments or by special interests in another State, by the allegation of absence of certain State attributes in another country, by strategical considerations, or by the desire to extend one country's line of self-defense well beyond its own frontiers. A theory has also lately been advanced justifying war as one method of ensuring peace. If such theories are widely spread and are taken into account by international arbiters, that is to say by members of international tribunals, it may confidently be prophesied that an aggressor will never be found in any armed conflict, and that only mutually aggressive or mutually defensive parties will be established, or worse still, the defensive party will be considered the aggressor, and vice versa.

You are aware, ladies and gentlemen, that even tribunals acting on the basis of exact laws are not always able to pass just decisions. This is shown by the fact that different judicial authorities, acting on the basis of identical laws, in identical cases pass judgments which are not identical. How much less can it be expected that tribunals will pass fair decisions, when they are not bound to obey any laws or guiding lines, and would not this be precisely the situation of an international organ obliged now to apply the Kellogg-Briand Pact? And here it is a matter not of the interests of individual citizens, but of those of States and peoples.

It is obvious that if we wish to see the Kellogg-Briand Pact, together with the extension proposed by the French delegation, in action, and to secure the minimum of authority, impartiality and confidence to the international organ to be called into life by these extensions, we shall have to give it instructions for its guidance, and that means first of all defining war and aggression, and the distinction between aggression and defense, and once for all condemning those fallacious justifications of aggression with which the past has familiarized us. The Soviet delegation has endeavored to embody the ideas I have just expounded in a draft declaration which it ventures to offer for your consideration.

Draft

DEFINITION OF "AGGRESSOR"

DECLARATION

The General Commission,

Considering that, in the interests of general security and the facilitation of the attainment of an agreement for the maximum reduction of armaments, it is necessary, with the utmost precision, to define aggression, in order to remove any possibility of its justification;

Recognizing the principle of equal right of all States to independence, security and self-defense;

Animated by the desire of ensuring to each nation, in the interests of general peace, the right of free development according to its own choice and at the rate that suits it best, and of safeguarding the security, independence and complete territorial inviolability of each State and its right to self-defense against attack or invasion from outside but only within its own frontiers, and

Anxious to provide the necessary guidance to the international organs which may be called upon to define the aggressor;

Declares:

1. The aggressor in an international conflict shall be considered that State which is the first to take any of the following actions:

(a) Declaration of war against another State;

(b) the invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another State without declaration of war;

(c) bombarding the territory of another State by its land, naval or air forces, or knowingly attacking the naval or air forces of another State;

(d) the landing in or introduction within the frontiers of another State, of land, naval or air forces, without the permission of the government of such a State, or the infringement of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the duration of sojourn or extension of area;

(e) the establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another State.

2. No consideration whatsoever of a political, strategical or economic nature, including the desire to exploit natural riches or to obtain

any sort of advantages or privileges on the territory of another State, no references to considerable capital investments or other special interests in a given State, or to the alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization in the case of a given country, shall be accepted as justification of aggression as defined in clause 1.

In particular, justification for attack cannot be based upon:

A. The internal situation in a given State, as for instance:

(a) political, economic or cultural backwardness of a given country;

(b) alleged mal-administration;

(c) possible danger to life or property of foreign residents;

(d) revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes;

(e) the establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic or social order.

B. Any acts, laws, or regulations of a given State, as for instance:

(a) the infringement of international agreements;

(b) the infringement of the commercial, concessional or other economic rights, or interests of a given State or its citizens;

(c) the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations;

(d) economic or financial boycott;

(e) repudiation of debts;

(f) non-admission or limitation of immigration, or restriction of rights or privileges of foreign residents;

(g) the infringement of the privileges of official representatives of other States;

(h) the refusal to allow armed forces transit to the territory of a third State;

(i) religious or anti-religious measures;

(j) frontier incidents.

3. In the case of the mobilization or concentration of armed forces to a considerable extent in the vicinity of its frontiers the State which such activities threaten may have recourse to diplomatic or other means for the peaceful solution of international controversies. It may at the same time take steps of a military nature, analogous to those described above, without, however, crossing the frontier.

The General Commission decides to embody the above principles in the convention on security and disarmament, or in a special agreement, to form an integral part of the said convention.

In drawing up this document I was by no means unaware of those discussions which have taken place in the League of Nations, and the difficulties with which attempts to define aggressive acts have met. I am, therefore, able to foresee all the objections and observations which might be made with regard to our document by lawyers or other experts, who will once again point out the impossibility of an absolute definition of aggression, the possibility of cases unforeseen by us, and—most important of all—the difficulty of establishing the original aggressor in the case of concentration of armed forces on either side of a frontier. I can reply in advance to these, that we make no pretensions to absolute definitions since such are hardly possible or conceivable, and moreover in the great majority of cases known to us in history, if not in all cases of armed conflicts, the establishment of such factors as which side was the first to declare war or to commit a real act of aggression, has presented no real difficulties, controversy only arising as to the legitimacy of the causes and justification for such aggression. I think the same thing may be said with regard to cases which have come before the League of Nations during the last few years. I admit, however, that the Soviet delegation itself attributes infinitely greater importance to the second clause in its declaration, in which will be found denunciation of instances of justification of aggression both already known to us in history and capable of arising in the future, than to the other clauses.

I do not feel sure that, in the draft declaration I have just read to you, all conceivable justifications of war have been exhausted, and indeed this was not our purpose. In saying that no considerations whatsoever could justify attack on foreign territory, we cover also circumstances not specially mentioned in the declaration. We are ready to admit the imperfections of the document we are placing before you, we are ready to listen to your objections, to advance and accept amendments, additions, and the like. It is not, however, details that matter but the acceptance of the basic principles underlying this document. These principles consist in the acknowledgment of the inviolability of established and recognized frontiers for any State, great or small, the denial of any State's right to interfere in the affairs, development, legislation or administration of another. We ought to proclaim a "Charter of the Freedom of Nations" at this Conference. Only then will international agreements for the renunciation of war and for non-aggression acquire real significance, and inspire all States with the feeling of some degree of security. I say "some degree," because we still insist that full security for all can only be ensured by total or the utmost possible disarmament.

Until and unless this is fulfilled, however, we shall endeavor to bring about solutions for what is known as the problem of security, solutions that cannot be made the object of diplomatic juggling, but will profit the smaller and weaker, and not only the stronger countries.

You will realize that our proposals are not meant to be competitive to or a substitute for the French proposals, but are their logical extension. This is why we regard their consideration as desirable during the discussion of the French proposals.

The Soviet government, in placing its new proposals before you is moved exclusively by those same aspirations which caused it at the time to propose total disarmament, and which are causing it to give such prominence in its foreign policy to the system of bi-lateral non-aggression pacts—aspirations for the utmost possible guarantees of world-peace. I do not think there are any left to doubt the peaceable dispositions of the country I represent. It is true there are still skeptics and cynics who endeavor to minimize its significance by pointing out that the Soviet State requires peace for its socialist construction. We do not deny this, but do such people imply that it is only the Soviet State which can build itself up and develop in peaceful conditions, and that other conditions, not peaceful, are required for the development of capitalist States? If any State giving evidence of peaceable disposition would explain that it requires peace for its development, we for our part would not hold this against it. We have given every State represented here the opportunity to display such disposition by accepting our proposals for disarmament, and non-aggression pacts; we give them this opportunity once more by our recent proposals.

Soviet Attitude on British Proposal

IN the discussion which took place on February 17 at Geneva on the British proposal for a European declaration against the use of force, Mr. Litvinov spoke as follows:

"The Soviet delegation proposes two changes in the British draft declaration, namely, to eliminate the word 'Europe' from the first and second paragraphs and to eliminate from the first paragraph the words 'simultaneously with the disarmament convention.' From these suggestions it is evident that the Soviet delegation has no objection to the substance of the British proposal and if the Soviet delegation suggests extending the sphere of action of these new acts of interpretation beyond the boundaries of Europe, it is actuated not only by the desire to make the declaration universal or the consideration that the more signatures there are the better. No, the changes we suggest have a deeper significance which I wish to explain.

"All the countries represented at the conference signed the Briand-Kellogg Pact. This pact outlawed war as a means of settling international disputes, and declared that the solution of all conflicts, whatever their nature and origin, should be reached by peaceful means alone. The British draft declaration adds nothing new to these obligations, except that whereas the pact speaks of repudiation of war, the draft declaration speaks of the application of force.

"In the opinion of the Soviet delegation the repudiation of war means not only the refusal to declare and wage war in the narrow sense of the word, but the refusal to enter upon any military operations and acts of violence in relation to any other state. I presume that this interpretation is acceptable to all those who participated in the Briand-Kellogg Pact and that therefore the English draft declaration might appear superfluous. However, it might be useful to have this interpretation in written form and to give it the legal force of an international act, but only in the event of the acceptance of such an act by all participants in the Briand-Kellogg Pact. We fear that in the opposite event the declaration might do more harm than good.

"If we consider it necessary to define or interpret any existing international act, we thereby acknowledge that it is unclear or susceptible of varying interpretations. If we should now sign a declaration proclaiming that we, the European nations, undertake not to have recourse to force, that would lead to the logical conclusion that any other participant in the Briand-Kellogg Pact, not sharing in the present declaration, while obliged not to have recourse to war, is entirely free to enter upon military operations or any other acts of violence which in its opinion are not actual war. For instance, let us suppose that some one of the signers of the Briand-Kellogg Pact has seized foreign territory, occupied extensive provinces, abolished the existing administration and established a new one, acting as if on its own territory. Such a signatory might declare that it had not violated the Briand-Kellogg Pact. As long as the British draft declaration has not been signed, this hypothetical country of which I have spoken might be considered a violator of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, but just as soon as this declaration is signed and we take upon ourselves new obligations not to make use of force, the situation changes. The State in question may say:

" 'Until now no obligation to refrain from

force has existed. However, inasmuch as I have not signed that declaration, and am not contemplating signing it, I am free to act as I consider necessary. Furthermore, you yourselves have acknowledged that I as a non-European State am not obliged to sign it. I have not declared war. To be sure, I have carried out certain acts of violence, but they are not included in the Kellogg Pact. Therefore I am free from any accusations of having violated the pact.'

"This is the sort of situation which it seems to me might arise if in signing this declaration, we were to limit it to European countries. It is for that reason that we attribute such importance to extending the scope of this declaration to all participants in the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

"We are agreed that it would be most useful to have an interpretation of that pact, but we cannot agree to an act legalizing two interpretations, one for European, the other for non-European countries.

"To be sure, by such a declaration we might give a certain additional security to European countries, but we should do that only at the expense of non-European countries. Furthermore, even a European State might be subject to attack not only by a European country but also by a non-European country, in which event the security arising from the present declaration would also be limited. In addition, if we consider it necessary or useful to make this new declaration, I ask: Why not make this declaration at once, why should it be put off until the moment when the disarmament convention is ready?

"If its aim is to strengthen the feeling of security in order to simplify the work of the disarmament conference, that aim could be attained only in the event that the declaration is signed immediately and ratified as soon as possible, otherwise the acceptance of the declaration by the delegates who are here might appear not binding for the governments represented, because in these times governments in many countries are not long-lived, and just at the moment the disarmament convention is ready for signing, a new government might come into power which would repudiate the acceptance of the declaration. We cannot achieve any sense of security from the acceptance of the declaration by the delegates if the declaration has not been signed. It is for this reason that we propose to strike out the words 'Europe' and 'simultaneously with the disarmament convention.' We should even propose the addition of the words 'ratification in the shortest possible period.'

"In substance this declaration has no direct relation to disarmament. The need of security is much greater when there is no disarmament or when it has been put off until some future time, than when disarmament has already become a fact. Disarmament in itself is a much more real measure of security than any other international act. It would therefore seem logical that this declaration be signed before the disarmament convention and not postponed to some remote date which perhaps will never come."

FRANCO-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION PACT ENTERS INTO FORCE

On February 11 the President of the French Republic ratified the Non-aggression Pact and the Convention on Conciliation Procedure, which were signed in Paris on November 29, 1932, by Mr. Dovgalevsky, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in France and President of the Council of Ministers of France, M. Herriot.

On February 14 the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. also ratified the aforesaid treaties.

On February 15 the exchange of ratification documents on the two treaties took place at the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow whereupon the Non-aggression Pact and Conciliation Convention entered into effect.

CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN SERVICE

On January 29 Mr. K. K. Yurenev, formerly Soviet representative in Austria, was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Japan in place of Mr. A. A. Troyanovsky.

Soyuzphoto.

A Moscow School girl skiing in the Sokolniki Park of Culture and Rest

Japanese-Soviet Correspondence

THE following exchange of correspondence between Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs L. M. Karakhan and the Japanese Ambassador Ota was printed in the Moscow *Izvestia* of February 1, 1933, for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs:

Note of the Japanese Ambassador Ota

"Moscow, January 28, 1933

"M. Karakhan:

"The local newspapers of January 24 stated that M. Molotov among other things in his report to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on January 23, said:

" 'Some aspects of the attitude of certain Japanese circles to the U.S.S.R. have attracted particular attention recently. This led to the recent publication by the Japanese War Ministry of a provocative statement about the Soviet government and the future embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China. Notwithstanding the categorical denial on our part of these anti-Soviet inventions, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Uchida repeated them in the Japanese Parliament on January 21.'

"The embassy has no official information regarding the communiqué here mentioned of the War Ministry and is therefore unable to ascertain its veracity, but we presume that the question is concerned with what the local press of January 21 published, in particular:

" 'On January 15 the Japanese War Ministry published in the Japanese newspapers a communiqué disseminating provocative statements about the Soviet government and the future embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China.

" 'The communiqué contained the statement that the Comintern recently proposed to the Chinese Communist Party to focus attention on the strengthening of the Chinese Red Army, assuring that it would render the maximum financial support through the Soviet embassy to be opened very soon in China.

" 'The communiqué further alleges that an agreement had been reached between the Soviet and Nanking governments for extension of trade relations with the purpose of excluding foreign goods from the Chinese market.

" 'The 19th of January the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Japan lodged a protest with the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Arita, against the dissemination by the War Ministry in an official communiqué of similar clearly fictitious, anti-Soviet statements.'

"M. Molotov further stated in his speech that Minister Uchida repeated the above-mentioned so-called provocative statements. So far as we know this statement in no way corresponds with the facts. The contents of the speech of the Minister in Parliament are already known to you in the English text, handed to you several days ago. If we must find some part of the speech which has any basis for suspicion of having any relation whatever to the statement mentioned, it may be considered perhaps to be the following part of the speech:

" 'Certain fears are entertained as to whether the recent resumption of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China may not lead to the strengthening of communist propaganda throughout the East. I do not have the time now to judge such opinions. If, however, the Red movement in the Yangtze valley and southern China, which for a long time have suffered from communist activities and the plunder of communist armies, is strengthened as a result of the Russo-Chinese accord this will be a serious threat to the peace of the East, in view of which Japan without doubt must be on guard.'

"As a consequence of this speech of M. Molotov there is, in this connection, it seems to me, some misunderstanding which I am calling to your attention and in view of which I would request you to take whatever measures are required in the interest of maintaining the mutually friendly relations between the two countries and of avoiding any incorrect impressions which might get abroad. I would ask you to have in mind here that I would not be opposed to your publishing these notes in the press, as one of these measures.

"Accept, M. Karakhan, the assurances of my high regard.

"OTA."

Reply of Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs Karakhan

"Moscow, January 31, 1933

"M. Ota:

"I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet government, considering it unnecessary to enter into discussion of the separate statements contained in your note of January 28, takes into consideration the fact, M. Ambassador, as evidenced by your note, that the Japanese government does not intend to identify itself with the communiqué of the Japanese War Ministry which evoked a categorical denial from the Soviet government, published in the Moscow press of January 21.

"In accordance with your expressed wish, M. Ambassador, your note as well as my reply to it is being published by me in the press.

"Accept, M. Ota, the assurances of my high regard.

"L. KARAKHAN."

Unified State Budget of the USSR for 1933

IN a preamble to its decree on the unified State budget for 1933, adopted at its session on January 30, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. notes that on the basis of the successful accomplishment of the Five-Year Plan in four years, the internal sources of socialist accumulation in the U.S.S.R. have been greatly increased. In a country as highly socialized as the U.S.S.R. the growth of the budget is an indication of economic progress. The State budget of the Soviet Union reached 30,000,000,000 rubles in 1932, an increase of four and a half times over the budget of the first year of the plan. The budget for 1933 is set at 35,000,000,000 rubles.

The unified State budget for 1933 as ratified by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. with changes proposed by the Budget Committee of the U.S.S.R. follows:

A. REVENUE

I. Revenue from socialized economy:		
1. Business turnover tax		21,796,200,000
2. Special commodity fund		1,700,000,000
3. Tax on non-commercial operations		162,000,000
4. Agricultural tax from collectives		168,000,000
5. Deductions from profits of socialized economy:		
(a) Enterprises of heavy industry	415,480,000	
(b) District electrical stations	5,400,000	
(c) Enterprises of light industry	118,420,000	
(d) Enterprises of lumber industry	600,000	
(e) Enterprises of food industry	185,605,000	
(f) Foreign trade enterprises	31,600,000	
(g) State purchasing organizations	13,800,000	
(h) Agricultural enterprises	5,770,000	
(i) Credit institutions	250,000,000	
(j) Republican and local trade	5,700,000	
(k) Other enterprises	73,512,000	
Total deductions from profits		1,105,887,000
6. Revenue from transport and communications:		
(a) Railroad transport	2,517,200,000	
(b) Other transport enterprises	3,600,000	
(c) People's communications	254,600,000	
Total revenue from transport and communications		2,775,400,000
7. State 8 per cent internal loan		800,000,000
8. Revenue from coin issue		50,000,000
9. Duties and collections		2,000,000
10. Income tax from enterprises of the socialized sector		85,425,000
11. Return of consumers' cooperative loans		100,000,000
12. Tax from State farms		4,000,000
Total revenue from socialized economy		28,748,912,000
II. Revenue from population:		
1. Organized accumulation:		
(a) Mass loans	2,800,000,000	
(b) Loans from savings banks	412,000,000	
Total		3,212,000,000
2. Tax payments:		
(a) Collections for housing and cultural construction	1,270,000,000	
(b) Passenger insurance	280,000,000	
(c) Agricultural tax from individual farms	432,000,000	
(d) Single tax for 1932 from individual peasant farms	30,000,000	
(e) Income tax from individuals	140,420,000	
Total		2,152,420,000
Total revenue from the population		5,364,420,000
III. Revenue from other sources:		
1. Customs revenues		140,000,000
2. Special collections from freight documents and passenger tickets		183,600,000
3. Miscellaneous revenues		73,988,000
4. Payments by central social insurance administration for students stipends		500,000,000
Total revenue from other sources		897,588,000
Grand total		35,010,920,000

B. EXPENDITURES

I. National economy:		
1. Industries under the People's Commissariat for heavy industry		10,748,968,000
(a) Heavy industry	10,211,260,000	
(b) Electrification	537,708,000	
2. Light industries of the People's Commissariat for light industry		834,820,000
3. Industries of the People's Commissariat for lumber		1,088,900,000
4. Other industries		630,200,000
5. State farms of the People's Commissariat for grain and livestock grain farms		1,391,050,000
6. Collective construction and measures of the People's Commissariat for agriculture		1,484,703,000
7. Water enterprises		38,400,000
8. Food industry of the People's Commissariat for supplies		747,700,000
9. State trade supplying and purchasing organizations		2,193,800,000
10. Foreign trade		70,239,000

11. Communal economy and housing	14,974,000
12. Railroad transport	2,163,300,000
13. Water transport	644,100,000
14. Roads and auto transport	333,724,000
15. Civil air fleet	156,650,000
16. Administration of Northern Sea Way	25,000,000
17. People's communications	186,000,000
18. Committee of reserves under STO	780,000,000
19. United hydro-meteorological service	59,064,000
20. Other expenditures for financing national economy	320,474,000
Total expenditures for national economy	23,912,066,000
II. Social and cultural measures:	
(In addition to funds expended out of local budgets amounting to 3,419,000,000, out of the social insurance budget amounting to 2,851,000,000 rubles and from other sources amounting to 3,023,000,000.)	
1. Education	2,153,038,000
2. Health protection	128,362,000
3. Physical culture	8,085,000
4. Organization, labor protection and social welfare	103,619,000
Total for social and cultural measures	2,393,104,000
III. Defense and administration:	
1. People's Commissariat for Army and Navy	1,450,000,000
2. Special troops	123,700,000
3. General administration, regulation of national economy and administration of social and cultural work	690,731,000
Total for defense and administration	2,264,431,000
IV. Expenditures on government loans	1,330,000,000
V. Deductions from government revenues in local budgets	1,949,403,000
VI. Funds transferred to other financial institutions:	
1. Social insurance from centralized fund of accounts with social insurance organs	94,650,000
2. Settlements with State Bank	266,800,000
3. Sums transferred to State insurance	30,000,000
Total funds transferred	391,450,000
VII. Other expenditures:	
1. Reserve funds of Councils of People's Commissars	922,700,000
2. Other funds	67,766,000
Total other expenditures	990,466,000
Total expenditures	33,230,920,000
State reserve fund	1,780,000,000
Grand total	35,010,920,000

The Moscow Theatrical Season

AFTER a period of somewhat excessive utilitarianism, during which the new plays were almost exclusively devoted to practical problems of the Five-Year Plan, the Soviet theater has this year entered upon a period of new vitality. The range of subjects has increased, the quality of the new plays is higher, a number of new playwrights have come forward, and a number of classical plays have been revived. A large number of foreign plays are also being produced. Most of the new plays are still concerned with the vital problems that interest the Soviet population, with socialist construction, with the building of new factories and collectives, and the new problems developing around them, for the people of the Soviet Union are so absorbed in these questions that they find actual life more exciting than any imaginary happenings. But the new plays along these lines are less stereotyped than the first of the crop, the genre has been better mastered, the plays produced with such fire and spirit that they stir the audiences to real enthusiasm. For some years Soviet critics have been complaining of the monotonous, uninspired quality of the new plays, asking for more laughter, joy, excitement. Stalin added his voice to the complaints, suggesting that some of the young playwrights who were turning out three dull plays a year would do better to write one good play in three years. The disbanding of "Vapp" and "Rapp" (All-Union and All-Russian Societies of Proletarian Writers) and the formation instead of the Union of Soviet writers, bringing to an end the confining censorship of the earlier groups which insisted that all plays should follow certain narrow formulas, has also made itself felt. While questions of sex, family, personal struggles which excite the western world, have little place in the Soviet drama, some of the playwrights have turned refreshingly to problems of individual psychology as related to the building of the socialist State and given their plays more human meaning.

The growing cultural requirements of the people of the Soviet Union have meant a continuous growth in the number of theaters throughout the country, which has followed a definite plan, since the arts have had a piatiletka of their own. The number of professional theatrical troupes reached 424 in 1932, and the number of permanent theaters, 391—as against 154 in Tsarist times. There are also about 8,000 small club theaters. New theaters are being built not only in the large central cities of the

U.S.S.R., but in far off provincial towns and new industrial districts. Siberia, the Far East, the Urals, where no theaters existed at all formerly, have their own theaters now. There are fifty-six theaters of the minor nationalities, producing plays in thirty-three different languages. The main theaters of the larger centers make tours to other parts of the country.

The attendance at the theaters is growing rapidly. Special rates are made for tickets for workers through the trade unions. In 1930, thirty million persons visited the theaters of the U.S.S.R.—in 1931, seventy million. The number of actors is also increasing. There are altogether 24,350 actors and actresses in the Soviet Union, and there is no unemployment at all among stage people—there is rather a shortage in view of the great demand on the part of the public for dramatic entertainment. There are a large number of dramatic schools training theatrical workers.

One of the most important events of the present Moscow theatrical season was the production, in connection with the celebration of Gorky's forty years of literary and political work, of the new Gorky play, "Egor Bulychev and Others," by the Vakhtangov Theater, universally hailed as a great play. This play depicts the death of the old world and the birth of the new in the fate of a small group, and particularly the central character, into whose individual psychology Gorky goes deeply. In his review of the play, Karl Radek wrote:

"The great writer, Maxim Gorky, whom we are honoring these days, has given a magnificent present to the Soviet Union. No one who saw the production of the Gorky play 'Egor Bulychev and Others' on September 24, will forget that evening. Before the eyes of the audience passed a picture of the dying of Russian capitalism, a picture full of deep symbolism, although there is no deliberate symbolism in the play and it sustains throughout the aspect of the drama of one man. The heroes of the drama are presented without labels, but in spite of that the audience sees and feels that a whole social system is perishing. . . .

"He has made his selection in the true Gorky manner—he has given the milieu which he knows superbly, which he can describe as can no one else. . . .

"The Vakhtangov Theater has given this play the presentation it deserved. The performance ranks with the best that Moscow has seen. . . ."

Early in December the Vakhtangov Theater received the second play of the Gorky trilogy, which is entitled "Dostigayev and Others," and deals with the period from July to October, 1917. It carries through the theme of the first play, its central character, Dostigayev, being a provincial merchant connected with western finance capital. He is wise, jolly, talented—his main characteristic is his ability to adapt himself to any conditions. He understands fully the inevitable fate of his class, watches the wind, and is ready at any minute to reconcile himself with the forces replacing those of his dying class, and at the time of the revolution makes advances to the Bolseviki. The members of the Vakhtangov Theater are very enthusiastic about the new play. They started rehearsals on it in December, and expect to have it ready for production this Spring. The third play of the trilogy, on which Gorky is now working, will deal with the same character during the Nep period.

The Vakhtangov Theater has one of the most interesting and well balanced repertoires of any theater in Moscow, combining plays about the revolutionary past, the present era of socialist construction and classical drama.

Vakhtangov, its founder, who was responsible for the fine productions of Gozzi's "Princess Turandot" and Seifullina's "Virinea," and whose death meant the loss of one of Russia's most talented directors, said to Stanislavsky, in the early days of the revolution:

"We can no longer work as we have worked previously. We cannot continue to occupy ourselves with art for our own pleasure. It is too stuffy. Open the window; let the fresh air in, let life come in. We need not be afraid of life, but must go along with it."

He was one of the first to undertake the production of Soviet themes, and since then the theater has moved steadily ahead. It forms a link between the older academic theaters and the new revolutionary theaters.

Perhaps the most discussed play of the past season has been the production of "Hamlet" at the Vakhtangov Theater. Soviet critics, on the whole, have disapproved of the production on one ground or another, but it plays to packed houses who leave the theater arguing mightily and excitedly, for no more original and stimulating conception of "Hamlet" has ever been staged. While unlike any other production of "Hamlet" the world has yet seen, and while certain liberties and rearrangements of the text have been made, nevertheless it is based on a scientific restoration of the original text and a profound study of the period. The play was rehearsed for fifteen months during which period the actors were steeped in material on the Renaissance, on Shakespeare and his times, on all previous interpretations of Hamlet, on the philosophy of the Humanists, on the customs of the epoch. Akimov, the brilliant young producer, sought to make the play more true to its own period than has ever been done before by using means to reproduce in present-day audiences the same emotions evoked in the audiences of the play's own time. Since madness was a matter of ridicule in Shakespeare's time, Akimov makes his Ophelia drunk

rather than deranged. Since the literal minded modern could not accept his ghost convention, nor take Hamlet seriously if he believed in ghosts (Akimov presents him as not mad nor neurotic, but merely ambitious for his father's crown), Hamlet creates and enacts the ghost himself to sow suspicions of his father's murder. Other innovations are that the famous soliloquy becomes a dialogue with Horatio, the grave-digger's scene is omitted, except on the program, an episode between the king and queen finds them in antique and dignity-destroying night-gowns, and Claudius, while having his portrait painted in the "Room in the Castle" scene, walks away leaving his ermine robe, scepter and crown standing emptily and ironically on the dais, upheld by a servant. The whole production is staged with rare beauty and splendor and whatever one may think of the interpretation, is certainly a work of genius.

Another play of the Vakhtangov Theater that deserves special mention is "Tempo," probably the most entertaining of all the plays on socialist construction. The theme is the establishment of a factory in a village, with an American engineer as the hero. The problem of turning backward peasants into skilled factory workers is dealt with half seriously, half satirically. "The Intrigue of the Senses," another Vakhtangov production based on Yury Olesha's successful novel "Envy," is an interesting study of the struggle between idealism and materialism. Among the new productions of this season is "Foreign Collegium," a play by Subbotin, depicting life in Odessa during the French intervention period. Balzac's "Comedie Humaine" and a new play by Babel are scheduled for production this season.

While the Moscow Art Theater, which now bears the name of Gorky, has come in for severe criticism on the part of the left wing dramatic producers and critics, it still stands very high in popular favor, and day after day, alone of all the Moscow theaters, its advertisements bear the legend, "all tickets sold." On January 13, Stanislavsky, its great founder, was seventy years old. Already bearing the honorable title of "People's Artist of the Republic," Stanislavsky was decorated with the Red Banner of Labor on his birthday in recognition of his long years of service in the theater and in training actors. Greetings were sent him by his many friends among Soviet officials and from many art, educational and social groups, and articles on his life and work were published in the press and magazines.

While the Gorky Theater still shows a number of the old classics, it has an increasing number of plays by the new Soviet playwrights on its repertoire. Among its leading plays are "Armored Train," by Vsevolod Ivanov, "Bread," by Kirshon, and "Fear," by Afinigenov. "Bread," by the author of "Red Rust," which was produced

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Hamlet as his father's ghost—Vakhtangov Theater

in America by the Theater Guild, is one of the best presentations of the life and problems of the new Russia. The play itself is a little weak, but it has been given a masterful production. The action of the play occurs during the beginning of the swift movement toward collectivization, at the height of the struggle between the rich and the poor peasants. "Fear," one of the most successful plays of last season, deals with the conflict in a scientific research laboratory between the pre-revolutionary scientist clinging to his belief in pure science, and the new Soviet scientist who sees science as merely one more tool for building the socialist State. "The Days of the Turbins," by Mikhail Bulgakov, dealing with the civil war in the Ukraine, was banned for several years because of its sympathetic portrayal of the Whites, but is now back on the repertoire. The Gorky Theater has produced Gogol's "Dead Souls" this season, after working on it for three years, also a new satirical play, "Suicide," by Erdman. A play by Leonid Leonov, "Skutarevsky," based on his novel by the same name, is to be performed this season. This play deals with the difficulties besetting the scientific intelligentzia in adapting themselves to the realities of Soviet life. The Gorky Theater is also working on "Mr. Pickwick," adapted from Dickens. The affiliated First Art Theater is playing, among other things, "Reklama," a Russian version of "Chicago," and Valentine Katayev's "Squaring the Circle," a comedy of Soviet domestic relations.

The Second Moscow Art Theater celebrated the 20th anniversary of its existence in January. Founded originally as a studio of the Moscow Art Theater, it became the Second Art Theater in 1924, under the direction of Stanislavsky and his closest assistant, Salargitsky. At first it confined itself largely to Shakespeare, Fletcher, Molière, Hugo, and other classics. One of the most popular plays in its repertoire has been the

"Cricket on the Hearth," which was performed 723 times up to January, 1933. In 1928 there was a break between the director and the cast of the theater, since the former had ignored present-day subjects, while the players themselves were anxious to add plays dealing with the new order. Since then an increasing number of new plays have been added—among them "Cranks," by Afinogenov, "A Thankless Role," by Faiko, and "Earth and Sky," by Turov. "A Thankless Role" is an attempt to present complex and actual problems in comedy form. The play deals with a foreign lady journalist who comes to Moscow with a patronizing attitude, but has her impressions changed by reality. The action of "Earth and Sky" takes place in an observatory. The hero first occupies the Pulkovsky Observatory as head of a Red Army division—he is suspicious of "star-gazing" and indifferent to the complex astronomical instruments around him, but later returns, and applies himself to scientific work with the same vigor with which he fought Yudenitch. "The Judge," a new piece by Kirshon, the scene of which is set in Europe, is to be produced this season. The Second Art Theater is now considering the dramatization of "Oblomov" and other Goncharov novels. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which has been running for some years, remains one of the most popular plays produced by this theater.

The Musical-Art Theater of Nemirovich-Danchenko, first organized as part of the Art Theater, in 1919, began its career with the presentation of "Doch Ango," "Pericola," "Falstaff," "The Barber of Seville," and other lighter operas, later adding "Lysistrata" and "Carmencita and the Soldier." In 1928 the theater began producing modern musical plays and modernized versions of older plays, and has since added Krenek's "Johnny Spielt Auf," "Lady Macbeth of Mtzensk," with music by Shostakovich, and "Fledermaus," by Straus, with a new text by Vera Inber. Recently it has produced a modernized version of Planquette's "The Bells of Corneville" (The Chimes of Normandy), with new lyrics by Vera Inber. Planquette's music has been adapted by Mossolov, who re-orchestrated the whole opera, wrote a few sections himself, deleted some parts and added selections from Planquette's other works.

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A set for "Sonata Pathetique" at the Kamerny Theater

There are also several studios affiliated with the Art Theaters which do very interesting work.

Dominating the more radical section of the Moscow theaters is Meyerhold, one of the most arresting figures in the Soviet dramatic world. He started out with the Art Theater, but rebelling against its naturalism, left it in 1902 and organized his own "Association of the Drama." In 1905 the Art Theater invited him to be director of the first Art Theater Studio. In 1907 he organized a marionette theater. For the next ten years he traveled and studied the European theater. In 1921 he was appointed director of the theatrical section of the Commissariat for Education and organized the first revolutionary theater. With the exception of Mayakovsky's "Mysteria Bouffe," produced in 1921, Meyerhold confined himself in the beginning almost entirely to old Russian classics presented in an entirely novel manner and revised to suit his own ends—chief among these was Ostrovsky's "Forest," Gogol's "Inspector General," Gribodeyev's "The Misfortune of Being Wise," which are still being presented. Meyerhold, at first interested in technical novelty alone, has recently come nearer to present trends and somewhat more conservative in manner. Of the modern plays produced by Meyerhold the most successful have been Tretyakov's "Roar China," Bezymensky's "The Shot"—the latter comedy of working class life in verse, Mayakovsky's "The Bug," showing up middle-class ideology—the first part set in contemporary Moscow, the second fifty years hence—with the bug as the symbol of the dirt and triviality of the old world, and "The Last Fight," by Vishnevsky. It is reported that Meyerhold is planning a production of Hamlet with two actors playing the part of the melancholy Dane. Meyerhold's most important contribution to the Soviet stage is bio-mechanics, defined in "Voices of October," by Freeman, Lozowick and Kunitz, as "the study of the physiologic and psychologic laws that govern the actor's body as a normally functioning mechanism, so that its every gesture and movement might be utilized with the greatest efficiency on the stage." He also introduced constructivism in stage settings, intended to be the theatrical parallel to industrial technique. All useless decoration is eliminated. Instead of curtains, wings, footlights, backdrops — the wood, iron, steel and

bricks of this mechanical age are used functionally.

The Theater of the Revolution, also originally concerned to a large extent with technical novelty, has recently adopted more realistic methods. Pogodin's "My Friend," one of the new pieces, has been noted by some Soviet critics as the best play of the season after "Egor Bulychev and Others." This play presents a spirited and convincing picture of a group of people working on new construction projects, interwoven with such purely human details as individual disappointments, the hero's relations with his wife, personal reactions to the disruption of work due to the lack of certain materials and so on. Another new production of this theater which has aroused a great deal of favorable comment, is "The City of Fools," adapted from a novel by Saltykov-Shedrin, the great satirist of the last century. In this production the satire has been carried into costumes, scenic decorations and make-up, which transforms the actors into living caricatures. The costumes and make-up for this production are by the Kukriniks, three gifted young cartoonists who have taken this joint name and who always work together, making individual drawings first, and then combining them into a composite final production. Other new plays of this theater are "The First Cavalry," "Commanders of the Piatiletka," by Pogodin, and "Struggle in the West," by Vishnevsky. One of the most discussed plays of last season was "Street of Joys," a social melodrama by Zarkhi, the scene of which is set in London. The Theater of the Revolution has two separate casts, one of which plays in workers' districts and one in the regular theater.

Somewhere between the seemingly irreconcilable methods of the naturalistic and mechanistic schools, comes the Kamerny Theater, which is under the direction of the able Tairov, and is one of the most original of the Soviet theaters. First opened in 1914 it was shut down in February, 1917, but opened again in the fall of 1917. Originally devoting most of its time to foreign authors, it has recently added more and more Soviet plays to its repertoire. Eugene O'Neill is one of the favorites of this theater, which has produced "The Hairy Ape," "Desire Under the Elms," and "All God's Chilluns Got Wings" (under the name of "Negro"). The last named began its run in 1929 and celebrated its 200th performance in December. It still plays to crowded houses. Tairov has introduced a number of pantomimic scenes and interludes designed to develop and supplement the written text. When Eugene O'Neill saw the production during the European tour of the Kamerny Theater, he expressed his amazement and delight that the production rang so true to the spirit of the work. "The Line of Fire," by Nikolas Nikitin, has been one of the most successful proletarian plays of this theater. Recently "Sonata Pathetique," by the Ukrainian playwright Kulish, depicting an episode of the civil war in a small provincial town, and Pervomaiski's "Unknown Soldier" have been added. A number of new plays dealing with modern Soviet life are in preparation. Lecoq's "Giroffle-Giroffla" and "The Beggar's Opera" are played frequently at the Kamerny.

Space does not permit more than passing mention of a number of other Moscow theaters which are doing very interesting work. The Proletcult Theater of the early days of the revolution, originally managed by Eisenstein, failed in its attempt to create a proletarian dramatic art without having mastered the old forms, and was reorganized into the Trade Union Theater, which has had a rather vaccillating existence, confining itself first to classical plays, later to Soviet plays, and now again including the classics. Its methods now come closer to the form of realism which is the main expression of the Soviet theater.

The Theater of Satire is producing several new comedies including "Protective Coloring" by Zorich.

The Moscow Dramatic Theater (formerly the Korsh Theater) is producing this season a new comedy by Valentine Katayev "Forward, Time!" described by the Soviet critic Yuzovsky as a comedy on the joy of labor. It deals with a day in the life of a new construction project, a day of struggle to finish one of the new industrial giants ahead of time. The heroes—workers, mechanics, engineers, are depicted very humanly. There is a love theme, and family scenes along with the mortar and steel and building materials unusual to comedy.

The "Little Theater" which in the past confined itself to classical drama in the traditional manner, is now showing modern plays along with the older ones. Its first new play of the present season was Fadeyev's "Razgrom." Other productions scheduled were Schiller's "Don Carlos," a play about the Red Army by Romashov, Ostrovsky's "Wild Spending," and others.

A new studio theater directed by Semionov, who was formerly with the Vakhtangov Theater, has given a new and fresh performance of Ostrovsky's popular play "Talents and Suitors," so far its most successful production.

The leading Moscow Opera house, the Bolshoy Theater, continues to produce the traditional Russian favorites in opera and ballet in the traditional manner — Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Borodin, Tchaikowsky appear regularly on the programs as well as the standard works of the German, French and Italian schools. The one innovation is Gliere's "The Red Poppy," a classical ballet, symbolizing the Chinese revolution, a dynamic and colorful piece of work.

Among the most interesting forms of the new

theater movement are the "Tram" groups. These are young workers' theaters, first run by amateurs, who later became professionals. There are two regular Tram theaters, one in Moscow, and one in Leningrad. The young workers write their own plays about industry and factory life. Their productions are realistic and strong—sometimes superior to those of the larger theaters.

The Moscow Children's Theater will be dealt with in a separate article later. In addition there are a number of excellent marionette theaters for children.

The Moscow circus is quite amusing with its two clowns, Bim and Bom, who get off daring political jokes, and Durov's excellent trained animals.

While the Soviet drama is at its height in Moscow, the theatrical life of the country is by no means confined to its main city. All the larger cities are developing excellent theaters of their own.

The theatrical culture of the national minorities has been revived since the revolution and there have been notable achievements in this field, and throughout the country there are thousands of amateur dramatic groups giving plays regularly in factories, collectives, villages.

The current theatrical season in Moscow will be capped by a festival period during the first ten days of June. The best of the season's plays will be put on at the leading theaters, and special arrangements made for foreign visitors to study the Soviet stage. A number of the more important theaters of the national minorities will come to Moscow to take part in the festival.

The "Sibiriakov" Completes the Northeast Passage

By BORIS GROMOV

The following account of the last days of the voyage of the ice-breaker "Sibiriakov" last summer was written by one of the members of the expedition. The expedition party consisted of seventy-one persons, including one woman, Russanova, an expert in geophysics, who has spent three winters on Novaya Zemlya. The "Sibiriakov" left Archangel on July 28, and made the voyage from Archangel to the Pacific in two months and four days, thus completing the northeast passage in one season, a feat never before accomplished. The most difficult part of the voyage, from the mouth of the Kolyma river to the Behring Straits, is described in this article. On their return to Moscow at the end of November, the three leaders of the expedition, Professor O. Y. Schmidt, Professor V. Y. Vize and Captain V. I. Voronin, were awarded the Order of Lenin by the government.

THREE-QUARTERS of the long journey of the "Sibiriakov" was already behind us.

To the right of the ice-breaker unrolled the shore of Chukotsky peninsula, an endless curving silver band glistening with freshly fallen snow. At the edge of the horizon appeared a narrow white belt of icy sky—a reflection of the ice fields. Beyond, large, black, round, Cape Shelagsky, intersected by a gray cloud.

The sea was lit by a giant conflagration—the sun, blood-red, incandescent like molten metal, was illuminated by bright red flame. The ice grew roseate, throwing off shining sparks.

The ice-breaker moved slowly and cautiously, tacking through the dark patches of water between the ice floes. We had already met with two mishaps—two blades of the propeller had been damaged. The fierce Arctic does not yield lightly, and victory over her can be attained only at the cost of great difficulties and hardships. The main shaft had been shaken loose. The ice-breaker trembled day and night, as if in a chill. The doors banged monotonously, the metal objects jingled incessantly. A sort of wild jazz band accompanied us on the last stage of the journey.

Our captain, V. I. Voronin, was constantly at his post in the crow's nest at the top of the mast, from which he searched constantly through his binoculars for the best course through the ice-fields.

For the first time in the whole expedition we began to stop for the night. The light of the midnight sun, so bright it hurt the eyes, was replaced by dark, starry nights. Complete silence came—the silence known only in the great spaces of the Arctic. All around us—complete darkness. Only the moon silvered the dark surface of the rare patches of unfrozen water. The sky was lowering, full of gray, hurrying clouds. The ice floes crackled quietly, jostling each other, dancing a senseless, revolving dance. And suddenly the sky lightened, the pale outlines of the aurora borealis appeared, brightening for a moment the dark blue bowl of the sky. People's voices sounded extraordinarily loud. The Arctic slept. Only the

pump kept up its regular beat, politely muffled, as if hesitating to break the stillness.

"Listen"—with a wink and a poke in the ribs, whispers the fair-haired young sailor, Pasha Sizykh—"Listen to what the machine sings—pro-i-diom, pro-i-diom—(we will get there, we will get there)—that is what it is singing—and just wait, so it will be."

Pasha Sizykh is our best sailor, our best *udarnik* (shock brigade worker). His eyes burn with such endless optimism, such faith in the future, in his own young strength, that one cannot help wanting to believe him.

"We'll make it, Pasha—it is not so far now to the Behring Straits."

On the upper deck, dimly lighted by an electric lamp, the dark figure of the ship's doctor, L. F. Limcher, rushes around in the darkness. He keeps in trim by taking his exercise regularly this way.

"When people grow tired—machines get tired, too"—says the captain. "The best thing for us to do here is to stop and go to sleep. How many evenings we have beaten against ice-barriers like this, unable to get through, only to wake in the morning and find them already behind us. . . ."

September 10—a day which will be forever engraved in the memories of all of us—was a sunny day. The ice-breaker plowed along beautiful shores, of huge ancient cliffs, spotted with newly fallen snow.

The cinema director, V. A. Schneider, in a great heavy shuba, making him fat and incredibly inflated, in transports over the panorama that was unrolling before us, aroused his group, making them take pictures of everything. Leaning against the railing, the members of the expedition silently contemplated the picture. Only on the hunter, the Abkhazian, Chachba, a great marksman, transported by the whim of fate from the hot south to the Arctic wastes, did the picture make no impression.

"The same kind of mountains that we have in Hahrakh" — he declared — "only ours are better——"

No one foresaw trouble approaching. The ordinary routine of life in the ice-breaker went on at an even tempo.

Even the evening was gray and quiet, as dozens of other evenings before it. Below, in the general cabin—the dining and clubroom of the ice-breaker—a pianist was playing something loud and defiant. Some of the members of the expedition were playing chess, others, stretched out in the narrow bunks, were rereading some of the ship's library.

The writer, S. A. Semenov, author of "Natalia Parpova," and a group of scientific workers, preferred to play dominoes, and the sounds of their joking and laughter were carried to the upper deck. The general mood was one of peace. To be sure the ice was very difficult, but we were on our way to clear water, which could hardly be as much as three hundred miles away. The ice-breaker was approaching the island Kolyuchin.

Suddenly—a deafening crash, a terrific roar. The ice-breaker jerked forward, and shook as if in pain. The engine, as if eased of a burden, made a sharp, quick whirring sound like a sewing machine. A signal from above, and the engine stopped.

The piano playing was clipped off in the middle of a note. Everyone jumped up in alarm and rushed up to the deck.

"Quick — the storm trap" — commanded the captain in an unnatural voice—"and a lantern." Having fastened the storm trap to the railing, the pilot, Y. K. Khlebnikov, climbed down under the stern. Heavy silence followed. Everyone went to the side, trying to see through the dark what was happening below. Hanging on the lower step of the storm trap, swinging about in the wind, Khlebnikov, whose sharp eyes could pierce through the heaviest curtains of fog, strained to see what had happened.

"Well, Yury Konstantinovich, do you see anything?"—rang out the voice of the captain.

"Can't see a thing, Vladimir Ivanovich—the water is muddy, the ice is in the way, pushing against the boat and covering up the propeller blades."

"Bring another lantern. . . ."

Again, heavy, oppressive silence, the expectation of something terrible.

"Well—can you see anything now?"—the captain asked again.

"Yes—the propeller blade is broken—"

A thousand thoughts rushed through our heads; winter on the ice, the polar night, dangers, risks—. Everyone well knew that two blades were already gone.

"Matvey Matveyevich," the captain ordered the senior mechanic—"you must turn the screw."

"Ay, ay, sir," answered Matveyev, that excellent nurse to his beloved child—the ice-breaker's engine.

The ship shuddered, the remainder of the blade stirred slowly.

"Well—that one has gone"—came a gruff voice from below—"but here comes one somewhat larger—"

"And perhaps this one isn't broken at all?" someone asked.

"E-c-h—broken in half."

"And the next one?"

"A third is broken off."

"And the fourth?"

"Gone altogether."

The situation was desperate. With the propeller in that condition we could make a maximum speed of one-and-a-half or two knots an hour in clear water. But we were surrounded by

Soyuzphoto

The "Sibiriakov" fights its way through the ice

ice-floes and blocks of ice against which the ice-breaker was helpless.

"We'll try to make it—" the captain muttered gruffly, going to the bridge.

The "Sibiriakov" barely moved forward. For an hour Voronin struggled with it, but like a wounded beast, it could scarcely crawl along.

The engines were stopped. Again the silence of the grave replaced the impatient rhythm of the engine.

A conference was held in the captain's cabin to see if a way could be found out of the difficult situation.

Only the jolly artist, Fedya Reshetnikov, tried to dissipate the gloom with jokes—but they didn't come off.

When the whole company had gathered together Schmidt said he had a few words to say.

"Our condition, comrades, is terribly serious," he began. "Investigation of the screw has shown that one blade is half broken, two a third broken, and the fourth gone entirely. But"—he continued—"our situation is not yet hopeless. Everything depends on ourselves alone, and on no one else. What has to be done is to transfer our coal and our two years' supplies of products from the stern to the bow, in order to raise the blades of the screw to the water level. Everyone will work—in crews, every six hours, the whole day through. Time will not wait. Just ahead of us is winter—the long polar night.

"Well—are we going to do it?" his sharp penetrating look questioned the assembly.

"We'll do it," came from seventy throats.

Within five minutes all hands were on deck. For six full days the entire personnel of the expedition, from scientists to sailors, worked to exhaustion. All specialization between geologists, hydro-chemists, meteorologists, was lost in the blanket of coal dust that covered everyone as they hauled the huge 180-pound sacks of coal from one end of the ship to the other.

In Prof. Schmidt's cabin a light burned constantly. The chief sat glued to his table buried in ship's documents, charts of the different parts, books on navigation, trying in the shortest possible time to work out an entirely new problem, to estimate just how much coal and products must be reloaded to raise the screw to the surface.

Enthusiasm and will gripped the entire crew.

"Everything depends on us ourselves, and on no one else"—these words of Schmidt's never left our minds. And the scientific workers, utterly unaccustomed to physical labor, bent their backs under the heavy sacks. Some fell from weariness, feet and limbs were injured, raw red backs ached cruelly. As each shift finished, they flung themselves down at the dining table, ate hastily and slept—in order in six hours to rise again and go at their task with renewed energy and determination.

Time does not wait. Winter was almost upon us. A small piece of ice, blocking the patches of unfrozen water, the large flocks of geese and ducks preparing to fly south—were sure harbingers of the approaching cold and storms.

In these endless, icy wastes, cut off by thousands of kilometers from the republic, socialist competition began.

The Limcher brigade loaded 504 sacks during their shift, my brigade 608.

Correct distribution of forces—that was the decisive factor. The strongest and hardiest were set to hauling the sacks—the rest to load the coal in the bottomless hold, where it was hot, oppressive, heavy with acrid coal dust.

By a strange coincidence our accident occurred not far from the spot where Nordenschold, the first explorer ever to complete the Northeast passage, wintered. In 1878 he was icebound on the Eastern side of Kolyuchin bay, 222 kilometers from open water, ignorant of the fact that nearby, at Cape Cerdtse-Kamen, was an American hunting schooner which might have come to his aid.

Limcher's shift established a new record—712 sacks transferred. My brigade was gloomy; there was no way of breaking that record, time was limited—only six hours remained.

"Why can't we break that record?" truculently grumbled a broad-shouldered giant—the sailor Shishkin, "Let's show them—let's make it 800 sacks this time—we'll run with them if we have to, instead of walking."

"All right then," shouted the rest, "we'll run with them!"

And the work seethed in mad haste. Every minute was used with the strictest economy. Everyone was exhausted, but no one stopped working, no one sat down to rest.

Hakkel the geographer, Cuzykh the sailor, Shershov the biologist, Chachba the hunter, Kreukel the radio operator, Bruns the chemist, Makarov the machinist, Vlodavets the geologist, Kantarovich the artist—and all the rest became *udarniki* in the best sense of that word. They all worked as one man.

The loading was almost finished. Little by little the stern lifted itself, slowly the rudder appeared, and then the screw. The pitiful remnants of the blades, shattered by the ice, approached the surface. But it was impossible to lift it above the water—not quite enough coal had been reloaded.

New difficulties?

Up to the elbows in icy water, in a temperature below zero, the mechanics managed to change the blades. On September 16 a great hurrah rolled out over the icy wastes as the engines started and the ice-breaker again began to plow fiercely through the ice-fields.

That was an unforgettable day of rejoicing. The members of the expedition kissed and embraced one another, overwhelmed by their emotions.

But our joy was short-lived. The fierce Arctic placed obstacles at every step of the way. On September 18 came the second and last blow from the ice. We were left without screw or shaft—everything sank to the depths. . . .

Our situation was again desperate. We went wherever the wind and the drifting ice drove us. But there was no sign of panic. Again the entire crew and scientific staff worked together as a solid collective.

Firmly understanding all the dangers of the situation, understanding that every possible means must be sought to get away from the fierce embrace of the ice, we strained every nerve and muscle to urge the ship forward to the Behring Straits—less than 150 miles away.

We made sails from the tarpaulins, and used every little wind to move forward to freedom, to the open water.

Day and night, day in and day out, the air resounded with the explosives used to break up the ice floes crashing against the helpless ice-breaker. The members of the expedition walked ahead on the ice, carrying anchors on their shoulders, connected with the ice-breaker by steel cables, hooked them to the piles of ice, and the vessel was slowly pulled along by the winches.

We strained to make progress, but the currents drove us now backwards, now sideways.

Those were terrible days of fierce struggle for life and freedom.

And at last, when it seemed there was no salvation for us, when we were preparing to winter in the Arctic, a sudden wind came up and drove away the ice, carrying the ship into the clear water.

The "Sibiriakov" stood on the border line between two worlds—America and Asia—in the Behring Straits, at the gate of the Pacific Ocean, completing the first Northeast passage ever made without wintering in the Arctic.

Open water lay ahead.

BALTIC AND WHITE SEAS UNITED

With the beginning of the navigation season this year the White Sea-Onega waterway, uniting the Baltic and White Seas, will start operations. The White Sea-Onega canal leads into the White Sea through the port of Soroka, Karelia, which is being reconstructed into one of the leading ports of the North.

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Mr. N. A. Kubiak was appointed chairman of the All-Union Council of Communal Economy under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on January 22, in place of Mr. A. P. Smirnov.

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

VOL. XI APRIL, 1933 NO. 4

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SOCIALIZED AGRICULTURE

SOVIET PUBLIC HEALTH

WOMEN IN THE U.S.S.R.

NEW SOURCES OF RUBBER

FIFTEEN YEARS OF ART

NO MORE HOMELESS WAIFS

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Problems of Socialized Agriculture

THE years of the first five-year plan have seen a complete change in the Soviet village. The individual system of farming scattered parcels of land by old-fashioned primitive methods has been to a great extent replaced by large scale modern agriculture carried on by the State grain farms, peasant collectives and machine and tractor stations—MTS.

Since the beginning of the plan the number of peasant collectives has grown from 33,000, uniting 4 per cent of the 25,000,000 peasant households, to 211,000, uniting about 62 per cent of all the peasant farms, by the end of 1932. In the same period the number of State farms has increased from 3,000 to 5,820, and the number of MTS has grown from the first experimental one organized in 1928 to 2,498 by the end of 1932. The entire seeded area has increased from 113,000,000 hectares in 1928, the first year the pre-war level was approximately reached after the years of war, civil war and famine (the seeded area was 114,200,000 hectares in 1913) to 136,300,000 hectares in 1932. The proportion of land seeded by the socialized sector increased from 3.3 per cent in 1928 to 79.9 per cent in 1932—in other words the two-thirds of the peasants organized collectively cultivated four-fifths of the entire seeded area.

Wooden plows, scythes and old-fashioned implements have given way to tractors and modern agricultural machinery of all kinds. In 1928, for example, there were 26,700 tractors in the U.S.S.R. At the end of 1932 there were 147,800 (in all of Russia there were less than 200 tractors at the time of the revolution). The only two combines operating in the U.S.S.R. in 1925 were imported by the Russian Reconstruction Farms, a group of American farmers and technicians. In 1928 forty combines were imported by the Commissariat for Agriculture for experimental purposes. In the harvest of 1932, 11,700 combined harvester-threshers, most of them of Soviet manufacture, were in operation. Altogether 1,600,000,000 rubles worth of agricultural machinery has gone to the Soviet country-side in the past four and a quarter years, doubling the machine equipment of Soviet agriculture during that period.

Altogether 15,700,000,000 rubles was invested during the first piatiletka in the socialized sector of agriculture of which 12,700,000,000 rubles was spent by the government.

Striking as these figures are it must be remembered that socialized agriculture is still in the pioneering stage, and presents enormous problems of management and operation.

The State Farms

At the present time perhaps the least complex problem is presented by the State farms (sovhozes), since they have existed longer than the other forms, have developed a more experienced personnel, are more highly mechanized and can draw to a certain extent on the experiences of industry, and have been from the beginning directly under government control. They are State owned enterprises in which the entire personnel from the director to the field workers, re-

ceive wages. A definite amount of the product goes directly to the State, the remainder goes into various funds for further development, housing, social insurance, cultural facilities, and so on, as in the case of State industrial enterprise. Most of the sovhozes specialize in grain production. Many are diversified. There are special sovhozes devoted to the raising of sugar beets, cotton, flax and other technical crops. Altogether the seeded area of the sovhozes amounted to 2,274,000 hectares in 1929, to 13,326,000 in 1932. The area under grain increased from 1,537,000 to 9,185,000 hectares in the same period. Of special importance are the livestock sovhozes, which are only at the beginning of their development. In 1929, for example, there were 29,000 head of cows in the State livestock farms, in 1932, 1,603,000. There has been a proportional increase in the number of sheep, pigs and other animals. The total basic capital of the sovhozes has increased from 379,000,000 rubles in 1929 to 2,364,000,000 rubles in 1932.

One of the chief problems of the sovhozes has been that of size. The tendency in the beginning was to establish the State farms on immense tracts of land, divided up into sections. For a while the average area per State farm was over 200,000 acres. That was found too large and during 1932 the average area was reduced to about 150,000 acres, and the average size of the sub-divisions was 18,000 acres. It is probable that there will be still further reduction before the most efficient size has been settled. Originally large numbers of the sovhoz workers continued to live in the village and go back and forth to work. The large areas occupied by many of the farms, the establishment of new ones in remote districts, has made this impracticable for the most part, and the majority of sovhoz workers are now housed in new modern apartment houses built for the purpose, and enjoy most of the social and cultural facilities of the city worker—clubs, libraries, cinema, communal restaurants, day nurseries, courses of various kinds. In some cases the workers are transported by truck to the different sections where they work, and are brought back to the center each evening. In some cases permanent housing arrangements or seasonal encampments are established in the various sections, and the workers brought back periodically to the center for rest and recreation. When they are living in the outlying sections they are served by branches of the clubs, a travelling library system, etc. The State farms have their own medical service, sending first aid brigades out to the fields during periods of heavy work.

Agricultural Collectives

The collectives, or kolhozes, are voluntary associations of peasants, the predominant form of organization at present being the artel. The land of the peasant members is pooled, operated in common, and the basic means of production and working stock are the property of the artel. The members live in their own houses, usually raising their own poultry, smaller livestock and cows. The crop is divided on the basis of labor performed by the collective members. Special funds are created for the amount due the State, for further investment, for members unable to work, various social and cultural funds, and so on. The extent of socialized activities outside of the actual productive processes varies. There are always clubs, reading rooms, day nurseries, frequently communal eating arrangements. Formerly the artels consisted mainly of groups of ten or twenty or more peasant families moving out from the main village, acquiring a solid piece of land, building their cottages in the center, working the land together. Now whole villages of hundreds of peasant families are organized into solid collectives, working all the land around the village as one great farm, creating very difficult and complex problems of operation and management, of labor and social organization.

The 14,500,000 peasant farms united into collectives this year seeded more than 90,000,000 hectares, whereas in 1928, when they were still individual peasants, these same peasant farms sowed only about 60,000,000 hectares. In many of the collectives the yield this year was from 30 to 50 per cent higher than the average yield for the district. This is clear enough evidence that the collective farms have productive possibilities far beyond the reach of individual farms, in spite of the fact that the collectives are still so young—50 per cent of them having been organized between the autumn of 1930 and the spring of 1931. But that is not the whole story. The collectives are very uneven. While much strength is gained from collective organization when the management is good and the work efficient—even more is to be lost from collective organization when it falls into weak or malicious hands. The spoiling of one man's potato crop through his own carelessness in storing hurts only himself. If the same careless peasant is in charge of storing potatoes for the whole village it becomes a disaster for the community, and if that is multiplied many times over the country, it becomes a national disaster. And so, because of carelessness in some cases and direct sabotage in others, the country is lacking in many products it badly needs.

The collectives have suffered many difficulties of growth. First there was the "dizziness from success" period of 1930 when over-zealous party workers tried to rush the peasants into a wholesale collective movement by bureaucratic methods, and large numbers of "paper" collectives were formed. Stalin put a stop to that in his speech of March 2, 1930, and a period of more painstaking organization followed. But there were comparatively few people trained in this entirely new approach to agriculture and the peasants reared

in the old ways could not adapt themselves to the new ways over night. When it came to the government grain procurements the more efficiently managed collectives had to make up for the deficit in the poor ones, leaving them with so little surplus for their own use that they had little incentive to increase their seeded areas and crops.

Machine and Tractor Stations

The machine and tractor stations have become one of the most important instruments for carrying the new technique of socialized agriculture into the villages. This type of organization began four years ago in the arid steppe land near Odessa, when a drought had killed the horses and the peasants had no means to sow. The Shevchenko State farm, named for a Ukrainian poet, had more tractors than it needed, so the director, Markevich, made agreements with neighboring peasants for the use of the tractors.

From this experiment the first machine and tractor station was developed, supplying tractors, machinery and expert advice to the farms for some fifteen miles around, in return for an agreed proportion of the harvest. As the farm developed it went far beyond this elementary function of machine supply. Recently the Peoples' Commissariat of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. has drafted a standard model contract for machine and tractor stations and collective farms, stipulating terms and defining the duties of each.

Under the model contract the machine-tractor station undertakes to plow, sow, cultivate and harvest a specified acreage and to thresh the crops of the collective farm. The station takes upon itself all the expenditures for the repair of machinery and tractors and the upkeep of its technical staff, and to give the farm constant aid in field work, in organization, in drawing up of production and financial plans, establishment of crop rotation, distribution of income, and training of accountants and bookkeepers. For these services, the station is entitled to 20 per cent of the grain, corn, sunflower, cotton, and flax crops. All field work, without exception, including operation by tractors, is to be done by the collective farm.

In addition to these functions the MTS train tractor drivers; they become a central credit bank for the wholesale distribution of seed, cattle, plants, fertilizers, and other farm needs. They become organizers of telephone systems, road building, of health exhibitions and traveling libraries. They become the bearers of new technique to the village, the organizers of the whole countryside.

The tractor center considers that the best size for the district to be serviced by one of their stations is somewhat smaller than the largest State farms, since there are many more organizational and social problems involved in these large units. None the less, each station usually serves from some 75,000 to 100,000 acres. The method advocated at present is to subdivide this area into fields of some 12,000 acres, each combining two or three collective farms under one manager.

Originally the MTS were confined to the servicing of grain growing regions, but later they were extended to cover sugar beet, cotton, flax, potato and gardening areas as well. In 1930 they had at their disposal 7,000 tractors, by 1932, 76,000. The average tractor of the MTS works 2,000 hours a year. A great deal of training on the spot has been necessary. In the autumn of 1932 the MTS had 300,000 tractorists, heads of brigades, mechanics and repair workers on their staffs. In 1930 the 158 MTS then existing took care of 2,000,000 hectares of kolhoz land; in 1931 over 1,200 MTS sowed more than 20,000,000 hectares; and in the spring of 1932, 36,000,000 hectares were taken care of by the MTS. The collectives served by the MTS have better crops not merely than the individual peasants, but than the collectives not served by the MTS.

Decrees to Improve Agriculture

During the past year a number of measures of vast importance have been undertaken to improve the organization of socialized agriculture.

Last May a series of decrees were issued lowering the amount of grain procurements required by the State, and permitting the free sale on the open market by collectives of agricultural products remaining after the quota procurements had been met. This law, however, did not have a great deal of meaning as long as the procurements took such a large share of the crop. On January 19, of the present year, however, the Sovnarkom and the Party Central Committee issued a joint decree replacing the system of procurements by contract, by an obligatory fixed grain tax. Norms are established for different districts, and each collective farm is to be informed of its quota for grain delivery by March 15. This will undoubtedly serve as a stimulus to increasing area and crop yield since the collective knows in advance just what is due to the State and will thus be encouraged to plant more for their own use. The same system is to be applied in the case of butter, milk and cheese. In the case of individual peasants the village Soviet establishes the amount of grain tax for each household.

On August 7, 1932, the law on the protection of socialist property was promulgated as a direct result of the theft and damaging of collective property by hostile elements. This law proclaimed that since social property was the basis of the Soviet State. the theft of social property was a crime against the State and punishable as such.

A new regulation by the Commissariat for Agriculture dividing farm work into seven definite categories as a basis for payment to collective farmers, introducing a uniform system for

the first time, will do away with the confusion and dissatisfaction caused by the old system permitting each farm to work out its own rates and norms without reference to category.

Recently a whole series of decrees have been issued by the government in preparation for the spring sowing campaign. A definite plan for the supplying of spare parts and their distribution has been made obligatory for the industries responsible. Decrees have been issued on the repair and preparation of tractors for the spring seeding campaign, for the care of horses and draught animals, for the proper organization and preparation of the brigades of workers. Instructions in the use of selected seed have been issued and special seed loans have been decreed by the Sovnarkom and the Central Committee to the collective farms and some of the State farms in the Ukraine and North Caucasus, because of unfavorable climatic conditions during the summer of 1932, which resulted in a poor harvest. Under this decree the Ukraine gets 340,000 tons and the North Caucasus 255,000 tons of various grains, mostly wheat, as a loan to be returned in kind without interest from the new crop.

In the agricultural program for 1933 only a moderate increase in the area sown to grain is provided for, and the chief emphasis is on securing higher crop yields through improved methods of cultivation and better seed.

Political Departments of MTS and Sovhozes

Of all the recent measures to improve the agricultural situation in the villages the most important is the establishment of political departments (politotdel) in the MTS and sovhozes. According to decree these departments are to consist of a chief and two assistants in Party work, and one assistant in Comsomol work, the chief of the politotdel to be at the same time the assistant chairman of the MTS or sovhoz. The strengthening of political work means not an increase in bureaucratic management, as might be imagined, but rather its elimination, since the political and economic program of the government are so closely connected. Under this new arrangement there is for the first time a direct line from the higher government organizations down to the lowest productive unit. Formerly, when questions of policy arose within the MTS or sovhoz it meant that the director had to take his problem to some higher unit, to people not directly in touch with the practical agricultural problems, wasting much time, perhaps getting wrong decisions, sometimes the director himself would not be sufficiently acquainted with the practical problems involved. Now such problems can be solved on the spot. The members of the political department will be picked people, trained both in the application of the government program and in practical agricultural details. Thus they will be able to coordinate on the spot the general government and Party line with the immediate practical details of management.

In cases where machinery is badly handled, or any part of the agricultural work fails to give the proper results, it will be the task of the politotdel to discover whether it is a matter of poor training, which means establishing better agricultural courses, sometimes special training courses on the spot; whether it is a case of carelessness, which means increasing the sense of responsibility among the workers through socialist competition, shock brigade work and so on; or whether it is deliberate sabotage, which means the actual rooting out of damaging elements. The politotdel must trace down and correct the causes of all the difficulties, must unearth good leaders and directors to replace the careless ones. Thus their main tasks, according to the decree are (1) to improve the leadership of agriculture as such, (2) to raise the socialist training of the mass of collective farmers to the necessary high level, (3) to correct the mistakes and defects in rural party organizations. The second point, the education of the mass of collective farmers into conscious builders of socialism, takes the form firstly of a campaign for a careful attitude toward socially owned property, secondly, of accurate and unconditional fulfillment of obligations to the State,

Collective farm tractor brigade

and, thirdly, of correct organization of labor, labor discipline and improved quality of work.

In fulfillment of this decree about 15,000 trained and trusted Party members have already been sent out this spring to work in the MTS. Their immediate task is to make the spring sowing program a success.

So important does the Party consider the proper training of directors for the agricultural work in the village that all but two of the Communist Universities have been organized into Communist Agricultural Universities and several new ones established in various parts of the country, where political training will be combined with theoretical and practical training in the problems of socialized agriculture, in two and three year courses. Twelve thousand students are to be enrolled in these universities during the present year, receiving a stipend of 250 rubles a month.

Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigaders

On February 16 the first congress of collective farm shock brigaders opened in Moscow.

Over 1,500 collective farmers from all parts of the Soviet Union attended, having been chosen as delegates because of their devoted and efficient work. They carried back to their villages both inspiration and practical advice on organizational and agricultural problems.

In closing his address to the collective farmers, Stalin said in part:

"By developing collective farming, no less than 20 million of the peasant population have been saved from poverty and ruin, from kulak slavery, and converted, thanks to the collective farms, into people assured of a livelihood.

"It would be wrong to think that we must stop at this first step, at this first achievement. No, comrades, we cannot stop at this achievement. In order to move further and finally consolidate the collective farms, we must make another step, we must secure another achievement. What must this second step be? It must be to raise the collective farmers, both the former poor and the former middle peasant, still higher. It must be to make all collective farmers well-to-do."

Women in the U.S.S.R.

ON MARCH 8 the twentieth anniversary of International Women's Day was celebrated in the Soviet Union.

Twelve women prominent in cultural and educational activities were decorated with the Order of Lenin and seventeen women received the Order of the Red Banner of Labor for outstanding work in industry and agriculture. In addition the magazine "Rabotnitza" (The Woman Worker), was awarded the Red Banner of Labor for its educational work.

Among those who received the Order of Lenin were Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who has been a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education ever since the first days of the October revolution and has worked indefatigably on all phases of the educational problem; Alexandra Kollontay, Soviet ambassador to Sweden; Maria Ulianova, Lenin's sister, who took an active part in organizing the worker-peasant correspondent movement; A. V. Artiukhina, who has been active in Communist Party work among women; Sophia Smidovich, Barbara Moirova, Clara Zetkin, Anna Kalygina and others. The seventeen women who were decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labor were women shock brigade workers of factories, plants and collective farms, many of whom have been promoted to positions of responsibility, as presidents of collectives or village Soviets. Among them was Pauline Onyshenok-Seglin, a working woman who is chief of two militia divisions in Leningrad.

Women workers throughout the country were released from work two hours ahead of time to give them a chance to attend meetings and join excursions to factories, factory kitchens, day nurseries and other institutions related to the life of the woman worker, of which a large number of new ones were opened on March 8. Three thousand women shock brigaders from the factories and farms of the Moscow district attended a mass meeting at the Grand Opera House in Moscow in the evening, which was addressed by Kalinin and other government officials as well as representative women workers and collective members. Reports, speeches and articles showed the advances of women in every field during the past few years, as summarized below.

Women in the National Economy

Neither training nor employment in any trade or profession whatever is either barred or made difficult for women in the Soviet Union. Consequently women are doing many kinds of work never before done by their sex, under the protection of a labor code which requires the safest possible conditions of work for men and women alike, and which makes special provisions for maternity protection.

Soyuzphoto

Women delegates to first congress of collective farm shock brigade workers in Moscow

In 1931, 156,600,000 rubles was paid by social insurance organs for maternity and infant benefits; in 1932, 257,800,000 rubles, and the budget for 1933 calls for a sum of 340,900,000 rubles to be spent for this purpose. There are no restrictions on women's labor with the exception of certain operations which would inevitably have an injurious effect on the health of women. Women are entering industry in ever larger numbers. Particularly impressive is the growing number of highly skilled technicians and engineers among women.

At the present time there are over 6,000,000 women employed in all branches of the national economy, making up one-third of the employed persons in the Soviet Union as against 24 per cent in 1913. The number of women working in factories and shops has increased from 404,200 in 1923 to 1,720,700 in 1932. During the past year almost half of all the new workers entering industry were women. There is, of course, no unemployment among women. The number of women trade union members has increased from 1,309,000 in 1922 to 4,900,000 in 1932. It is interesting to note that the increase in the number of women workers in those industries where women's labor was formerly little used has been far greater than in those where women worked in large numbers formerly. Thus in the machine construction industry the number of women workers increased from 51,100 in 1923 to 299,600 in 1932; in the cotton cloth industry women workers increased from 136,800 in 1923 to 314,000 in 1932. The proportion of women in the metallurgical industry has increased from 14.2 per cent in 1928 to 19.7 per cent in 1933; in machine construction from 16.5 per cent in 1928 to 20 per cent in 1933, and so on. The number of skilled women workers is increasing constantly. Thus the percentage of women fitters in agricultural machine building has increased from 0.9 per cent in 1926 to 20.2 per cent in 1931; the percentage of women electric fitters from zero to 8.8 per cent; the number of women agronomists from 9.1 to 14 per cent, the proportion of women on the higher engineering staffs of State enterprises from 3.1 to 7.4 per cent. At the beginning of the five-year plan women specialists with middle and higher education made up only 7 per cent of the total number of specialists. By the end of 1932 the proportion had increased to 20 per cent. There are now about a hundred women filling the position of factory directors and heads of departments, mostly promoted from the rank and file workers.

The entrance of such large numbers of women into industry has meant an increase in the average income of the worker's family by 73 per cent in 1932 in comparison with 1929. The growth in wages during that period was 43 per cent.

Women in Education

This great influx of women into all spheres of economic and administrative activity as rank and file workers and as leaders, has been made possible through the increased educational facilities on the one hand, and on the other through the growing quantity and efficiency of the social agencies handling much of what was formerly considered solely woman's work.

An important educational agency for women have been the delegates' meetings. These really constitute citizenship courses for women who are elected each year by their fellow working or peasant women. Through these courses illiterate women have received their first schooling, have been taught the meaning of their rights under the Soviet government and received their first training in social and administrative activity through practical work in connection with the

Soviets, cooperatives, etc. Since the revolution 10,000,000 working and peasant women have gone through the delegates' courses. During 1932, 8,000,000 illiterate women learned to read and write.

In the elementary schools the universal compulsory education program applies to boys and girls alike and practically all girls of elementary school age are attending school. The extent to which the number of girls training to be highly skilled workers, technicians and professional people is increasing is shown in the following figures:

Number of Women Students	*1925-26*	*1932*
In Workers' Faculties	6,800	117,700
In Technicums	71,600	272,800
In Higher Technical Schools	50,700	148,400

In addition, about half a million girls are studying in the factory and shop schools, 40 per cent of the entire number. In the technicums the proportion of women students is 45 per cent, in the higher educational institutions, 31.3 per cent.

Creches, playgrounds and kindergartens are growing from year to year. In 1922 there were about 50,000 children in pre-school institutions throughout the entire U.S.S.R. In 1932 there were over 6,000,000. In 1932 the social insurance organizations expended 150 million rubles for the organization and maintenance of day nurseries, playgrounds, milk stations, children's sanitariums, etc. Another important part of social insurance activity is assistance in the construction of workers' settlements, for which 700 million rubles were expended in 1932.

Women in Agriculture

The collective movement has been a powerful factor in the emancipation of the village women. The women are almost universally enthusiastic about the new life in the villages. The working day of the peasant women which lasted from dawn to dark under the old system, is now regulated. Women receive wages for their farm work, help with their children, and education and entertainment in their leisure hours. This enthusiasm for the collective movement has led women to take an active part in all its phases. There are 150,000 women in the administrative groups of collectives, and thousands of women presidents of collectives. Tens of thousands of women are heads of brigades in different sections of agricultural work, and there are 25,000 women tractor drivers on the collectives and State farms.

Krupskaya, writing in *Izvestia* on March 8 of the progress of women in the last few years compared the present status of women in the agricultural collective movement with that in 1919 when the first congress of communes and agricultural artels was held in Moscow, and not a single peasant woman was present. At the recent congress in Moscow of shock brigaders from the 200,000 collectives in the Soviet Union, scores of women were present, many of whom gave glowing accounts of the improvement in their position.

Stalin, addressing this congress, spoke particularly of the question of women in the collectives.

"The question of women in the collectives is a very important one, comrades," he said. "I know that many of you underestimate women, and even laugh at them. But that is a mistake—a serious mistake. The point is not simply that women make up half the population. The important thing is that the collective movement has pushed forward large numbers of remarkable and capable women into positions of leadership.

"Women are an important force in the collectives. To hide their light under the bushel would be a crime. It is our duty to push women forward in the collectives and to see that this force is released into action.

"As regards the women collective members themselves, they should understand the strength and significance of the collectives for women, should understand that only in the collectives do they have the opportunity to stand on an equal basis with men. Outside of the collectives, inequality, inside the collectives, equality of rights. Let the woman collective member understand this, and cherish the collective as the apple of her eye."

Women in the Government

The role of women in the government of the country is increasing along with their other advances. Over 400,000 women are now members of village and city Soviets. Over 2,500 women are presidents of village Soviets. In addition 400,000 women work in the various sections of the Soviets and the deputy groups of non-Soviet members in the cities and villages who assist the Soviets in their work. There are 185 members in the TSIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) and the VTSIK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee).

The absolute number of women in the Soviets has increased from 18,720 in 1926 to 43,009 in 1931 in the city Soviets and 132,582 in 1926 to 317,000 in 1931 in the village Soviets. An increasing number of women participate in the elections each year. In 1931, 75.8 per cent of all the women qualified to vote took part in the city elections and 62.9 per cent of all those qualified to vote in the rural districts.

There are now half a million women members of the Communist Party as against 40,683 in 1922, and 1,625,500 girls in the Comsomol organization as against 63,846 in 1924.

The Homeless Children Problem Solved

THE problem of *bezprizornie*—(homeless children) has in the main been solved in the Soviet Union. The wild, ragged children who used to be such a common sight in the city streets, the railroad stations, sleeping under cauldrons, begging, snatching people's purses, swooping down in gangs on some unsuspecting street vendor—have almost entirely disappeared. Now and again some of the most incorrigible ones may run away from the school or colony where they are being trained to useful citizenship—even the more tractable ones may take to the road with the coming of spring, and some few may have eluded all attempts at reform—but these present individual problems rather than a national one.

For years, however, the problem of caring for the *bezprizornie* presented a grave problem to the Soviet government. The imperialist and civil wars left a legacy of thousands of homeless children who made their living by begging and stealing. The great Volga famine of 1921 orphaned or separated from their homes and relatives many thousands more. It is impossible to estimate exactly the number of these children when the problem was at its height—they moved so quickly from place to place, and estimates vary from 300,000 to 750,000. In 1932 the number had dwindled to about 4,000.

In the very first days of the Soviet government's existence a special Council for the Protection of Children, made up of representatives from the different commissariats, was set up under the Narkompros (Commissariat of Education). But since it was under the control of one commissariat its decisions were found not sufficiently binding for the other commissariats. Thus at the beginning of 1921 the idea arose of creating an interdepartmental body for the protection of children under the Central Executive Committee of the Government.

On February 10, 1921, accordingly, the "Detkommissia" (Children's Commission) under the VTSIK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee) was formally organized. The first chairman was Felix Dzerzhinsky, who was also at that time the chairman of the Tcheka (later the OGPU). On the committee were representatives of the Commissariats for Education, Health, Supplies, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and from the Trade Unions and the Tcheka. The chief tasks of the commission were to help in supplying living quarters, food and fuel to institutions concerned with the care of children, and especially to institutions looking after *bezprizornie*, to see to the proper carrying out of laws designed to protect children and to issue instructions on the protection of the lives and health of children. From the beginning of its existence every effort was made to arouse the interest of the public in the work of the commission through special children's weeks, campaigns to collect food and clothing, and so on. When famine covered wide areas in the autumn of 1921, the work of the commission took on an emergency and militant character. At the end of December, 1921, the Detkommissia estimated that of the 25,000,000 people affected by famine, about 8,000,000 were children. The main problem of the Detkommissia at that time was to provide food for the hungry children. Special forms of diet were worked out for children and the necessary supplies for the purpose furnished to schools, children's homes and the feeding points which were established for all children from five to sixteen in the famine districts. The number of children thus cared for reached 540,000 in 1921-22. However, in view of the difficult conditions everywhere and especially the desperate condition of the railroads, it was not always possible to carry out this program in the famine area itself. The Detkommissia then took steps to transfer the children from the famine area to districts where conditions were better. During 1921, 55,355 children were evacuated from the famine region. The following year came the problem of re-evacuation. Almost 54,000 children who had either been sent away or wandered away themselves, were returned to their homes under an organized plan. But many thousands of others began wandering from one part of the country to another on their own. Individually, or organized in bands, these youngsters became a predatory tribe, begging, stealing, sometimes even murdering to obtain food, shelter and clothing. Their wits became abnormally sharpened in the struggle for existence. Frequently they became the tools of criminal elements. Illiterate, their schooling was all in the dark sides of life—they learned to smoke, gamble, drink, take dope. Naturally, all these influences created a type requiring special attention.

It soon became apparent that the ordinary children's home could not compete with the wild and thrilling life of the open road. They simply could not hold these bright-eyed, quick witted, hardened little brats to any dull routine. To get up early, stand in line for a daily bath, brush the teeth, do household chores, attend classes, go for walks, do some small job in an ill-equipped workshop, to repeat the same things day after day—what life was that for these youngsters who had begged, stolen, sung their way across the whole

face of the Russian land, seen all peoples, heard all languages, known famine and festival, seen life and death and cruelty and beauty in many forms?

Two days of such regimented life, and out through the window at the first chance they went, with bedding and any other detachable objects that lay about to be sold in the market place. Surveys made later revealed that between seventy and eighty per cent of the children of the streets were run-aways from children's homes, and that some of them had run away as often as twelve different times. The first problem, therefore, was to reorganize the children's homes so that the ordinary orphans and those who had experienced this wild life would not be handled in exactly the same way. The children's homes were accordingly divided into three categories. One type for normal children, another for the more difficult children—the third type for sick children. Under this system the children taken into one of the central "collectors" from the streets, were kept there long enough to determine their physical and moral condition and then sent to the proper institution.

Self-government and coeducation were from the beginning decreed for all children's homes. Every opportunity was offered for the development of the children's initiative. Workshops and gardens were established, the teaching of trades introduced along with the regular school work, and musical, artistic and dramatic activities encouraged.

But large numbers of *bezprizornie* still remained to cope with—the most desperate ones, many of whom had participated in criminal activities. These were almost entirely boys—the *bezprizornie* girls were comparatively few and far more easily cared for. The attitude toward such children was that while they had taken part in socially dangerous activities, they would for the most part become normal if placed in a normal environment. Such children were sent to a special commission on minors who looked after all cases of socially dangerous minors under 17. This commission represented the commissariats for Education, Social Care and Justice, and one of its members had to be a physician. The principle on which this commission worked was to apply not punishment but educational measures. Children found to be mentally unbalanced or pathological in any way were sent to appropriate institutions. Less extreme cases were sent to existing homes. For the more unmanageable types an entirely new approach was found to be necessary.

Empty houses were found that would do for shelter, if little more. Leaders of gangs living in dens and hovels were approached, very cautiously, by young teachers, comsomols, militia men. "How do you manage to live here—aren't you cold, uncomfortable?" The suggestion of an empty house on a certain street nearby which might be had for the asking—no pressure, just the merest suggestion. A committee sent by the gang to look the place over—a favorable report. The house is occupied. The gang sprawls around on the floor. No interference with their plans. They separate during the day to their begging, stealing, adventures. The teacher comes and goes unobtrusively. Materials for making rough beds appear, tools. The teacher and one or two of the children start making beds. Others get interested. More and more they hang around, start fixing the place up, making it livable. As the boys show interest in working themselves, regular workmen appear and start putting the place in order. The boys who work get meal tickets for a place nearby where a hot dinner is served daily. Gradually they all want to work. Materials appear to make boxes or other useful objects. The boys are paid for their work. They begin to stop begging, stealing, preferring to work in their new home and equip it with the proceeds of their work. This is something of their own, something they have built, something they have earned. There is excitement and joy in building up this new life for themselves. Gradually the need of organization asserts itself. As the boys get interested in work and organized activity they realize the need of a regular routine. They establish regular hours for getting up, for work, for play. They make their own rules—often the more strictly enforced because they are their own and not imposed from above. Classes are introduced, and presently there is a well functioning children's commune with classes, social life and work shops.

In this way quite a number of highly successful colonies for *bezprizornie* were organized. The Soviet sound film, "Road to Life," gives an excellent picture of this method of handling the problem. Such experiments were not universally successful. Sometimes the children got out of hand. At times it was necessary to round-up large numbers with the help of the militia. During some of the round-ups of homeless children it has been necessary for a time to keep the children in walled-in monasteries, or in places where they could be guarded, in order to prevent their escaping before their interest could be won to a new way of life.

Now that the emergency period is over, the usual home for delinquent minors has taken the form of a "labor commune" without lock or bar. The weakness of many of the earlier labor communes was inadequate equipment in work shops, and the fact that the boys realized that handicraft work with insufficient tools was no real preparation for participation in the tremendous industrialization program of the Soviet Union. The communes of the OGPU near Moscow and

Kharkov were the first to organize regular factories and modern farms, combining educational and productive elements, where the young delinquent actually produces something useful while learning, and is trained for a real place in Soviet society. Now there are a large number of these industrial and farming colonies.

The first and second labor communes of the OGPU near Moscow are made up of former vagrants listed in the "socially dangerous" class until given a chance at a normal existence. The first labor colony has 1,598 members, over half of whom had no profession or training whatever before coming into the commune. After a test period of work and study, the members may be admitted or readmitted into the regular trade unions. During the six years of its existence the commune has produced footwear to the value of 40,000,000 rubles in its workshops. The second labor commune was founded in the autumn of 1927, most of its members being 1,300 homeless children and youthful criminals gathered up from the streets of Moscow. It took a year and a half of the most strenuous work to reeducate this group, but now they are welded together into a cooperative, working community. They have established a large State farm, specializing in poultry. They have incubators for 11,500,000 eggs, and their own railway siding for passengers and freight traffic. All of the young people who have "graduated" from the commune so far have been ready to function constructively in society, and have been admitted to the trade unions. The commune has a summer theater, a club, all kinds of music, dramatic, sport and study circles.

The Bradakalmak Agricultural Commune of former stray children, in the Ural District, may be taken as an example of the type of work done with the homeless children not in the "socially dangerous" class. In a nation-wide competition of children's homes—one of the methods used to raise the standards of their work—this proved to be one of the best institutions for children in the country. The children's home which was the nucleus of this commune was established in 1922. It attracted most of the homeless children of the entire district. Wide scope was given to the natural tendencies of children to creative activity, to group action. Workshops were established for shoemaking and bookbinding, vegetable gardens were started, a horse and a cow were purchased. The home began to take an active part in the economic and cultural life of the district. In 1928, in response to a decision of the Central Committee of the Party calling for a reconstruction and improvement in the work of children's homes, this home was reorganized into an agricultural commune, in which teachers and pupils became equal members. The aim of the new agricultural commune was to train skilled

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A string orchestra composed of former homeless children

agriculturists and at the same time to render aid to the surrounding peasants. By 1931 the commune had developed into a full fledged livestock farm with 265 cows, of which about half were thoroughbred, 232 sheep, 220 pigs, and 44 horses. The commune has developed poultry on a large scale, their vegetable gardens are considered the best in the district and year after year they obtained prizes at the agricultural fairs. Modern methods of agriculture are being applied, and the commune had at its disposal in 1932, two tractors, one threshing machine, eight plows, a motor truck, and various other agricultural machines. Applications for admission to the commune have been received from about a thousand peasants. As the original object of the commune was to educate the homeless children, these had to be turned down, but the commune helped the peasants to form collective farms of their own.

Another form of caring for the homeless children was to farm them out to individual workers or peasant families, carefully chosen, where their housing and training was supervised by the local agency of the children's commission. For a while the system was followed of putting a certain quota of the *bezprizornie* in the care of State farms or certain factories where they were housed at the expense of the enterprise, given schooling and worked a certain number of hours as apprentices in strict accordance with the labor laws.

In 1924, in response to the plea of Krupskaya (Lenin's widow) that funds for a Lenin memorial should go for the care of homeless children, a special Lenin fund for the aid of homeless children was created. By 1932, 127,000,000 rubles had been collected and expended by the Lenin fund. Large sums were placed at the disposal of the Detkommissia each year for the care of homeless children. During 1932 altogether about 35,000,000 rubles were spent on behalf of the *bezprizornie* by State and local exchequers as well as by the social organizations.

In 1931, the year of the final drive to "liquidate homelessness," a government decree was passed uniting the children's homes with the regular school system. According to this decree the children's homes were attached to the factory schools in cities and agricultural schools in the country. The children attend the same school as other children, the only difference being that they live in dormitories. There is no longer any line between the children who live in dormitories because their parents are dead, and those who live there because they have gone away from home to school for one reason or another, as any child might be sent to boarding school. Thus the homes cease to be refuges for unfortunate children, and the latter become a part of the normal child community.

Soviet Public Health Protection

The following material is taken from some studies on Soviet hygiene by Dr. A. Rubakine of Moscow, formerly delegate of the U.S.S.R. to the International Hygiene Office in Paris.

LABOR being at the base of the organization of Soviet Russia, it is evident that the first object of the health service should be the amelioration of working conditions in the country, of the living conditions of the workers and the well-being of the workers themselves. The result has been the huge development of sanitation and prophylactic measures, the aim of Soviet medicine being the abolition of disease and the creation of healthy human beings.

In Soviet Russia, medicine is a State function. The protection of the worker's health is a function of the community, which, just as the individual, is interested in having as few diseases as possible. Disease is not only a material and physical wrong to the individual; it is also a material wrong to the community. Hence the necessity of a campaign against diseases organized according to an established plan and complying with the program of the Communist party which is the party of the working class.

This protection of public health, which is completely in the hands of the State, has, therefore, several objectives all related to each other and to the general plan; study of the psychology and pathology of labor (normal physiology, occupational diseases, etc.), study of the means of labor protection—industrial hygiene, agricultural hygiene, educational hygiene, military hygiene, etc.; organization of campaigns against social diseases such as all the diseases connected with process of work and the connection of man with the means of production; infectious disease campaign, protection of mothers and children; sanitary education of the mass, protection of youths, physical education; finally, organization of sanitary services, sanitation of cities, villages, etc. Apart from this, one can add the protection of health in the Red Army and Red Navy, public transportation and prisons.

In all these branches, the activities of the workers themselves are stimulated besides those of the medical corps and the nurses. Thus, consultations and sanitary commissions have been cre-

ated in rural communities; housing committees have been inaugurated in the cities.

Hygiene and prophylaxis are therefore at the base of the protection of public health in Soviet Russia.

Another great principle is the unification of medicine. All that concerns the protection of health is concentrated in the hands of one institution, the Commissariat of Public Health. The health services of the Army and public transportation are the only ones which, for administrative convenience, depend upon special commissions.

Each federal republic has its Health Commissariat, which means that there are seven, that of the R.S.F.S.R. being naturally the most important, as is the republic itself. There is no pan-federal Commissariat for Health.

In Soviet Russia the private practice of medicine is opposed in principle although it is not forbidden. The number of private practitioners is, however, very small, and these are found mostly in big cities and generally recruited among elderly physicians. The young generations are not interested in private practice. Apart from a very few exceptions, one may say that the whole of Soviet medicine is free. Every salaried person is enrolled in the social insurance scheme, the expenses of which are borne by the employers and not by the persons insured. This category of citizens therefore receives free medical care.

The same thing is true of peasants. There are only certain categories of citizens not insured and not living on their salary who do not receive free medical care. Their number is unimportant.

To render this free service effective it must apply not only to medical care. Hospitalization, sojourns in watering places, health resorts, and sanatoria, rest cures and medical supplies are also free of charge. Finally, and what is very important, illness does not deprive the worker of his position and he draws his entire salary from the very first day.

At present, the development of Soviet Russia is carried out in two directions: industrialization of the country in general and the collectivization of agriculture. The service of public health follows the same principles. Its first aim is to protect industrial centers, new industrial constructions and collective agricultural concerns (kolhoz). These two principles are therefore indispensable to an understanding of the present activities of the health service.

Finally, the development of psychotechnics closely related to the study of the worker in general, is also part of the activity of the health service. In Soviet Russia our first aim is to study to which kind of work such and such man is better suited. Man, therefore, comes before the machine. Soviet psychotechnique thus helps the workman to find his way and develop and apply his aptitudes.

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A medical brigade in the fields at sowing time

Organization of the Health Service in U.S.S.R.

As has already been pointed out, each republic has a Health Commissariat. In Moscow, however, there is a central Bureau of Sanitation Information, of which all the health commissars of the federal republics are members. This is only an information bureau which has no authority over the various federal commissaries.

Since the composition of a health commissariat is more or less standardized, suffice it to describe that of the R.S.F.S.R.

A commissar heads the Health Commissariat. He has one or two assistants and a colleague who acts as a consultant. A scientific and a sanitary board are attached to the commissariat. The commissariat is divided into departments or sections (prophylactic, sanitary, administrative, etc.). All questions relating to public health are referred to this commissariat: medicine, pharmacy, prophylaxis, and all phases of medical training, as well as health resorts. The Army and Navy health service has not come under the Health Commissariat since 1929. Also in 1930 the health service of the railroad section was separated from the central health service and placed in charge of its own commissariat.

The health service of republics and autonomous regions under one of the federal republics is incorporated in that of the republican commissariat. A new administrative division has been created and is based upon the characteristics and questions of economy of each region. Each region has a district health service which is attached to the central service and established after the same principles, with similar subdivisions. This facilitates the work of health service. Indeed, from a point of view of economy the newer regions are definitely more homogeneous than the former

which were purely administrative. There are, therefore, agricultural, industrial and mining regions and each health service can be adapted to render help according to the particular causes of morbidity most prevalent in a given region.

Each town or industrial center is endowed with a local Soviet (council) and also with a municipal health service. These local health services are becoming more and more active and are constantly developing. They are in close contact with industrial, mining or agricultural concerns in the region where they happen to belong. Their activities are under permanent control. Such institutions are created to maintain a liaison between the commissariat and the people—workmen or peasants. They must be elastic enough to answer the needs of the population and avoid bureaucracy.

Every region or autonomous republic comprises several medical districts, which form the basis of activity of the health service. Each district is in charge of one or several physicians and possesses either a hospital or infirmary. Medical districts had been created before the revolution but neither their number, the nature of their activity, nor their material possibilities would stand comparison with the districts of today. The following figures give an idea of the number of basic medical institutions before and after the revolution, for the whole of U.S.S.R.:

Type of Institution	*1913*	*1924*	*1927*	*1930*
District health centers	3,642	5,691	7,473	10,127
Hospitals		4,714	5,650	6,583
Number of Physicians	24,031	25,396	42,890	67,903

Accurate information concerning R. S. F. S. R. before and after the revolution is available:

Type of Institution	*1913*	*1924*	*1927*	*1930*
District health centers	3,226	3,938	5,097	6,922
Number of rural population per district	36,300	20,200	16,400	12,800
Number of Hospitals		3,553	4,286	4,906
Number of Physicians	15,935	17,251	28,594	46,127

As will be observed, the number of district health centers in R.S.F.S.R. alone is almost double since the revolution and there are three times as many physicians. This, however, is not sufficient, on account of the heavy morbid heredity inherited from the former régime and the necessity of making work and life more healthy and normal for the laboring population. On the other hand the population is widely distributed and means of communication insufficient. The number of inhabitants per physician is too high, physicians and hospitals are, therefore, needed. Collective and state agricultural farms receive primary consideration as they represent the society of tomorrow and serve as examples of social organization to the people. Health services must keep up with this development.

While some epidemic and social diseases are in progress of disappearance under the influence of amelioration in well-being of population and through active control on the part of the health service, in industrial rural communities occupational diseases and injuries are being brought to light. These are due to the more general use of mechanical agricultural implements, tractors, etc. As regards occupational poisoning, this is attributable to the use of chemical fertilizers. These two phenomena are certainly due to the widespread use of mechanical equipment in agriculture as well as chemicals. Yesterday, a peasant ploughed his land with primitive tools as at the time of the Tsars. He used no other fertilizer than that supplied by his cattle which were limited in number. Today, hundreds of thousands of tractors and up-to-date machinery do the ploughing in the kolhoz and the sovhoz soil and millions of tons of fertilizing materials, phosphates and nitrogen are used, and this sudden change is the cause of injuries and poisoning. In reality these conditions are not very frequently encountered; they are being studied and actively controlled.

The primary organization of collective and State farms required rapid adaptation on the part of the health service. Mobile medical units were organized and sent to rural communities at

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A Buddhist priest from an autonomous republic comes to Sverdlovsk for scientific treatment

sowing and harvest time. During 1930, 1931 and 1932, several thousand doctors, assisted by nursing personnel and equipment, were sent out. Not only did they give medical treatment to agricultural populations, but they also gave conferences on subjects related to hygiene, advice on organization of emergency stations and rural pharmacies. When collectivization of rural communities has been achieved, rural medical centers fully equipped and hospitals accessible to all will be found everywhere. Here again it is aimed to supply the people with medical care.

Fifteen Years of Art in the R.S.F.S.R.

By IGOR GRABAR
Director of the Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow.

THE exhibition of the art of the R.S.F.S.R. for the past fifteen years at the Leningrad Russian Museum is not only the most important art event of the season, but the most inspiring demonstration of the work of Soviet artists yet seen. About 350 artists are represented by about 3,000 pieces. Over 150,000 visitors had attended the exhibit by the first of February. It is now possible for the first time to sum up to a certain extent some of the achievements of the Soviet art world.

It should not be forgotten that the present exhibit marks not merely the end of the first fifteen years, but it is the first exhibit since the Party decision of April 23, 1932, which had the effect of liberating the artists from the conflict of discordant groups, opening the way to greater individual self-expression and bringing clarification to the many problems which confronted the world of art. Since April 23 the well known societies, such as "AKHR" ("Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia"), "OST" ("Society of Easel Artists"), "OMX" ("Society of Moscow Artists"), "The Four Arts," "The Circle," and others, have all been united into a single "Union of Soviet Artists."

Most of the artists represented in the exhibition did not begin their artistic activities until after the revolution. The exhibition breathes freshness and courage, giving evidence of the fact that the Soviet artist believes in himself and in his work. Since the exhibit is to a certain extent retrospective, it is not difficult to trace in it the evolution of the separate artists, and at the same time, of Soviet artistic production as a whole.

The exhibition is arranged in the same sequence in which the different stages of painting have developed. Only in the first and last rooms has this system not been followed. The first room is devoted to Lenin and the preliminary period of the industrialization of the country, the latter to the latest achievements in industrialization. In the Lenin room are portraits by Brodsky, Alexander Gerasimov, and Zveriev, portraying episodes from Lenin's life and activities, and paintings of some of the new construction projects begun while he was still alive. In the last room are paintings of the newest industrial giants. On the central wall hangs the Brodsky portrait of Stalin, below it five busts of *udarniki* (shock brigade workers), by the sculptor Ellonen.

After the Lenin room, the first rooms are devoted to examples of the extreme Left tendencies characteristic of the period of military communism — cubism, futurism, expressionism, suprematism, and so on. It should be remembered that these tendencies came to us from the commercial salons of Paris and Berlin, and in no way represented the long-awaited proletarian art. To recall the words of Lenin:

"We are much too much 'iconoclasts' in painting. We must retain the beautiful, take it as an example, hold on to it, even though it is 'old.' Why turn away from real beauty and discard it for good and all as a starting point for further development just because it is 'old?' Why worship the new as a god to be obliged just because it is 'new?' That is nonsense, sheer nonsense.... I am unable to consider the works of expressionism, futurism, cubism, and other isms as the highest expressions of artistic genius. I do not understand them. They give me no pleasure."

We have at present no representatives of these extreme tendencies, with the exception of Malevich. Some have died, others, rejecting their former extremism, have adopted more conservative tendencies, still others have long since been working in Paris, and, to express it mildly, have greatly reformed. A special place in the exhibition is occupied by Filonov, who has composed his intricate style from the elements of cubism and calligraphy flavored with a strong dose of home-grown philosophy. His complex compositions are difficult to decipher even with the help of such pretentious titles as "Man in the World," "Formula for World Prosperity." The best of Filonov's works are his portraits and genre pictures from modern Soviet life done without any tricks of dismemberment and distortion, simply and

seriously. They are full of a sincerity and truth, and even a brutality and aridity which makes them akin to the primitives. He should paint more and invent less—otherwise Filonov the inventor will destroy Filonov the artist.

In the room devoted to Malevich are collected examples of his work through all the years of the revolution from the last faint echoes of objectivity to those bright arabesques, circles, bands, dots and lines which were at one time so popular in our textile and china industries. Much less successful are the architectural fantasies of Malevich, since he has forgotten that in architecture form is dictated by plan, construction and expediency and that arbitrary fancifulness is not at all appropriate in this most utilitarian and logical of the arts.

In the heyday of "iconoclasm"—that is to say, Left tendencies in art, a hue and cry was raised against easel art, as if it had outlived itself and was ready for liquidation. To its defense came a group of artists who organized the "Society of Easel Artists." As always in such cases, the new group borrowed certain things from preceding groups, adapting them to their own subject matter. Most of the elements used by the "OST" group were taken over from the German expressionists. Repudiating impressionism, all their searchings were directed toward sharpness of perception, unusualness of design, simplicity of form, technique of painting. Subject matter accidentally chosen gradually gave way to Soviet themes, transforming the "OST" into a real Soviet group.

Three large rooms of the exhibition are devoted to the work of the "OST" group—although the "OST" itself no longer exists.

The central place is occupied by Sterenberg, founder and permanent chairman of the society. All the periods of his very independent and logical development are exhaustively represented in two dozen canvases and thirty pieces of graphic work.

Of the artists whose work is most akin to that of Sterenberg, a whole room is occupied by Goncharov, Labas and Kozlov, whose later works are all stronger, healthier, and simpler than their earlier ones.

Of the pictures by other members of the "OST" group, the most notable are a life-size portrait of Stalin by Denisovsky, "The Fisherman," and "Revolt of the French Sailors," by Williams, "In the Factory," and "Girl with Ball," by Pimenov, Zernova's "Textile Factory" and Vialov's "On Guard."

Unique figures in this group are Adlivankin and Deinek. The first has worked out a simple style of painting of a very individual character, well suited to his every-day themes. Following his excellent small picture of 1922, "Philistines' Portrait," depicting a group of petty bourgeois citizens posing for a photographer, Adlivankin painted his "Voting the Kulaks out of the Kolhoz" in 1930, and after that two companion pieces—"Their Heroes" and "Our Heroes," in the first a troop commander distributes decorations to his soldiers in the presence of some important silk-hatted gentlemen, in the second a group of shock troop workers are receiving awards for their work in socialist construction.

Deinek has long since won a reputation as a real master, who has successfully applied the methods of both graphic and poster art in large pictures which he treats like frescoes. Deinek might well apply himself seriously to fresco painting, a type of art which might find its high-

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"Harvest," by the artist Lupov

est and truest expression in the Soviet Union. Of all the present Soviet artists Deinek is one of the most promising in the field of fresco. He is represented at the exhibition by his well-known picture "The Defense of Petrograd" (1927), "Skiers" (1931), "Unemployment in the West" (1932), and the complicated composition, "Kto-Kovo?" (1932). Each new picture by Deinek represents a new victory, a step forward in his consistent progress. In his last picture he has resourcefully combined the manner of ancient miniature painting and the Russian school, uniting in one composition various events which developed simultaneously, illustrating the history of Soviet successes, first in the struggle with intervention and class enemies and then in building the new life. But this artist, young and full of strength, must still do considerable work on himself, and first of all, give up some of the rather tiresome poster-like features which are characteristic of even his best earlier things and have not been entirely outgrown even in his later work.

As in all groupings, the members of "OST" have not shown any one single tendency, and the composition of the group has been quite heterogeneous, but of all the Moscow groups, the "OST" has been the farthest Left. Especially is this true of Goncharov, Labas, Kozlov, and Tyshler (the latter is not represented at the exhibition)—who oppose themselves in manner to Deinek, Pimenov and others who are somewhat more academic.

While "OST" has fought for easel paintings, another group, "AKHR"—"The Society of Revolutionary Artists," which was formed somewhat earlier, proclaimed at once—"Back to Realism," and "Forward to Revolutionary Themes." Under this banner were united all those who were against the extreme Left wing in painting and who strove to help the Soviet government with pencil and brush.

In the nine rooms devoted to the artists who have united during recent years under the flag of "AKHR," the interesting evolution which this society has undergone during its decade of existence is strikingly illustrated. Its founders had the courage to turn again to the much scorned realism of the "Traveling Artists" group. During the first period of their existence their work was crude and somber. But the "Jack of Diamonds" group and the "Society of Moscow Artists" joined them, they worked hard to develop their own powers, and gradually their work became more rich and vivid. And as they learned that mastery of technique did not hinder, but rather furthered their revolutionary purpose, they ceased to scoff at it, but rather turned their attention to achieving greater technical skill. This evolution is characteristic of all the "AKHR" group, but is especially striking in the work of Perelman, Bogorodsky and Riazhsky. From "Hero of Labor" of the first of these,

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The artist Yavorskaya at work in her studio

painted in 1922, in a dark, heavy manner, to the "Beet Harvest" and "Typography" of 1931, the artist has traversed a long and difficult but a joyous course.

Bogorodsky and Riazhsky, who recently spent three years in Italy and Germany, show an even more complete change of artistic direction than the others. The first was struck by the Pompeian frescoes and carried away by the French artist Utrillo. The latter has been strongly influenced by Derain. Both of these artists show great promise. While they have become adherents of the new school of painting they still preserve their old revolutionary zeal, and sharpness and reality of subject matter. Yanovskaya is very close to Riazhsky in his painting.

Radimov has also undergone a certain evolution, and his studies from year to year are more full of light and color. His large painting of 1928, "People in Rags," is one of the best productions of the "AKHR" group.

A very unique place in the "AKHR" movement is occupied by the three artists, Vassily Yakovlev, Shukhmin, and Riangina, who are concerned chiefly with form. The most gifted of these is Yakovlev, who is strongly under the influence of the old masters. One wishes that he would brighten his pallette a bit, which is made up chiefly of browns and blacks. It also would do no harm for the Leningrad artist, Zverev, who is more interested in painting than form, to freshen his pallette.

An important section of the exhibition is devoted to the work of Brodsky—who appears not in his usual role of painter of group portraits and

mass scenes, but as a painter of landscapes, interiors, and individual portraits. He has two interesting portraits—one of Voroshilov and one of the musician Barrère. His best landscapes, "The Terrace" and "Spring," are full of deep feeling for nature.

One of the most talented, original and independent of the "AKHR" artists is Katzman, who up until now has been undeservedly ignored, although his portraits are among the most gratifying signs on the Soviet art horizon. Irreproachable as to form and drawing, distinguished by an unusually keen perception, Katzman's work is strongly individual. He borrows from no one, and forges steadily ahead along his own independent and disciplined way. His final goal cannot be prophesied, but unquestionably he is guaranteed a place in the front ranks of European portrait painters. The best of his pictures at the exhibition are "The Wanderers," "The Kaliazin Circle Members," "Pioneer and Old Man," "Tamara Pridvorova," and "My Family." The latter, by its directness and trueness of perception unexpectedly brings Katzman into the class of the Venetians and the interior painters of 1830.

As if in contra-distinction to the "dark" group of "AKHR" artists, the semi-expressionistic pictures of Freutz, bright excursions into the realm of color, pictures which may be said not so much to be painted as "illuminated," are shown at the exhibition. There are also examples of the semi-impressionistic work of Milder, Nurenberg, Eugene Lvov, Boris Yakovlev, Tikhomirov, Piotr Kotov, Shegal, Alexander Grigorev, Volter, Alexander Gerasimov, Pokarzhevsky, Nikonov, Yohanson, Vassily, Karev, Komarov, Krainev, Vladimir Kuznetsov, Maranov. Somewhat apart from these is Cheptsov, going his own road, painting small, unpretentious but excellent pictures, reminiscent of Morozov and the Venetian school.

Among the representatives of the older generation who belong to the "AKHR" group should be noted such renowned masters as Rylov, who is represented by over twenty canvases, among them such real gems as "Sea Gulls," and Yuon, represented unfortunately, by two few things. Krymov also belongs to this group.

One especially bright wall is devoted to Ilya Machikov, such shining examples of still life as "Meat" from the Tretyakov Gallery or "Watermelon" from the Russian Museum, compare with some of the best work of the famous Dutch painters of still life.

A fine impression is also made, in spite of the dangerous juxtaposition with the work of Mashkov, by the colorful brush of Beringov, "On the Trawler," "Fish," and the wall devoted to Skal—especially his "Last Day of the Paris Commune."

The "AKHR" room is completed with a collection from the former "Makovetz" group, headed by Sergey Gerasimov, Chernyshev, and Zephirov. Each of these artists deserves a special monograph, as they are all unquestionably artists of distinction and originality. They are all quite different. Gerasimov inclines to wide spaces, to peasant life. His individual peasants are not simply portraits of muzhiks, friends, neighbors, but complex characters, with acutely observed class psychology—whole novels in color and form. Zephirov is a quiet, intimate portrayer of home life, his own environment, his own world. Chernyshev, who has mastered the art of fresco as perhaps none of our other painters have, still limits himself, however, to fine, but small pictures of young people of whom he has great understanding.

In this same room the excellent landscapes of Chekinazov should be mentioned.

Among the Leningrad exhibitors an important place is occupied by the gifted artists of the Leningrad epoch of the first years of the revolution—Dormidontov and Pavlov. The "Musicians" of the first, by its sharpness and social content, recalls the elder Breughel. Of the other Leningrad artists belonging to "AKHR," Radkov, the portrait painter, is one of the most important.

The younger generation of Leningrad artists, chiefly those formerly organized in the group "Krug" (Circle)—Zaposkin, Pakulin, Pakhomov, Osolodkov and Samokhvalov—are given to expressing Soviet subjects in realistic form, but in a purposely primitive or archaic manner, calling it "peasant," "self-taught," or "children's" art. In some cases this is successful—as in "The Collectivist," "The Poultry-Tender" of Pakhomov, as well as in his portraits of women, which are reminiscent of the Florentine frescoes. Sometimes they are dismal failures. Strongest of this group is Samokhvalov, who is represented by a number of unquestionably successful things, the best of which is "Portrait of a Girl."

The last two rooms are devoted to former members of the "Jack of Diamonds" and "Society of Moscow Artists" groups—whole walls are occupied by the works of Konchalovsky, Lentulov, Osmerkin, Kuprin, Rozhdestvensky.

Konchalovsky, unfortunately for himself, is represented only by paintings of 1928 and 1929, and not by his later and better things. Lentulov's watercolors are more successful than his oil paintings. Kuprin's work is distinguished by the quality of his painting and his treatment of the new industrial landscape.

The industrialization of the Soviet Union is one of the most popular subjects at the exhibition—one is left with the impression that about half of the pictures exhibited deal in one way or another with some industrial theme. In justice, however, it must be stated that with a few exceptions such as Kuprin's work, Brodsky's "Udarniks of Dnieprostroy," and perhaps a dozen

others, this theme really has not been mastered in Soviet painting. It is another matter in the graphic field. Here the success of treating the theme of industrialization has been much greater, especially in the work of Nivinsky, Zenkevich, Dormidontov and Pavlov.

The mother of all our graphic art was the "World of Art" group, and therefore in the graphic art section are the rooms devoted to the Leningrad masters of painting and graphic art, two of them now dead.

The exhibits of the work of Kustodiev and Golovin, have been brought together somewhat casually and do not give a complete picture of these two great artists. In addition, special rooms are devoted to Ostroumova-Lebedeva, who gives many evidences of her unfading genius, to Tyrsa, that fine water-color painter, and Vladimir Lebedev, one of the greatest artists produced by Leningrad since the revolution. His scenes from the life of Leningrad during the Nep period have a deep social content. Lebedev has such fantastic sharpness of perception, trueness of eye and sureness of memory, that he has no rivals in the field of setting down passing impressions in pencil sketches either with us or in all Europe. What a pity that with such a rare gift for seeing and grasping life, he runs away from himself, puts on a Left-Paris mask, and escapes into imitative still life.

Gurvich, a new Leningrad artist, exhibits here for the first time, his things giving the impression half of paintings, half of graphic work. His pictures are mostly on civil war subjects.

Out of the wreckage of "The World of Art" grew up the "Four Arts Society"—the two chief masters of which, Petrov-Vodkin and Pavel Kuznetsov, were rightly given the two best walls of the entire exhibition. Petrov-Vodkin has changed little during the revolution, painting new themes in his old formal manner. It is disappointing that the most ambitious picture in respect of size and subject matter—"The Death of a Commissar" (1928) is not up to such faultlessly executed smaller pieces as "1918," "Mother and Child," and several of his still life's of lemons, violins and cherry blossoms.

Pavel Kuznetsov, on the other hand, has changed greatly not only since the time of the "Blue Rose," but since the last exhibition of "The World of Art." In his picture "Sorting Cotton," 1930, the best of all his pictures exhibited, a new stage is to be noted in his always rich and unexpected art. He has reached his own solution of the *plein air* problem, which flows logically from his whole creative course and which may in the future greatly enrich the storehouse of Soviet painting.

His companion of the "Blue Rose," Sarian, is also represented in a new manner. His trip to Paris and his studying of nature without preconceived plans have put new body into his painting which suffers by a somewhat monotonous approach to objects, to people and to nature. In addition to a number of excellent landscapes he is represented by a very interesting portrait, "My Family," combining his own special style with a unique sense of realism.

Next to these masters is appropriately hung the delicate work of Belritova. Not so happy is the juxtaposition on the third wall, of the pictures of Shevchenko, different both in derivation and purpose. He has swept from Kora to Vrubel in his allegiance, from Vrubel to Piromanoshvili, and still has not found himself, in spite of an unquestionable gift.

Of the artists who have recently joined the "Four Arts" group, very notable are the pictures of Ustomin, whose style is a little reminiscent of that of Matisse.

The graphic division is so enormous, diverse and rich that it will be necessary to write of it separately. The Soviet masters of graphic art—Favorsky, Kravchenko, Ivan Pavlov, Miturich, Kupreznov, Vereisky, and many others, have already received world recognition in exhibitions abroad.

In this division there are a few artists who are not purely graphic artists who should be treated separately—Neradovsky, noted for his excellent portraits, Leo Brun, who works in oils as well as black and white, and that fine water-color painter, Von Wieser.

The sculpture division is unfortunately poor, both in quantity and quality. In addition to Zilonen's "Udarniki," already mentioned, some small pieces by Matveyev, and several fine busts by Sara Lebedeva, Krestovsky, Mukhina and Domogatsky, should be noted.

What answer does the exhibition give to the question "Is there a new Soviet art?" Unquestionably, an affirmative answer. It is to be found not only in the work of the new artistic forces, in the young Soviet generation, but in that of the older artists seized by the wave of October and swept into the vortex of the new life. These, too, have a real Soviet "face"—not only politically, but artistically, thus confirming one of the chief theses of the historic decision of the Central Committee of the party of the growth of Soviet literature and art in both quantity and quality on the basis of the success of socialist construction. Gradually breaking away from their non-political formalist tendencies, the Soviet artists have set about the concrete solution of the problem of Soviet realism.

The significance of the present exhibition is in its summing up of achievements to date, in its gathering of forces for future progress. The results show great promise, giving every reason to expect much for the future of Soviet art, which is just at the beginning of its development.

Soviet Rubber and Gutta-percha

LAST fall the second and third Soviet synthetic rubber plants started operations; one in October at Voronezh (Central Black Soil Region) and the other in November at Yefremov (Moscow Region. The main construction work on the fourth plant, at Kazan (Tartar Republic), has been completed this winter, and the installation of equipment has commenced. Construction work on two other plants—one at Krasnodar and one at Kremenchug—will soon be under way.

The synthetic rubber plant at Voronezh and the pioneer one at Yaroslavl, which began operations in July of this year, have used as their basic raw material alcohol derived from potatoes. Since the demand for potatoes as food equals or even exceeds their supply, the scientific research institutes have been seeking some other raw material which would be cheaper and of which the supply would be more adequate. Two solutions have already been reported. In October the Peat Scientific-Research Institute announced that it had worked out a process of obtaining alcohol from peat. Closely following up this discovery came the report on November 1 of an entirely new method of obtaining synthetic rubber—from acetylene. This latest achievement of Soviet science lies to the credit of the State Institute of Applied Chemistry. Tests of the new rubber carried out at the Leningrad branch of the Scientific Research Institute of the Rubber Industry have established that in quality it excels synthetic rubber obtained by other methods and, in some respects, is even superior to natural rubber. The cost of production, according to preliminary estimates, is considerably below that of synthetic rubber manufactured by other known methods. The fact that the Soviet Union possesses abundant supplies of the basic raw materials required—limestone and coal—will make possible the rapid development of large-scale production of synthetic rubber on the basis of the new method.

Progress is also being made in extending the cultivation of native rubber-bearing plants. Although many such plants have been discovered during the past few years, tau-sagiz, containing from 30 to 40 per cent rubber, still holds the leading place. The habitat of this plant is Kazakstan and Central Asia, but since its discovery as a rubber-bearing plant in 1929 its cultivation has been extended to other parts of the Soviet Union. State rubber plantations already have under cultivation about 25 million rubber-bearing plants, of which 10 million are tau-sagiz. Large State farms specializing in this crop have been organized in Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, the North Caucasus, the Ukraine, and one in the southern part of the Moscow Region. During the second five-year plan a number of new plantations will be established. The total area under tau-sagiz in 1933 is scheduled to reach 10,000 hectares and in 1937, 200,000 hectares (495,000 acres). One hectare of tau-sagiz in its third year yields about one ton of pure rubber, valued at about 1,000 rubles. It will be cultivated, in addition to the regions already mentioned, in the Middle and Lower Volga and Central Black Soil Regions.

The Kautchukonos State Trust has set up an experimental station for research in the production of rubber from plants which can be grown in the Soviet Union at Batum, because the climate there is sub-tropical. A number of rubber and gutta-percha trees were planted here in the old regime by some of the people who owned villas in this district, as a hobby, to see whether they would grow in this climate. Experiments are now being made at this station with the hondrilla plant, discovered in Kazakstan, which contains a high percentage of rubber. Many other plants from China, Mexico and Central America as well as the Soviet Union, are being experimented with at this station to determine their value as a source of rubber or gutta-percha, and plant

Soyuzphoto

Gutta-percha trees near Batum

diseases, insect pests and means of resisting them are being studied. Experience gained at this station will be applied on a large scale at the big plantation in Abkhazia, not far from Sukhum.

In the Ukraine extensive experimental work is being carried on in the acclimatization of rubber-bearing plants, including not only tau-sagiz but also various other native plants which yield a considerable percentage of rubber. In the Skadovsk district a nursery is to be established for the propagation of a plant called "Soviet guttapercha," on the basis of which raw material the first Soviet gutta-percha factory has already started operations.

The Scientific Research Institute of Rubber and Gutta-Percha has discovered a new rubber-bearing plant known as Crimean dandelion or Krim-sagiz. Like tau-sagiz the rubber is found in the form of threads in the roots. The rubber content of the new plant is somewhat lower, but due to the quality and easy extraction of the rubber this dandelion is considered to be of immense industrial value. The quality of the rubber obtained from it is superior to that of any of the other native rubber-bearing plants and even to that of imported tropical rubber. The native habitat of this dandelion is along the southern coast of the Crimea, where it grows in abundance, but experiments in transplanting it to other districts of southern Russia have proved highly successful, and it is planned to establish commercial plantations. In November seed was being gathered in Crimea, and it was expected to obtain about two tons, sufficient to sow next year 1,300 hectares (3,200 acres).

Final Report on 1931 Budget

AT its session on January 30, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. accepted the report on the execution of the Unified State Budget for the special quarter of 1930 (October-December, 1930) and for 1931.

According to the report the total revenues during the special quarter amounted to 5,322,176,393 rubles and the total expenditures to 4,616,019,173 rubles, leaving an excess of revenues over expenditures amounting to 706,157,220 rubles. The latter figure was incorporated in the Unified State Budget for 1931.

The total revenues for 1931 amounted to 23,759,244,331 rubles instead of the 21,774,018,000 rubles originally proposed. The total expenditures for 1931 were 23,068,811,452 rubles instead of the proposed 20,274,018,000 rubles. The revenue thus exceeded the expenditures by 598,552,891 rubles. In the People's Commissariat for Transportation revenues exceeded expenditures by 116,706,105 rubles, while in the People's Commissariat for Communications revenues were below expenditures by 24,826,117 rubles. This deficit was covered during 1932.

The budgets of the Union Republics for 1931 were carried out as follows:

Constituent Republics	*Rubles*
R.S.F.S.R.—Excess of revenues over expenditures	1,107,727
Ukrainian S.S.R.—Excess of revenues over expenditures	1,062
White Russian Republic—Excess of expenditures over revenues	924
Transcaucasian S.F.S.R.—Excess of expenditures over revenues	11,702,205
Turkoman S.S.R.—Excess of expenditures over revenues	891,262
Uzbek S.S.R.—Balanced.	
Tadzhik S.S.R.—Excess of expenditures over revenues	183,719

The deficits in the budgets of Transcaucasia, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan were covered by January 1, 1933.

The source of the excess of 1,279,000,000 rubles in the revenues of the Unified State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1931 over the sum originally proposed, came from the business turnover tax and loans. This excess as well as the State reserve fund of 1,500,000,000 rubles provided for in the budget, was used in increasing the budget for financing industry, for agriculture and other economic social and cultural measures.

Statement by Amtorg

THE Amtorg Trading Corporation of New York issued the following statement March 25:

"Recently it has come to the attention of the Amtorg Trading Corporation that certain firms and individuals are representing themselves as being in a favored position to handle business with the Soviet Union by virtue of alleged special influence or connections. In connection with such representations frequent inquiries have been addressed to the Amtorg.

"The Amtorg Trading Corporation is the sole representative in the United States of most of the industrial and trade organizations of the Soviet Union. Its fixed policy is to deal directly with American manufacturers, wholesalers and jobbers and not through intermediaries. Therefore, all proposals for the purchase of merchandise from the U.S.S.R. or for export of American equipment and other products to the U.S.S.R. should be submitted directly to it in order to receive proper consideration. The interest of those seeking to deal with the Soviet Union will not be served by negotiating through unauthorized intermediaries, who are in no position to exert any influence whatsoever in connection with such business."

Soviet Reply to League

ON February 24, Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, addressed to M. M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, a letter advising that the League of Nations Assembly had resolved to send copies of the report adopted on the Manchurian question to non-members of the League who had signed the Kellogg Pact or the Nine-Power Treaty, with the hope that the non-members, in case the necessity arose, would act in conformity with the members of the League, and asking the Soviet Government's reply to this suggestion. On February 25, Sir Eric Drummond sent a further communication inviting the Soviet government to cooperate with the Consultation Committee set up by the League Assembly in pursuance of the resolution passed by it on February 24.

Mr. M. M. Litvinov wired the following reply to Sir Eric Drummond on March 7:

The Soviet government has carefully considered the proposals contained in your letters to me of February 24 and 25, has attentively studied the documents attached to them and has come to the following conclusion:

The League of Nations' decisions as well as the report of the Committee of Nineteen, have as their premises the League of Nations Covenant, the Washington Nine-Power Treaty and the Paris Treaty (the Briand-Kellogg Pact). The U.S.S.R. is not a signatory of the first two, but adhered to the last of the pacts named. At its very inception the Soviet government proclaimed as a fundamental principle of its policy, the right of all nations to self-determination under conditions of freedom to express their will and absence of any outside pressure whatsoever. It took a determined stand against any annexations and indemnities as results of military conquests or forcible seizures. From these principles absolute respect for the territorial integrity and the political social-economic and administrative independence of all states, the inadmissibility of settling international conflicts by other than peaceful means, and, of course, the obligation strictly to observe international treaties embodying these principles, logically ensue.

The proposal of the Soviet government for universal and complete disarmament was aimed to render impossible the violation of these principles even by states which do not recognize them. Very recently the Soviet delegation to the disarmament conference submitted a proposal for international condemnation of all those pretexts whereby violation of international treaties of peace and forcible seizures of territory are usually justified.

The Treaty of Paris, like other analogous international agreements, covers only part of the above principles and proposals of the Soviet government. Inasmuch as the premises of the League of Nations' decisions on the Japanese-Chinese conflict in some measure approach the principles of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, it may be stated that these premises coincide to some extent with the views of the Soviet Union.

The report of the Committee of Nineteen, approved by the League Assembly, contains, however, recommendations to apply to the Japanese-Chinese conflict, the premises of the League's decisions noted by me, which are not entirely compatible with these premises and permit a departure from them on a number of most serious questions.

The Advisory Committee set up in the same spirit by the decision of the Assembly, is an organ of the League, one of whose aims is to facilitate fulfillment by the Assembly of its obligations, and which is to make its proposals to the Assembly, upon whose decisions the U.S.S.R., which is not a member of the League, can have no influence.

Another aim of the Advisory Committee is to help coordinate the actions of members and non-members of the League. However, the majority of the States which have joined and are to join the Advisory Committee, namely, 13 out of 22, do not maintain any relations with the Soviet Union and consequently are hostile to it. Obviously such a committee would hardly be capable of fulfilling the task of coordination of actions with the Soviet Union which is unable to enter into any negotiations with the majority of these States nor individually with those whose interests are most likely to coincide with its own.

It is also permissible to doubt whether such States could really take into consideration the interests of the U.S.S.R., which are mentioned in the recommendations.

In view of the circumstances set forth, the Soviet government does not find it possible to join in the decisions of the League or to take part at the present moment in the Advisory Committee.

The Soviet government, anxious by all means possible to prevent a further extension of the military conflict and its possible development into the source of a new world conflagration, has adopted a course of strict neutrality from the very beginning of the Japanese-Chinese conflict. In accordance with the above, the Soviet government, true to its peaceful policy, will always be in accord with the actions and proposals of international organizations and individual governments aimed toward the most speedy and just settlement of the conflict and assurance of peace in the Far East.

Please accept, etc.

LITVINOV.

Book Notes

"SOVIET SCENE," by Frederick Griffin. The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1932. $2.50.

Mr. Griffin is a Canadian newspaper man. He spent part of the summer of 1932 in the Soviet Union, traveling about, observing all sorts of people in their daily occupations and recreations, in his quest for copy. A good part of his volume appeared originally in the form of articles in the Toronto Star. His method of approach is set forth modestly in his foreword: "This book is journalism and makes no pretense at being anything else. . . . This is simply a record of the new Russian manner of living as I found it, running around for human interest copy in the way I have run around for years on the North American continent." The book gives a lively and comprehensive picture of the Soviet scene. Its successive vignettes answer many questions that the average American asks about life in the Soviet Union. Probably this is because Mr. Griffin confined himself largely to what he himself saw. Nearly 90 per cent of it, he says, "was produced on the spot, much of it within an hour or half a dozen hours of an encounter." Despite this urg-

ency the volume is by no means lacking in perspective. It is a good, solid piece of work, not the less impressive from being eminently easy to read. Journalism it is, but of a strikingly high grade.

"THE NEW RUSSIA—Between the First and Second Five-Year Plans," introduced by Edward M. House, edited by Jerome Davis. The John Day Company, New York, 1933. $2.50.

"The New Russia" is a series of first-hand studies of various aspects of Soviet life by various American authorities. It is a well turned out book, of great value to the seeker for information. In addition to Professor Davis the writers include Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, Dr. Newell L. Sims, Professor George Douglas, Professor Vera Douglas, Professor Karl Scholz, Professor Alzada Comstock, Allan K. Smith, Professor Harry C. Krowl, Francis A. Henson, Dr. Susan M. Kingsbury and Dr. J. L. Gillin. The chapters cover Soviet law, government, agriculture, industry, finance, social welfare, prisons, etc. The volume will be ranked among the more important books on the Soviet Union.

"RED ECONOMICS," edited by Gerhard Dobbert, with a preface by Walter Duranty. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1932. $3.00.

This is a collection of articles on various phases of Soviet economic life by fifteen different foreign correspondents, economists, etc., German, English, Austrian, Swiss, Italian and American. The three American correspondents represented are Mr. Walter Duranty of the New York Times, Mr. William Henry Chamberlin of the Christian Science Monitor and Mr. H. R. Knickerbocker of the New York Evening Post. The different articles vary greatly in quality. The best and certainly the most objective are Mr. Chamberlin's chapter on "The Planned Economy," Mr. Knickerbocker's chapter on "Foreign Trade," and Mr. Duranty's chapter on "The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Their vision seems more direct and unobscured than that of some of the European scholars represented in the book.

In fact most of these continental authors seem more concerned with proving a thesis than with an exposition of facts. Thus in the article on agriculture, by a German, we find the statement that "the actual sown area has undergone a reduction since 1927." The writer is referring to 1931. Yet in that year the sown area was 136,600,000 hectares, and in 1927 it was 115,000,000 hectares. Instead of a decrease we have an increase of nearly 19 per cent. Again in the chapter on "Communication" we read: "At the end of 1931, the total productivity of the power stations of the Soviet Union did not exceed 100,000 kilowatts." The actual capacity of power stations in 1931 was 4,060,000 kilowatts. Similar grotesque discrepancies scattered through the book seriously impair its value.

"STALIN'S LADDER," by Elias Tobenkin. Minton Balch & Company, New York, 1933. $2.50.

Mr. Tobenkin's book is divided into three parts, called, respectively, "War," "Peace," and "Prisons." The last hundred of his 300 pages are devoted to an exposition of the Soviet prison system, which is interesting, objective and valuable. This can hardly be said of the first two sections. The first is in large measure sheer yellow journalism. Mr. Tobenkin is aware that within the last fourteen years the Soviet Union has been invaded by the armed forces of a dozen nations. These invasions and the attendant blockades caused widespread suffering and starvation and epidemics. It is surely not unnatural in these circumstances that the population would still have a lively recollection of those recent years of horror and the government should be at pains to protect its borders. Mr. Tobenkin, however, chooses to present this state of mind as an abnormal and artificial thing. Surely it was not necessary for him to journey all the way to Moscow to get excited over military training in schools. In the second section of his book Mr. Tobenkin also seems to have yielded to the demand for sensation, this time on the pornographic side. The Soviet scene is pretty barren territory for such interest. Mr. Tobenkin managed to smell out a few irregular households among foreign visitors. Those who like that sort of stuff will like it.

"AGRICULTURAL RUSSIA AND THE WHEAT PROBLEM," by Vladimir P. Timoshenko. Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California, 1932. $4.00.

Mr. Timoshenko has written a rather large and ponderous volume of over 550 pages crammed with statistics and statistical deductions. The author appears to hold that Soviet agriculture has reached its zenith, or rather that it reached its zenith before the war. While admitting that during the present transition period predictions are difficult, the author holds that the limits to further expansion of the grain area are "much narrower than is often supposed" and he is pessimistic about any steady increase in production beyond the barest requirements caused by the growth of population. In short, for the future Mr. Timoshenko sets his face resolutely on the sour side. This leads him into some peculiar statements. For instance he waves aside the factor that Russia, which before the war possessed less than 200 tractors, last year had 200,000 tractors employed on grain farms alone

and produced 51,500 tractors in its new plants, which production will be materially increased this year. When one considers that only a few years back the great mass of the peasants scratched a starvation living from the soil with primitive wooden plows, this rapid mechanization would seem to be a basis for a fundamental change toward increased productivity. Mr. Timoshenko, however, merely remarks that the Soviet Union can not afford to purchase "adequate numbers" of tractors abroad and tractor production in Soviet factories "is not proceeding as rapidly as planned." Also, in his melancholy predictions of the difficulty of increasing the grain crops, he entirely leaves out of consideration scientific efforts towards greater per acre productivity through improved varieties, better methods, etc., and scientific aid in successfully growing grain in areas hitherto barred by climatic or other handicaps. He also ignores the potential influence on the crops of the bringing to the peasants, the "dark people" of Tsarism, the stimulus of education. It seems a pity that a lack of essential illumination in the author should have led to dubious conclusions from such an assembled mass of statistical material.

Recent Magazine Articles on the Soviet Union

A list of the more important articles which have appeared since the December, 1932, issue of the SOVIET UNION REVIEW.

Cultural Problems

"Art and Marxism," by Anatole Lunacharsky. New Masses. November, 1932.
The former Commissar of Education interprets art from the Marxist viewpoint.

"Greece in the Kremlin," by Talbot Faulkner Hamlin. New Republic. December 28, 1932.
Architecture in the Soviet Union.

"Creative Art in Russia." The Living Age. December, 1932.
I. "Brighter Art for Russia," by Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Translated from the Vossische Zeitung.
II. "Russia's Literary Renaissance," by Hans E. Friedrich. Translated from the Frankfurter Zeitung.

"Theatre Outpost USSR," by Mordecai Gorelik. Theatre Arts Monthly. January, 1933.
What the theatre is accomplishing for the Jews of White Russia.

"A New Day for Red Art," by Maurice Hindus. Vanity Fair. February, 1933.
Recent changes in Soviet theatre and literature.

"The Russian Panorama," by Eugen Braudo. Modern Music. January-February, 1933.
A survey of Soviet composers.

"Two Worlds of Music," by Ashley Pettis. New Masses. February, 1933.
Music in Soviet Russia and America contrasted.

"What the Soviet Child Reads," by Ella Winter. The New Republic. December 14, 1932.
About children's books and the new School of Children's Literature in Leningrad.

"The Printed Word in Soviet Russia," by Sidney Webb. Current History. March, 1933.
Comprehensive article by the prominent British economist on book publishing and authorship in the U.S.S.R.

Economic Problems

"Soviet Progress and Poverty," by Louis Fischer. The Nation. December 7, 1932.
Some Ukrainian impressions.

"Rubles at Home," by Walter Duranty. Asia. January, 1933.
The New York Times correspondent discusses problems of currency in the U.S.S.R.

"Stalin Faces the Peasant," by Louis Fischer. The Nation. January 11, 1933.
The agricultural situation discussed.

"Russia Too Has a Railroad Problem," by William C. White. Asia. February, 1933.
Some historical material and a somewhat pessimistic survey of Soviet railway problems.

"Progress of Workers' Productive Associations in the Soviet Union." Monthly Labor Review of U. S. Department of Labor. March, 1933.
Notes on producers' cooperatives and artels.

Family Problems

"The Family in Soviet Russia," by Sidney Webb. Current History. April, 1933.
In the last of a series of six articles the British economist considers problems of the family, the position of women and children.

"After the Family—What?" by Ella Winter. Scribner's. April, 1933.
Trends of family life in the Soviet Union as affected by new social agencies.

"Women Emancipated in Soviet Russia," by Ella Winter. Soviet Russia Today. March, 1933.
Facts and figures about the present status of Soviet women.

Five-Year Plan

"The Five-Year Plan Completed," by Maxwell S. Stewart. The World Tomorrow. December 14, 1932.
Summing up of accomplishments under 5-year plan.

"Russia Between Two Plans," by William Henry Chamberlin. The New Republic. February 15, 1933.
Results of first five-year plan and change of emphasis in the second discussed.

"Has the Five-Year Plan Worked?" by Maurice Hindus. Harper's. March, 1933.
Dark and bright aspects of the present situation in the U.S.S.R.

"The Balance Sheet of the Five-Year Plan," by William Henry Chamberlin. Foreign Affairs. April, 1933.
Mr. Chamberlin presents his estimate of the successes and shortcomings of the plan and problems of the future.

Foreign Relations

"Recognize Russia Now," by Louis Fischer. The Nation. December 28, 1932.
A survey by the author of "The Soviets in World Affairs."

"American Policy Toward Russia," by Vera Micheles Dean. Current History. January, 1933.
The Research Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association traces the course of American policy toward Russia since downfall of Tsar.

"Russian Paradox," by Walter Duranty. Survey Graphic. February, 1933.
A brief history of American-Russian relations by the New York Times correspondent in Moscow.

"Russia Looks for Friends," by Louis Fischer. The Nation. March 29, 1933.
The present status of Soviet International Relations with emphasis on Soviet-American relations.

"Uncle Sam and the Red Bear," by William Philip Simms. Asia. April, 1933.
Mr. Simms, writer on international affairs for the Scripps-Howard press, reviews Soviet-American relations.

Various

"A Visit to Russia," by Louis Fischer. Country Life. October, 1932.
An illustrated account of the colorful sights and social changes in the making to be seen in travel in the U.S.S.R.

"Brown Beholds Biro-Bidjan," by David A. Brown. American Hebrew and Jewish Tribune. Issues of December 23, 1932, through January 20, 1933.
The publisher of this magazine describes Jewish colonies in Ukraine and Crimea, the beginnings of a Jewish Republic in Biro-Bidjan.

"Russia in Transition," by Elisha Friedman. National Sphere. January, 1933.
An appraisal of Soviet tendencies by the author of the book, "Russia in Transition," containing some interesting observations and some astonishingly naive deductions.

"Freedom Under Soviet Rule," by Sidney Webb. Current History. January, 1933.
Degree of freedom enjoyed by workers, emancipation of women, children and adolescents.

"Soviet Deportations," by Louis Fischer. The Nation. February 22, 1933.
Survey of some recent Soviet decrees by the Moscow correspondent of the Baltimore Sun and The Nation.

"The Steel Frame of Soviet Society," by Sidney Webb. The Yale Review. Winter, 1933.
The place of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R.

"Is Human Nature Changing in Russia?" by E. C. Lindeman. The New Republic. March 8, 1933.
Mr. Lindeman answers the question in the affirmative.

"Russian Medicine," by John A. Kingsbury. The New Republic. April 5, 1933.
The secretary of the Milbank Memorial Fund reports on his observations during a recent 9,000-mile trip.

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

VOL. XI MAY, 1933 NO. 5

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THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

THE GIANT METEORITE

POSITION OF THE JEWS

SOVIET PHYSICAL CULTURE

BRITISH ENGINEERS' TRIAL

MOSCOW CHILDREN'S THEATRE

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Review of Economic Situation

RECORD progress has been made this year in the spring sowing campaign. By April 20 fourteen million hectares (34,600,000 acres) had already been sown to spring crops, over twice the area sown by the same date last year. The outset of the second five-year plan finds Soviet agriculture—backed by Soviet science, Soviet machinery, and by millions of Soviet peasants, steadily assimilating the new methods of large-scale, mechanized collective farming—on the threshold of unprecedented development.

One of the important factors contributing to the splendid start made in the sowing campaign was the successful carrying out of the production program for tractors and tractor parts and the speedy execution of tractor repair work. The Soviet machine-building industry, which during the few years of its existence has many achievements to its credit, maintained its good record during the first quarter of the current year. Production of both agricultural and industrial machinery showed substantial increases over last year, while the schedules for output of automobiles, tractors, and tractor parts were considerably exceeded.

Spring Sowing Campaign

Spring sowings by April 20 totaled 14 million hectares, as against 6,400,000 last year. Not only were the sowings begun from ten to fifteen days earlier this year, but the rate of sowing has been higher.

The sowings in the principal grain regions show an especially marked advance over last year. The Ukraine by April 20 had sown 3,500,000 hectares (8,600,000 acres), as against less than 2 million hectares by the same date last year. The North Caucasus Region had sown over 2 million hectares, considerably more than last year. The Lower and Middle Volga Regions had sown over 4 million hectares, as compared with less than a tenth of that figure last year. The Tartar Republic, where sowings had scarcely commenced by April 20 in 1932, had sown about 600,000 hectares.

The marked success attained this year in getting the spring crops sown early—an important factor in the struggle for high yields—has not been due entirely to more favorable weather conditions, which made possible an earlier start, and to the widespread adoption of extra-ear sowing (sowing by hand or airplane on soil too wet to bear horses or tractors). Much of the credit is due to better organization of the work and to increased efficiency and enthusiasm on the part of the peasants. There are now on the collective farms not only hundreds of capable organizers but tens of thousands of rank

and file peasants who have assimilated the new methods of large-scale farming.

The political departments of the machine and tractor stations, organized a few months ago, have played an important role in improving the organization of the sowing work. They have supervised all preparations for the spring sowing: repair of tractors, destruction of weeds, deep plowing, harrowing after plowing. In the organization of the plowing and sowing work they have centered their attention on strengthening the field brigades, insisting that reliable and efficient workers be appointed as brigade leaders, that every able-bodied member have a definite task for the whole sowing period, and that responsible workers holding administrative jobs do not remain aloof from practical work but take an active part in the field brigades.

Another vital factor in improving labor organization and discipline on the collective farms during the present sowing campaign was the Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigaders, held in Moscow in February. The delegates to this congress exchanged their experiences, learned of the methods which had proved to be most effective, and upon their return to their respective farms imparted, through numerous local conferences, their knowledge and enthusiasm. As a result the peasants on many collective farms are carrying out this spring's sowing in a much more energetic and orderly manner than heretofore.

Finally, the fact that the state grain procurements have this year been replaced by fixed quotas constitutes an added stimulus to conscientious work in the spring sowing campaign. Each collective farm knows in advance just how much grain it is to deliver to the state, and the members realize that every increase in yield per hectare means higher income for themselves.

Of the total area sown by April 20 (14 million hectares) the collective farms accounted for almost 12 million hectares, or 18 per cent of their program. The collective farms served by machine and tractor stations showed the highest fulfillment of all—21 per cent. Sowing is also proceeding successfully on the state farms. The individual peasants, while recording a considerable advance over last year, are lagging behind the socialized sector in percentage of fulfillment of the program. The local authorities were urged not to slight the individual peasants, the majority of whom will eventually join the collectives, but to assist them also to carry out their sowing program. The extra early start and excellent progress made with the spring sowings make this year's prospects for an especially good crop in the Soviet Union most promising.

Industrial Development

In industry the first quarter presented a more mixed picture than in agriculture. In certain branches of heavy industry, such as coal, oil, iron and steel, production for the quarter fell below the program, owing to low output in the early weeks of the year. In all cases decided improvement was registered in March, and the upward trend continued into April. First quarter output in tractors and automobiles was above schedule and showed substantial gains over the same period of last year.

Metallurgy

Pig iron output during the first quarter fell considerably below the program. However, daily output, which averaged only 15,240 metric tons in January and February, partly on account of shut downs due to blizzards, showed a substantial increase in March, rising to 19,200 tons, or nearly equal to the record level of October, 1932 (19,400 tons). This sharp upward curve in output continued during April, and on April 12 production for the first time passed the 20,000-ton mark. Even this is considered to be much below the capacity of the mills at present in operation. Steel output was also below schedule, at the end of the quarter fluctuating around 17,000 tons per day and by April 11 reaching the 18,000-ton level.

The mills producing special steels, on the other hand, recorded considerable success, fulfilling the quarter's program for output of steel ingots by 97 per cent and exceeding that for rolled steel by 5 per cent. This achievement is ascribed to the better organization prevailing in these mills and to proper preparations to assure uninterrupted operations during the winter months. These mills likewise recorded a decrease in production costs.

The extensive construction program for 1933 in the iron and steel industry, involving an estimated expenditure of 1,800,000,000 rubles, is well under way. Fifteen new blast furnaces, 45 open-hearth furnaces, 13 electric furnaces, and 4 blooming mills are among the new structures to be built. The program for the first quarter was fulfilled to the extent of 85 per cent. Two of the fifteen blast furnaces—one at the Voroshilov plant and one at the Stalino (Donbas) plant—are already in operation. Several others, including the third and fourth furnaces at Magnitogorsk, are scheduled to start operations during the current quarter. The third and fourth blast furnaces at Kuznetsk (Stalinsk) mill are scheduled to be blown in on July 1 and October 1, respectively.

Fuel

Although coal production rose steadily from a daily average of 184,000 tons in January to 192,-300 tons in March, the total output for the quarter was 9.5 per cent below the program and 5 per cent below last year's level. The government issued a special decree on April 8, calling for a drastic reorganization of the administration of the entire industry in the Donetz Basin, beginning with the Fuel Department of the Commis-

sariat for Heavy Industry and ending with the heads of the individual mines. From April 12 to 15 an all-Donbas conference of shock-brigaders, embracing 500 miner delegates, was held to work out the details of executing the decree.

The failure to bring up the output is ascribed largely to inadequate supervision and training of the workers in the operation and care of the many new machines installed in the past year or two. Another source of difficulty has been the slowness in establishing a properly differentiated wage-scale, as an aid in overcoming the excessively high labor turnover and in stimulating labor productivity.

In the oil industry production fell behind the schedule during January and February, but exceeded the program for March by 2.2 per cent. Output for the market was 4,638,000 metric tons.

Machine-building

The machine-building industries came through the first quarter with the highest records, output in important automobile and tractor plants exceeding the planned schedules. The production figures for automobiles, tractors, locomotives, and freight cars are given below:

MACHINE PRODUCTION FIGURES

	1933				Per Cent	1932
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	1st Quarter	of Program	1st Quarter
Automobiles				*10,077*		*4,401*
Stalin (AMO)	1,838	1,702	1,776	5,316(1)	102.6	2,959
Gorky (formerly Nizhni)	1,286	1,211	1,810	4,307(2)	103.0	1,442
Yaroslavl				454	100.8	435
Tractors				*13,786*		*11,804*
Kharkov	1,767	1,690	2,023	5,480(3)	101.8	3,385
Stalingrad	2,614	2,650	3,042	8,306(4)	90.0	8,419
Locomotives	54	74	84	212	82.8	254
Freight cars (2-axle units)	1,201	1,554	1,530	4,285	81.0	.....

(1) In addition, 575 motors were manufactured for the Yaroslavl plant.
(2) In addition, 2,707 motors for combines were manufactured.
(3) In addition, 870 motors for combines were manufactured.
(4) In addition, 91 motors for combines were manufactured.

The automobile plants turned out over 10,000 trucks and cars during the first quarter, or more than double output during the same period last year, while the tractor plants, with an output of 13,786 machines, surpassed last year's level by 2,000 tractors. The Stalin (AMO) automobile plant exceeded its program by 2.6 per cent, attaining an average daily output of 74 trucks in March. The Gorky (formerly Nizhni Novgorod) plant, in addition to exceeding its program for automobiles, turned out 2,707 combine motors and 13 million rubles' worth of spare parts. Its daily output during the latter part of March averaged 55 trucks and 20 passenger cars. Production at both plants is now proceeding smoothly and regularly without the interruptions and breakdowns which were still not uncommon occurrences at the beginning of the year. By the end of March daily output at the Kharkov and Stalingrad tractor factories amounted to 80 and 150 machines, respectively. Both plants considerably exceeded their schedules for output of tractor parts. The production of tractor parts by all plants totaled 33,800,000 rubles ($17,000,000), or 20 per cent above the program set for the quarter.

The agricultural machinery plants were assigned the task of providing 100 million rubles' worth of machinery for the spring sowing campaign. By the end of the quarter a total of 83,600,000 rubles' worth had been manufactured. The program for tractor-drawn machinery had by that time already been carried out in full, and by April 10, the final date set, that for horse-drawn equipment had likewise been completed with the exception of one special type of plow.

Production of heavy industrial machinery recorded a large gain (76 per cent) over last year, attaining a total during the quarter of 36,700,000 rubles. However, even this was below the program set. A great part of the output was accounted for by two plants—the Izhor and the new Ural heavy machine-building plants — which turned out 23,800,000 and 6,600,000 rubles' worth of machinery, respectively.

As regards transport machinery, the program was underfulfilled nearly 20 per cent, due chiefly to low output in January. Production of locomotives during the quarter totaled 212 and of freight cars 4,285, as compared with the schedules set of 256 and 5,250, respectively. The Luganask plant, which manufactured only 66 locomotives during the quarter, is undergoing extensive reconstruction work. Several new departments are expected to start operations soon, bringing the annual capacity up to 1,080 heavy locomotives a year.

Numerous other machine-building plants are under construction. Among those which will soon be adding their quota to the production totals may be mentioned two new "giants": the Cheliabinsk tractor plant and the Kramatorsk

Soyuzphoto

Generator hall of the Dnieper hydroelectric station

machine-building plant. The latter is expected to start operations in May.

Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant

The Moscow ball-bearing plant, opened a year ago, made an exceptionally high record during the first quarter of this year. The output totaled 7,300,000 rubles, 17 per cent above the program and nearly double production in the preceding quarter. Labor productivity increased 39 per cent, and production costs were lowered by an equal percentage. The plant now manufactures 24 types of bearings, as against 12 last year. During the current quarter the plant expects to bring its first section to full capacity and to complete the construction and installation of equipment of the second section.

Two Giant Power Plants

On April 10 the Dnieper hydro-electric plant had been in operation six months and had produced during that period a total of 200 million kilowatt-hours of power. The sixth generator, out of an ultimate total of nine, was recently set up. It is the first of Soviet manufacture to be installed at Dnieprostroy, and has passed all tests satisfactorily. The Dnieper station is now being run exclusively by Soviet engineers and workers, the last foreign specialists having left some months ago. All the machinery is being installed and operated by Soviet workers, who have mastered the necessary technique.

The first five generators have been functioning without interruption since October 10th, furnishing current to the network of industries rising on both banks of the river. They have supplied 115,000,000 kilowatt hours to Dniepropetrovsk, over 50,000,000 to Zaporozhe and the Dnieper Combinat, and approximately 30,000,000 to the industries of the right bank of the river.

Within the next few months the power output of the station is expected to rise appreciably to meet the increased demands for power from new industries starting in the region. These include the new Soviet blooming mill at the Dzerzhinsky Steel Works, the electrolytic division of the Aluminum Combinat, the ferro-alloys plant, a new instrumental steel plant and others.

The last of the Americans to leave was Fred W. Winter, an engineer of the Newport News Company. His last act was to participate in tests conducted on the first turbine which has been functioning since May, 1932. The turbine was found to be in first rate condition and no defects were revealed in any of its parts. The remaining turbines are in equally good condition due to the excellence of the equipment and careful operation.

The first sections of the seventh generator which, like the sixth, was constructed at the Electrosil plant in Leningrad, began to arrive at

Dnieprogres early in April and the mounting was expected to start before the end of the month.

The sluice gates of the Dnieper dam were expected to be ready for operation by the end of April and the first steamer was scheduled to pass through the locks on May 1. Navigation will now be open the entire length of the Dnieper river, from its upper reaches to the Black Sea. Preparations for the opening of navigation have been proceeding apace—old wharves have been converted into modern river ports and new wharves have been constructed at many additional points. Freight operations on the Dnieper are expected to reach 3,500,000 tons annually.

In the north, near Leningrad, another large power plant, the Dubrovka station, has just recently started operations. This will be the largest peat-burning power plant in the world, its ultimate capacity being set at 204,000 kilowatts. Its four 50,000-kw. turbines, its eight boilers with 2,500 square meters of heating area each, and its four generators of 60,000-kw. each are all being supplied by Leningrad plants. Only 5 per cent of the equipment will be of foreign manufacture. The second turbine is scheduled to start operations in August, so that this fall Leningrad industries will have an additional 100,000-kw. of electric energy at their disposal.

On the Trail of the Tungus Meteorite

By L. A. KULIK

The giant meteorite which fell in Siberia in 1908 has aroused much speculation in scientific circles, as it is probably the largest known meteorite. Study of the meteorite, which sank deeply into the earth, has been very difficult because of the inaccessibility of the locality and the extremely hazardous natural conditions. The following summary of explorations of the zone of the meteorite's fall by the leader of the expeditions, was published in the Izvestia.

IN the year 1908, at seven o'clock, on the calm clear morning of the thirtieth of June, beyond the great Siberian river, Podkammenaya Tungus, at 61° northern latitude by 102° eastern longitude, an enormous mass of cosmic matter hurled itself into the earth with terrific force. The effect of its fall surpassed anything of the kind that had ever been known before. In spite of the fact that it was a clear sunny day the radius of visibility of the fiery glow in the heavens from the meteorite was over 600 kilometers. The thunder-like roar that accompanied it was heard within a radius of about 1,500 kilometers, the mechanical force of the resultant air-wave was sufficient to knock people and horses from their feet as far as 700 kilometers to the south. This air-wave was recorded by meteorological stations at a number of points no less than 1,000 kilometers from the spot where the meteorite fell. It was also recorded by the more sensitive instruments over a great distance, not only in Russia, for instance, in Slutsk, but even abroad, as far away as England, where it was recorded by the mercury microbarographs. In addition to the air wave there was also a powerful land shock, felt, apparently, throughout the whole northern part of the old world, judging by records of the seismographs at Irkutsk, Tashkent, Tiflis and Jena (Germany). Another extraordinary phenomenon connected with the fall of the meteorite was the formation in the atmosphere of a great mass of silvery dust scattered by the meteorite which spread over all of Western Siberia and Europe, and filled the whole night with a sunset glow even as far south as the lower Volga and the Black Sea shores of the Ukraine, where the summer nights are usually dark. Nothing like this has ever been recorded before in connection with ordinary meteorites.

The unusual nature of this meteorite was first brought to our attention in 1921. In that year we succeeded in organizing an expedition of the Academy of Sciences to a region near the city of Kansk (East Siberia), where we found evidences of the fall, and we explored the vicinity where the meteorite was supposed to have fallen. As a result of questioning numerous witnesses and exploring the zone along the railroad we ascertained that the place where the meteorite had fallen was actually not here, but many hundreds of kilometers to the north, beyond the distant Podkammenaya Tungus river, and that in connection with the fall there had taken place a number of phenomena that had not been entirely understood at the time (fallen trees, rushing of underground waters, and so on). This information was confirmed by an abundance of material reporting experiences in connection with the occurrence, published in 1908 in the local press.

The material that we were able to gather in 1921 was not, however, sufficient, considering the lack of knowledge of meteorites among our scientific circles at that time, for us to organize an expedition to the Podkammenaya Tungus. This was possible only after we had published, in 1925 and 1926, articles on this question by a number of investigators, including A. V. Voznesensk, former director of the Irkutsk Observatory, Prof. S. V. Obruchev, and I. M. Suslov, the ethnographer. This laid the basis for the organization in 1927, as a regular expedition of the Academy

of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., of a trip to the Podkammenaya Tungus. On this trip we were led to the actual spot where the meteorite fell by Tungus guides, and were able to establish many entirely new facts about the fall of the meteorite, among them the following: (1) For a radius of dozens of kilometers around the spot where the meteorite landed, all the trees had been hurled down and lay on the ground, all with their tops away from the center of the fall. (2) The diameter of the circular area of fallen trees was at least fifty kilometers, and the roots of the felled trees had been torn up and hurled away. (3) The entire area within a radius of about twenty kilometers from the center of the fall, bore traces of scorching by heat of very high temperature from above, which was apparently responsible for cracks in the trees.

Further work in this vicinity is dependent on questions of cartography, namely, the urgent necessity of preliminary topographical photographs of the section where the fall took place, and aerial photographs of the whole region of felled trees.

In 1928, with funds granted by the Sovnarkom, we made up another small expedition through the Academy of Sciences with the aim of establishing more exactly the nature and extent of the meteorite zone. In addition to laying a road to the center of the zone of the meteorite's fall—which was in an almost inaccessible marsh—we took motion pictures of the whole region. We also marked the spots for aerial photographs to be made later, and laid a road for approaching these points in preparation for scientific research to be carried on subsequently. In addition magnetic observations were made, peat deposits were tested in the central area, and much of the rest of the section was explored on foot.

A third expedition took place the following year, in 1929. The special purpose of this expedition was the geological study of the locality with the help of excavations. On that trip we explored the northern section of the central area, determined by boring the freezing point of the various layers, and the nature of the seasonal changes. We also made an effort to determine the location of certain funnel-like holes or craters which we had suspected on our previous trip to be directly connected with the fall of pieces of the meteorite, but regarding the origin of which there is much difference of opinion in scientific circles. We were also able on the third trip to carry out certain geological work in the southern section of the central zone. These investigations confirmed the conviction that was already forming that this section represented the actual place of the fall, and we were also able to determine roughly some of the points where the craters are located.

The chief task of the new expedition to the region of the Tungus meteorite, in addition to the aerial photography, is the continuation of the work already undertaken in the southern swampy section of the central area in order to determine exactly the location and structure of the craters already mentioned. The question of determining the nature of the meteorite itself is largely dependent on the geological study of its fragments. It is extremely difficult to locate fragments of the meteorite near the center of the fall, although natives reported that such fragments have been found.

The excavations necessary for this purpose require considerable funds and careful preparation. It has therefore been decided to postpone this part of the work until the aerial photographs have been completed. Preparations are now being made to this end. The only feasible time for these photographs to be taken is in the interval between May 6 and June 10—a period during which the incidence of cyclones is at the minimum, and during which the area is covered with neither snow nor vegetation.

It is our wish to pass on to science and to future generations the most detailed possible information regarding this extraordinary natural phenomenon.

Soyuzphoto

Professor Kulik's expedition en route to the meteorite zone

Position of the Jews in the U.S.S.R.

SINCE the Soviet government came into power, and especially during the years of the five-year plan, the life of the Jewish citizens of the U.S.S.R. has undergone a radical change. Before the revolution the overwhelming mass of the Jewish population of Russia were deprived of all rights, were confined to specially designated settlements, or "pales," lived in poverty, and were limited to a few restricted occupations. Today, of the three million Jews in the Soviet Union, over half a million are workers, of whom many are engaged in the heavy industries, quarter of a million are peasants, half a million are organized handicraft workers, several hundred thousand are employed in government departments and institutions, and so on. The social and cultural upheaval that has occurred among the Jewish masses since the revolution is still further apparent if one considers that a complete school system with teaching in the Jewish language has been established, in which 200,000 pupils are studying, as well as an extensive system of cultural institutions serving the Jewish population in their native language.

Besides hundreds of Jewish village Soviets and Jewish clubs there are at present in the U.S.S.R. nine Jewish teachers' colleges, and a number of Jewish departments in scientific institutes. There are five Jewish State theaters in Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa and Minsk, and one traveling kolhoz theater in addition to numerous dramatic circles and theatrical companies in most of the Jewish clubs.

Together with the cultural advancement of the Jewish population, the demand for Jewish literature is growing; about forty Jewish newspapers and magazines are now printed in the U.S.S.R. The number of books in Yiddish has increased from 399 in 1915 to 600 in 1933, with a circulation of over two and a half million copies.

Of all the measures undertaken by the Soviet government to improve the economic and cultural conditions among the Jews, the most important is agricultural colonization. The planned colonization of Jews began in the Crimea in 1924. In the beginning there were many difficulties because the Jews had not previously engaged in agricultural pursuits, and they were given virgin land to cultivate. Little by little, however, these difficulties were overcome and by the end of 1932 the Jewish agricultural population of the Crimea numbered 29,000, all organized into collectives. The Jewish colonizers in the Crimea have established over a hundred new settlements, have built over 3,000 houses, over 200 buildings for collective agricultural purposes, sixteen cheese-making plants, and a hundred buildings for such purposes as schools, hospitals, clubs and other social and cultural institutions. At the present time about 75 per cent of the agricultural work of the Crimean Jews is mechanized. They have a large number of tractors, combines and other types of agricultural machinery. The seeded area increases from year to year. In 1931 it amounted to 82,500 hectares; in 1932 to 96,000 hectares. The Jewish colonizers have constructed in the past few years about a hundred silos, twenty large cow barns, four large incubator stations with a capacity of 48,000 eggs at one time. This year six electric power stations have been constructed on the territory of the collective farms. The sheep herd has increased to 18,000 head. The handicraft industry is developing successfully, a great help in raising the material condition of the Jewish colonizers.

Jewish colonization is also carried on extensively in the Ukraine where three national Jewish districts have been established—Kalinindorf, Stalindorf and Novo-Zlatopolsky. On formerly waste land the Jewish colonizers, 43,000 of them, have developed a model form of agriculture. About a hundred new agricultural settlements have been formed. The seeded area has reached about 137,000 hectares, and practically all the Jewish farmers have been organized in collectives. Especially striking has been the development of the Kalinindorf district which has recently completed the fifth year of its existence. Since its formation, the seeded area has increased from 23,000 hectares to 51,000. The population has reached 16,000. They are developing fine vineyards and orchards. Cultural construction is also developing. The number of schools has increased from 18 in 1928 to 31 in 1932 (attended by 2,800 children). There are 28 village reading rooms, a number of pre-school institutions, and so on. The other Jewish districts in the Ukraine have also been successful in both their economic and cultural development.

A step of historical importance in the development of Jewish agricultural colonization was the decree of the Soviet government of March, 1928, setting aside the Biro-Bidzhan district of the Far Eastern region for Jewish colonization. The extensive natural resources of this district open wide perspectives for its transformation into a flourishing section of the Soviet Union. There are large deposits of iron ore, graphite, coal, magnesite, limestone, marble, and other minerals.

Notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties that accompanied the first years of pioneering, in particular the severe floods of 1928 and 1929, a great deal has already been accomplished. Actual colonization started only in 1930, and by 1932

over 14,000 colonists were settled in Biro-Bidzhan. The seeded area, which amounted to 15,000 hectares in 1928, reached 35,000 hectares in 1932. Practically all the farms are collectivized. The export of agricultural products from this region has reached 1,000,000 rubles. Nine state farms and three machine and tractor stations have been established, two agricultural experiment stations and a number of agricultural schools. In 1932, 400,000 cubic meters of timber were cut and shipped. Gold mining is being developed. A state industry is being built up and plants have been established for the production of building materials, furniture, metal goods and clothing. The Birsk combinat for standard house construction has just been completed. The handicraft industry is also developing and produced goods amounting to 4,200,000 rubles in 1932. The success of the economic development has laid a firm foundation for the cultural development of the region, and an extensive school system has been established with teaching in the Jewish language. There are also a number of scientific research institutions and a branch of the Academy of Sciences. Between 1928 and 1932 government appropriations for Biro-Bidzhan amounted to 9,250,000 rubles and 2,400,000 rubles was furnished by "OZET" (Society to Assist in Jewish Colonization).

It is estimated that altogether 86,100 Jews had been taken care of in the agricultural colonization movement in different parts of the U.S.S.R. by 1932, and about 4,500,000 hectares of land have been made available to Jewish colonizers. In addition to this the Soviet government has rendered extensive assistance to those Jews already settled on the land, of whom there are altogether 151,000 in the Ukraine, White Russia, Uzbekistan, the North Caucasus and Daghestan.

Soviet Flag on Victoria Island

Last summer the Soviet ship "Knipovich" circumnavigated the group of islands in the North Arctic Ocean, known as Franz Joseph Land, a feat never before accomplished. The Soviet flag was raised on "Victoria Island," which was officially recognized as Soviet territory by decree of the VTSIK on March 27. The following statement on the results of the trip was made by S. V. Popov, the commander of the expedition.

ON August 18 of last year, the "Knipovich," expedition ship of the Oceanograph Institute, started off on a Polar expedition. On board, in addition to the crew were six scientists connected with the Institute headed by Professor Zubov. The expedition was organized as part of the program of the Second International Polar Year.

For four days on its northward passage from Poliarny, the ship was battered by storms. Not until the fifth day did the weather calm down sufficiently so that scientific work could be undertaken. Within a few days Zhilers Island was sighted, surrounded by heavy ice. The "Knipovich" made its way among the ice-floes and icebergs, struggled against the strong ocean currents and the heavy fogs which drove the ship from its course, and gradually approached Franz Joseph archipelago.

On August 29 we reached the island known as Victoria Island. The approach to this island, through enormous glaciers sliding down into the sea, was very difficult and hazardous, especially since up until this time this section had never been correctly charted.

Navigating among the ice-fields we reached the northwestern extremity of the island. Here there was a bay and a narrow strip of land where the expedition could go ashore. Using the icebergs in the shallow water as a protection from the rushing ice, the "Knipovich" anchored half a mile from shore. The row boat sent ashore with eight members of the expedition, finally made a landing after being buffeted about by the fierce currents, in constant danger of being crushed or rammed by the rushing ice. And on the northwestern end of the island, where no flag had ever been raised before, the banner of the Soviet Union was raised.

After a salute of guns, the ship weighed anchor and took its course around the island in order to explore its shores. It was discovered that the island was only one-third of the size indicated on the old maps and that it was situated somewhat farther east than had formerly been supposed.

Taking its course to the east, to the Franz Joseph archipelago, the "Knipovich" reached George Land and going northward from there reached the 82 latitude. Icebergs prevented its passage farther north. Turning southward again we reached Rudolph Island, where the northermost winter station is situated, and from there we made our way toward "White Land." The heavy ice, broken only rarely by stretches of clear water, made further progress in this direction seem impossible, but the ship stubbornly strained forward, filling the "white spots" on the maps with figures on the depth of the water and outlines of the shore. Within a few days, after

passing Graham Bell and Wilczek Lands, the ship reached open water, having circumnavigated Franz Joseph Land, a feat never before accomplished by any ship. The "Knipovich" covered altogether 3,000 miles, collected a great deal of important scientific data, and successfully fulfilled its part in the program of the Second International Polar Year.

The results of the trip have been of great interest to a number of foreign scientific institutions, in particular the French Academy of Science. The expedition also has important economic significance for the Soviet Union. It has laid the foundation for the development of wild animal hunting in the Arctic, and also for the exploitation of coal resources in the Arctic islands.

The Moscow Children's Theater

RECENTLY the fifteenth anniversary of the work of Natalia Satz as director of the Moscow Children's Theater was celebrated. Thousands of children, teachers and workers came to pay tribute to her, scenes from the best of the plays produced under her direction were produced, and the title of "Honored Artist of the Republic" was conferred upon her.

Natalia Satz, known to the children of Moscow as "Aunt Natasha," is not yet thirty years old, but she has spent more than half of her life in building this theater exclusively for children.

The father of Natalia Satz was a well-known composer, collector of folk music and musical toys—organizer of peasant choruses and a connoisseur of all things in the world of music. His name is connected with the Moscow Art Theater —and Natalia grew up among musicians and actors.

"I love the theater," wrote the young Natalia in her high school note-book. "But I have seen 'The Blue Bird' eleven times and I do not think much of the way it is produced. It would be interesting to put it on ourselves." After her father died, when she was ten years old, Natalia studied and taught music for a few years.

At fourteen Natalia went to Moscow and presented herself at Temusek (Theatrical and Musical Section of the Commissariat for Education) and said with conviction, "I should like to work here." Temusek was young—full of hopes and plans, and there were few enough people to work there. They asked her what she would like to do, and proposed that she start working in the children's sub-section.

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Little Katy visits a collective—scene from "Little Katy's Journey on the Map of the Piatiletka"

From that moment Natalia became Aunt Natasha for hundreds of thousands of Soviet children. Fifteen years have passed since then and millions of Soviet children have become acquainted with her.

The first work of Aunt Natasha in Temusek was to carry out the slogan, "Art for the Worker's Children." Children's concerts and plays were organized in the workers' districts. At the request of the Children's Section of the Temusek, weekly selections from their repertoire for children were given by the Bolshoy and Maly Theaters and by the Art Theater. Tickets were distributed free of charge among workers' children.

In the autumn of 1918 the First Children's Theater was opened by the Moscow Soviet, on Mamonovsky Street, under the direction of Natalia Satz. In the beginning it was devoted to marionette shows. Among those who took an active part in its productions were the Efimov brothers, the artist Favorsky, and the composer Anatole Alexandrov. But presently the more serious of the small auditors began to demand "human" actors. For the season of 1919, accordingly, the marionette stage of the theater was reconstructed, and a ballet group was organized by Miss Satz, under the direction of Kasian Goleizovsky, which produced the children's ballets, "Max and Morris," and "Old Folks of Sand."

But a theater of dancing and pantomime alone still did not satisfy the founders of the Soviet Children's Theater. Natalia Satz and her coworkers were interested in creating what they called a "synthetic" theater where movement, music and color would be closely combined with the spoken word. The energetic Miss Satz was able to get material support from the Narkompros (Commissariat for Education) for this idea even in those difficult days. In 1920, the theater of the Moscow Soviet became "The First State Chil-

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Natalia Satz, director of the Moscow Children's Theater

dren's Theater," and came under direct control of the Narkompros. Anatole Lunacharsky, then Commissar for Education, became the head of the theater, and its board included Natalia Satz, D. M. Paskar, B. K. Kashenko and others. Soon a disagreement arose among the directors of the theater. Paskar was inclined to more mystical material than others. And in the spring of 1921 Natalia Satz again founded a special theater for children under the Moscow Soviet, which exists to this day.

In broad daylight while the daily activity of the capital is at its height, the lights are dimmed in the great hall. And "The Good Negress and the Ape," written by Natalia Satz and Rosanov, is shown for the 250th time. This play, one of the most popular in the theater's repertoire, was recently described by a critic as "a droll medley of fact and fable, tuned to rollicking music played by a miniature symphony." The music is by Polovinkin, one of Moscow's leading orchestra conductors, who spends his free moments composing for his favorite audience. The costumes and staging are vivid and the acting distinguished by remarkable gusto throughout. Or perhaps the young spectators are charmed by the thundering Pioneer play, "Buzanada"—or little Katya journeys over the huge map of the five-year plan; Kolka Pankin goes to Brazil, Piotka Efimov believes no one, or the wild natives of Africa prove that "*I* — am weak, *We* — are strong." A rich variety of subjects, a kaleidoscope of events and heroes, march before the children's audiences of this theater. "Thousand and One Nights," "Fritz Bauer," "Mr. Bubble and the Worm," "Hiawatha," "Forward March to the Culture Campaign," "Cracking," "Aul Gidzhe" (a play of Uzbekistan), "The Dogs"—these are just a few of the plays in its repertoire. The theater already has its own dramatists—Bozanov, Shestakov, and the young Pioneer dramatist, Bochin. A group of fine actors have developed, among them Korenev, Ostapov, Galnbek, Eshenko, Krassov. In addition to the work of Natalia Satz herself, much has been contributed to the development of the theater by directors Svarozhich and May, Goltz the artist, Polovinkin, the composer, the teacher Volkov, and many others.

In this theater, created by Natalia Satz, a real synthesis of communist pedagogy and Soviet art has been created. Everyone who has worked in the field of art for children knows how difficult it is to find such unity. But in the First Moscow Theater for Children the whole creative collective—dramatists, composers, artists, actors, musicians and teachers—work together to achieve this unity for every play. Accordingly a great deal of laboratory work is carried on. The reactions of the children in the audience are carefully observed, a "temperature chart" is kept, careful reports are made of the whispered conversations and remarks of the children by observers stationed in various parts of the theater. Special applause and excitement are noted, but even more carefully are recorded the yawns, sighs and side conversations.

While some classical plays and folk dramas are shown, the tendency is more and more to produce plays dealing with problems of real life. The Moscow Children's Theater reflects to an extraordinary degree, and in a manner suited to the children, the problems of the present epoch in the U.S.S.R.

"In our theater," explains Miss Satz, "the child is taught to appreciate talent, ability, genius, strength, but never for their own sake. He learns that human gifts are good only when entered into the service of the great human collective.

"The plays treat solely of experiences peculiar to the children's world—experiences they have had or are likely to have."

How to achieve quiet is one of the greatest problems. There is usually a riotous time while the children are finding seats and it is necessary to quiet them before the curtain goes up. One method used by Miss Satz is to appear on the stage and start speaking almost in a whisper. "I would like to say something to you, but I am very hoarse, and perhaps you can not hear me." Im-

mediately the chatter ceases, and she proceeds to make her introductory remarks about the play in a very low tone. Or she will draw the audience into the action of the play. "Imagine a choo-choo train!" she tells them. The theater is filled with locomotive whistles and chugging and the drive wheel movements of a thousand arms. And sudden silence follows as the curtain rises and the children find themselves in far off Tadzhikistan or China.

There are now seventy or more Children's Theaters in the leading cities and industrial centers of the Soviet Union, and a number of traveling children's theaters which visit villages, state farms and collectives. The Narkompros plans to open traveling children's theaters in all the regional and oblast centers of the country.

The children's theater is recognized as an important means of education as well as amusement, and to this end preliminary educational work is carried on, in the case of organized groups such as school children or pioneer divisions, and the children are acquainted with the background of the play. Sometimes exhibits are held at the theaters in connection with the plays. Frequently meetings are held at the theater with discussions about the play to get impressions from the chilren as to what parts pleased them most, what impression the play made on them, and so on. Usually questionnaires are handed out for the children to fill in with their age and sex and whatever opinion they want to express. Children's dramatic groups are formed to study theatrical production and put on plays of their own.

Cultural Advances During the Piatiletka

THE cultural provisions of the Five-Year Plan were greatly exceeded in all branches. The following table gives the number of students in different types of educational institutions in 1927-28 (on the eve of the Five-Year Plan) and in 1932, as compared with the increase according to the plan:

Type of Educational Institution	1927-28	1932 *Provided by Plan*	1932 *Actual Number*
Pre-school Institutions	485,000	895,000	7,000,000
Primary Schools	9,942,000	14,186,000	20,000,000
Intermediate Schools	1,340,000	1,825,000	4,684,100
Factory and Shop Apprentice Schools	89,000	225,000	1,000,000
Workers' Faculties	45,000	72,000	320,000
Technicums	229,000	327,000	830,000
Higher Educational Institutions	185,000	209,000	400,000
Schools for the liquidation of illiteracy	1,315,000	3,570,000	13,000,000

The table shows that the number of children in pre-school institutions has increased more than fourteen-fold during the years of the Five-Year Plan, the number of children in primary schools has doubled, the number in seven-year schools has tripled, the number in factory and shop schools has increased eleven-fold, the number of persons in the liquidation of illiteracy courses has increased ten times, and so on.

The list of educational institutions given in the table by no means covers the whole system of popular education in the U.S.S.R. Educational *combinats* in the factories, correspondence courses and universities, day and evening courses for workers, self-education circles, political schools, etc.—all these supplementary agencies of education for the workers, have developed extensively during the Five-Year Plan. There are now 30,000 *izba-chitalnayas* (village reading rooms), 10,000 clubs, 30,000 libraries, containing over 100,000,000 volumes, 300,000 "Red Corners," 30,000 cinema apparatuses (against 10,000 in 1928), all of which carry on extensive educational functions.

Especially noteworthy is the growth in the number of scientific research institutions and scientific workers in the U.S.S.R. In 1928 there were altogether ninety scientific institutions and 300 scientific societies, and in 1932 there were 2,000 scientific institutions in which about 35,000 independent scientific workers were engaged. In 1931 alone the scientific institutions of the U.S.S.R. issued about 25,000 scientific reports—7,000 on industrial problems, 5,000 on agricultural problems, 4,000 on problems of physics, mathematics and natural science, 1,500 on social and economic questions, etc.

The growth of the Soviet press is also one of the clearest evidences of the cultural growth of the country. In Tsarist Russia in 1913 about 860 newspapers were printed with a total circulation of 2,500,000. In 1932 there were 6,700 newspapers published in the U.S.S.R., with a total circulation of 38,000,000. In pre-revolutionary Russia there was one copy of a newspaper for about every sixty persons, in 1929 one copy for every twenty persons, in 1932, one copy for every four or five persons.

As regards books the pre-war circulation of books has increased eight- or nine-fold.

According to the provisions of the first Five-

Year Plan it was intended to spend about 10,500,000,000 rubles in the course of the plan on education and the training of specialists. Actually 15,516,000,000 rubles was spent during the four and a quarter years of the plan, or fifty per cent more than the plan provided. Of this amount 7,000,000,000 rubles was spent on the training of specialists for the national economy, approximately an equal sum on mass education, and about 1,500,000,000 rubles on mass education. Educational expenditures during the past four years have increased as follows:

	Rubles
1928-29	1,493,000,000
1929-30	2,316,000,000
1930-31	4,399,000,000
1931-32	6,508,000,000
Total	14,716,000,000

In addition, during the special quarter of 1929-30, 800,000,000 rubles was spent, bringing the total up to 15,516,000,000 rubles.

Summing up the cultural achievements of the Five-Year Plan, we find the following outstanding results:

1. The percentage of literacy of the population of the U.S.S.R. has increased to 95-97 per cent as against 27-30 per cent in 1917. Illiteracy has thus in the main been liquidated.
2. Universal compulsory primary education has been introduced throughout the whole territory of the U.S.S.R.
3. Large numbers of skilled specialists have been trained for all branches of the national economy.
4. An average of every other inhabitant of the U.S.S.R. at the present time is engaged in one or other type of educational activity.

Bubnov's Fiftieth Birthday

APRIL 10 was the fiftieth birthday of Andrey Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R. Greetings were sent Commissar Bubnov from many government and social organizations, and articles about his life and activities were published in the press.

In honor of his birthday a decree was passed by the VTSIK providing for the organization of a special Bubnov fund for rewarding teachers for outstanding achievements in the upbuilding of Soviet polytechnical schools. The following institutions are to be named after Bubnov: The Leningrad State University, the "New Ivanovo-Voznesensk" textile factory in Ivanovo, the Ivanovo Textile Institute, and the Sokolniki Park of Culture and Rest.

According to the sketches of his life published in connection with his birthday, Andrew Bubnov

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Andrey Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education

has been a devoted worker in the ranks of the Communist Party for thirty years. He began his revolutionary activities among the textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk. In 1905 he became one of the leaders of the Ivanovo Bolshevist organization and a member of the bureau of the Social Democratic Party for that region. He was a delegate to the Party congress in Stockholm in 1906, and in London in 1907.

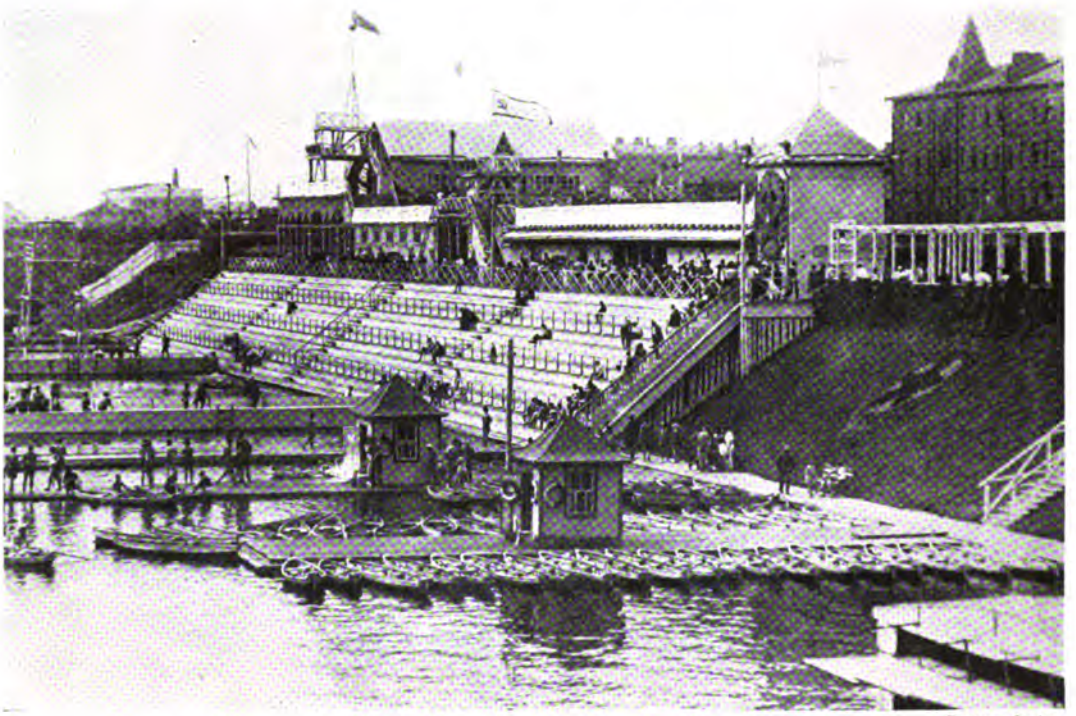
Later he worked in Moscow, Petrograd, and other important centers, and was arrested, imprisoned and exiled many times by the Tsarist government for his revolutionary activities. In 1912 he was made a candidate for membership in the Central Committee of the Party. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Pravda*, published before the revolution in Petrograd. He was a member of the committee of five, headed by Stalin, who were charged with the direct organization and leadership of the October revolution, and was elected a member of the Politburo of the party at the historical meeting of October 10, on the eve of the revolution.

Bubnov played a leading part in the civil war, was a member of the first Soviet government established in the Ukraine, and was instrumental in putting down the Makhno and Petlura uprisings. Since 1924 he has been a member of the organization bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and in this capacity responsible for the educational section of the work of the party. He was one of the organizers of the Red Army and at various times held important military posts. He received the Order of the Red Banner for his distinguished services at the time of the Kronstadt rebellion.

As head of "PUR"—the organization in charge of all the educational work in the Red Army and Navy, Bubnov was responsible for the thorough educational system through which every Soviet citizen entering the Red Army must pass.

This unusual combination of military, organizational and educational experience gave Bubnov a unique equipment for handling the difficult problem of introducing compulsory universal education and completely wiping out illiteracy in the Soviet Union, and in 1929 he was appointed People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.

Bubnov has written many articles and a number of books on economic and agricultural questions, and is the author of the history of the Communist Party, published in the Bolshaya Sovietskaya Encyclopedia, and also issued in a separate volume, which has become one of the standard works on this subject.



Soyuzphoto

Water sports station of the Dynamo factory, on the Moscow river

Physical Culture in the U.S.S.R.

THE number of persons in the Soviet Union who have participated in some form of physical culture during the past five years has increased from 800,000 in 1928 to 6,000,000 in 1932. In 1927 there were throughout the Soviet Union some 13,800 physical culture circles, with an average membership of from fifteen to twenty-five persons. At the end of 1932 there were 28,500 physical culture "collectives," many of them with from 500 to 3,000 members, which meant that the collectives had to be sub-divided into groups of devotees of different types of sport or physical culture. Five years ago out of every thousand inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. between the ages of 15 and 45, only 13 were engaged in some form of physical culture. In 1932 over fifty out of every thousand were so engaged. Half of all the *physculturniki* (physical culturists) are shock brigade workers.

The Soviet physical culture movement began to develop with special rapidity in 1931 (in 1930—1,100,000 *physculturniki;* in 1931—3,800,000). In that year the "Ready for Labor and Defense" test was first worked out. In order to win this title every person engaged in physical culture had to attain a certain degree of proficiency in different types of physical exercise and sport, such as running, jumping, throwing, gymnastics, skiing, skating, swimming, rowing, and also theoretical knowledge in the sphere of hygiene, sanitation, first aid, and so on. Anyone passing all the tests successfully received a silver badge bearing the above inscription and the title of "first class physical culturist." The tests became very popular among the workers, and at the present time about half a million *physculturniki* have passed the tests, while 2,000,000 more are in training for them. Still more advanced tests are

now being worked out for those who wish to achieve higher standards.

The chief event in the physical culture movement of the U.S.S.R. during the first five-year plan was the All-Union "Spartakiad" held in 1928, in which 3,500 of the best Soviet *physculturniki*, representaing forty-one different trade unions, participated. Many records were broken on this occasion.

In the past few years a large amount of construction of physical culture institutions of different types has taken place. At the end of 1932 there were 4,000 sport grounds and stadiums, 350 water sport stations, 300 skiing stations, 2,000 gymnasiums, and so on. During the present year work will be completed on the immense All-Union Stadium in Moscow, and large stadiums are under construction in Kharkov, Tashkent, Minsk, and other large cities of the U.S.S.R. Upwards of 35,000,000 rubles has been spent on construction of this sort. The large parks, which are a feature of all Soviet cities, all have sport grounds and facilities for many types of physical activity.

Soviet physical culture is being developed on a strongly scientific foundation. There are now in the country five special physical culture institutes and twenty-two physical culture technicums, in which 5,000 persons are studying. During the present year two new physical culture institutes and two new technicums will be organized, and also new physical culture faculties and divisions will be organized in the higher medical and pedagogical schools.

It is important to note that physical culture is an obligatory part of the curriculum throughout the entire Soviet school system. It has also been introduced in many industrial enterprises where about fifteen minutes of working time daily is given over to physical exercise.

The *physculturniki*, who are for the most part shock troop workers, take an active part in the economic, political and social life of the country, and groups frequently go out from the cities to the country districts to help them on special jobs. In 1931 *physculturniki* brigades repaired for the peasants over 7,000 agricultural machines and cleaned 2,600 centners of grain. They have also been very useful to the peasants during seeding and harvesting campaigns.

This spring an All-Union Gymnastic Festival is to be held in Moscow, invitations for which have been sent out by the Supreme Council of Physical Culture to athletic organizations of a number of European countries. Minsk has been chosen for a heavy athletic meet, to be held the middle of May, to which athletes from other countries have also been invited.

During the coming summer, instead of promoting centralized athletic contests, the chief centers of the country will send their best performers to the smaller centers, where contests will be arranged. Athletic instructors will be sent out in advance to prepare the local athletes for the meets. Teams of swimmers, rowers and cyclists, tennis players, soccer and basketball teams, etc., will go out to all parts of the country. Special plans are being made to encourage sports in the villages. Rugby and baseball are to be taken up this year for the first time.

The People's Commissariat for Education is organizing an All-Russian children's sport meeting to be held during the summer in order to bring about a better organization of the children's sports movement.

An extensive system of children's camps and playgrounds has been developed for the summer months, and the public parks usually have sections especially set aside for children with recreation leaders in charge. In the R.S.F.S.R. alone the pioneer camps are prepared to take care of 524,500 children for a month each, and the playgrounds, which take care of children during the day from nine to four, plan to handle 648,000.

There is a nominal charge for the care of children in the playgrounds and camps, based on the parents' ability to pay. The difference necessary to support these institutions is contributed by the trade unions, the Children's Commission, the Friends of Children Society, and other social groups.

Decison on Soviet Asbestos

THE United States Tariff Commission on April 5 announced that the President had approved its finding, made after a lengthy investigation, that Soviet asbestos "has not been imported or sold in the United States in violation of section 337 of the Tariff Act of 1930 means of unfair methods of competition and unfair acts."

This ends a long litigation. The investigaton was made on a complaint filed December 9, 1930. Hearings were held by the Tariff Commission in September and October, 1932. During the course of the litigation, from April 22, 1931, Soviet asbestos was barred from the American market by a temporary ruling of the Tariff Commission. This prohibition lasted nearly two years. The decision of the Commission lifts this embargo.

The United States imports 98 per cent of its asbestos used in industry. The bulk of the imports, 96 to 98 per cent, have come from Canada during the past ten years. Imports from the Soviet Union in 1930, the peak year, were only 2 per cent of the total imports. Domestic production in the United States reached its peak in 1930 with an output of 4,242 tons. Total American imports of asbestos for that year were 208,681 tons, of which 96 per cent came from Canada.

While the original complaint filed in the case

was made nominally by two American companies, the proceeding was really an attempt of large Canadian producers to eliminate a minor competitor in furnishing the raw material, a process which was certainly not to the advantage of the independent American manufacturers.

The Soviet asbestos industry has developed rapidly, principally in response to the domestic demand from the automobile and building industries. The average production in the pre-war years, 1909-13, was 16,840 tons. In 1930 the output was 64,674 tons and exports to all countries were 13,239 tons.

In its formal announcement of the decision the Tariff Commission made the following statement:

"In the Commission's report to the President consideration was first given to the form of government in Russia. The conclusion was reached that this does not constitute a proper basis for a finding of unfair methods of competition or unfair acts for the purpose of section 338. Power to commit or to permit unfair acts was likewise regarded.

"Special attention was given to convict, forced, or indentured labor in Russia, and the conclusion was reached that as section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930, which is administered by the Treasury Department, expressly forbids importation of the products of such labor and has the same penalty as section 337, namely, exclusion from entry, the statutory remedy is in section 307 rather than section 337. The fact that the provision in section 307 regarding forced or indentured labor does not apply unless there is production in the United States in quantities sufficient to meet domestic consumptive demands was declared not to make section 337 applicable.

"Other matters considered were dumping and other forms of underselling; interference with the performance of contracts; intimidation and coercion of buyers; misgrading, mixing, and palming off; conspiracy to restrain trade and commerce and create monopoly; and infringement of patents obtained in the United States and claimed to have been unfairly used in Russia. These matters were severally considered and it was found that no violation of section 337 had been proved."

Soviet View of British Arms Plan

At the meeting of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference held at Geneva on March 27, Valerian Dovgalevsky, Soviet diplomatic representative in France and the present head of the Soviet delegation at Geneva, spoke as follows in connection with the discussion of the British plan for disarmament.

IF we take the hypothetical case of a delegate thoroughly acquainted with the procedure of the disarmament conference, who should unexpectedly, after a more or less protracted absence, find himself at a meeting devoted to solemn declarations of principle, manifestations of friendship and exalted feelings, he might immediately without risk of error, conclude that he was present at the celebration of the birth of a new plan which once again was intended to lead the conference out of a blind alley and thus replace all similar attempts. And the more solemn the declarations which this hypothetical delegate might hear, the easier it would be for him to estimate the hopelessness of the situation into which the conference had fallen. Most of the speeches which we have heard today and during the last two meetings, seem to me to be entirely in line with that tradition. As regards myself, permit me without further introduction to make the following preliminary comments on the British plan. Acting in this way I am perhaps going counter to the usual procedure under such circumstances, but I believe that the peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet government and persistently declared in all its proposals, is already sufficiently well known to the general commission. The British Prime Minister in presenting his plan to us noted with a certain amount of quite understandable pride that one of its special features was that it contained concrete figures. MacDonald insisted on the advantages of the British plan in this respect. But I take the liberty of disputing this claim. I must remind you that long before the British government did so, the Soviet government proposed very exact figures for disarmament. It proposed them not once, but twice. In 1928 our plan proposed figures, or more correctly, a figure, to be applied with absoluate equality to the armaments of all countries.

That figure was zero: zero soldiers, zero guns, zero tanks, zero warplanes, and so on. No one will deny that zero is a figure in mathematics, nor that in the sphere of disarmament it is an ideal figure. The conference, however, apparently preferred the theory that an ideal, to be pure, must not be compromised by its application to real life. It apparently also thought that the efforts of the nations for disarmament were not

to be taken seriously, and rejected the figure proposed by the Soviet delegation. Then in the course of 1928, the Soviet government proposed its second project for substantial disarmament by means of proportional and progressive reduction of existing armaments, expressed in percentages for each state. The absolute figures could easily have been computed by this method with the help of the simplest of mathematical rules, but this was not done by the conference.

However that may be, it is figures that are occupying our attention at the present moment, and this in itself we note with satisfaction, although we reserve the right to pass judgment on these figures when the proper time comes. But the following two serious defects must be pointed out at once:

1. While the conference represents fifty countries, the British plan, in so far as it concerns the extent of armaments, relates to European countries alone, and not even to all of them.

2. The plan does not indicate the criterion used by the author in arriving at these figures.

The Soviet delegation considers it necessary to add to this that it always has been ready and is still ready to accept a much lower figure of effectives for the U.S.S.R. than the British plan proposes, provided, of course, that the same proportion is applied to all countries without exception, both European and non-European. The Soviet government is also ready to accept all instructions regarding the qualitative reduction of armaments to a point lower than provided by the British plan under, of course, the same conditions. Further, in order to consider the figures of the British plan as applied to the U.S.S.R., it would be necessary to know the criterion used to determine the figures and also, based on the same criterion, the concrete figures relating to countries which at the present time do not figure in the project. In particular the Soviet delegation could not remain indifferent to the number of effectives which in this case would be fixed for our neighbors in Asia, as for instance, Japan, taking also into consideration border regions which might be armed by that state.

To these questions I should also like to add the remark which has occurred to me in listening to the speech of Mr. Lange (Norwegian delegate), in which he points out that the figure of 50,000 provided for Norway in the British plan exceeds the number that country has at present. In view of this it is quite natural that we should ask ourselves whether a similar principle might not be applied with relation to the Western neighbors of the U.S.S.R., who, in the list of effectives, figure under the heading "all remaining countries of continental Europe."

In order to conclude its remarks of a general nature with regard to effectives, the Soviet delegation declares that in principle it has no objection to the maximum reduction of the term of military service under the condition that this applies equally to all countries without exception, including colonies. In addition to this, in speaking of the quantitative composition of armaments, I consider it necessary to declare that I share the perplexity so well expressed by my esteemed friend Kemal Husnu Bey the day before yesterday, as to the place given to Turkey with regard to effectives by the author of the British plan. I also take advantage of this opportunity to declare on behalf of the Soviet delegation that the proposal of the Turkish delegate in connection with a supplement to the Lausanne Treaty, is considered quite correct by the Soviet delegation, and in complete accordance with the interests of peace and general security. I shall not dwell on the section dealing with air forces, since I can only repeat what I have already said with regard to effectives, namely, that the U.S.S.R. would have to know the elements used in fixing the air forces in order to judge of this correctly. It is also essential that the table of limitations for airplanes should cover every nation represented at the conference. The Soviet delegation is particularly concerned with the air forces of some of its neighbors, especially Japan, taking into consideration the fact that this country has recently created the possibility of building up a military air force outside of the borders. The Soviet delegation can, of course, only welcome the prohibition of aerial bombing, but the British plan desires that exceptions should be made in the case of policing remote places. This exception has already quite correctly undergone severe and sharp criticism on the part of certain delegates who have preceded me. If these delegates have in such criticism sought to eliminate this exception with the aim of forbidding all kinds of aerial bombardments, in whatever locality or for whatever purpose, then I may state that I am in complete agreement with them. Furthermore this permits me to state, that in order to avoid any violation of this principle, a change should be made in Article 34 for the purpose of the complete abolition of all bombing planes. May I remind you that my delegation has already repeatedly advocated this measure.

As regards naval armaments, the Soviet delegation considers it its duty to note first of all that the U.S.S.R. is not a signatory of either the Washington or London Treaties and that therefore it cannot be required that these treaties should be unconditionally accepted by the Soviet government. With regard to the principles of curtailment of naval armaments proposed in the British plan I must call attention of the general commission to the ambiguity contained therein. As a matter of fact, the plan provides for the stabilization of the naval armaments of those countries not signatories of the Washington and London treaties at the existing level for a definite period, while in the case of signatory coun-

tries, a program of supplementary building of war ships, which would mean an increase in their naval armaments, is permitted during this same period. The Soviet delegation would like to be informed of the considerations which guided the British delegation in dividing the governments into two categories: those nations which must stabilize their naval armaments and nations which are on the contrary given an opportunity to increase these armaments.

With this I complete the remarks of a general nature which I have deemed it necessary to make to the general commission after a preliminary reading of the draft presented by the British delegation. The Soviet delegation will continue the active study of this project and will have the honor at the proper time to discuss in greater detail the different sections of the British project and to suggest changes and amendments both on the points which I have already mentioned and also on others contained in the project which I have not considered it necessary to bring up at the present stage of the discussion. Among these questions I must, however, note here the very serious questions which arise in connection with the first part of the British project, namely, the question of security, and also the question of control which is brought up in the project.

The British Engineers' Trial

Tass, the official Soviet news agency serving all the newspapers in the U.S.S.R., issued on April 19 the following account of the proceedings and verdict in the Moscow trial of British engineers of the Metropolitan-Vickers Company and Soviet employees of the company.

THE Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., sitting in special session from April 12 to April 18, under the chairmanship of Vassily Ulrich, examined in open hearing the case of defendants Gusev, Gregory, Ziebert, Zorin, Krasheninnikov, Kotlyarevsky, Kutuzova, Cushny, Lebedev, Lobanov, MacDonald, Monkhouse, Nordwall, Olyenik, Sokolov, Sukoruchkin, and Thornton.

The court established the following:

In the course of several years, systematic breakdowns of separate units took place in big electric stations of the U.S.S.R. at Moscow, Zlatoust, Cheliabinsk, Ivanovo, Baku, and other places. These breakdowns stopped the units for more or less lengthy periods and lowered their power.

On the basis of data submitted to it an expert committee concluded that in all the breakdowns investigated there was either criminal negligence or direct wrecking activities by the technical personnel of these stations.

On the basis of material adduced in the judicial investigation the court established that the cause of the breakdowns was wrecking activity by counter-revolutionary groups, consisting of state employees at the electric stations (mostly higher technical personnel) acting in complicity with some employees of the private English firm, the Metropolitan-Vickers Company.

The court's verdict enumerates wrecking acts in four electric stations and gives detailed qualifications of the crimes of those who directly executed the wrecking acts and of the English citizens.

The court established that among the employees of Metro-Vickers the leading part in the crimes belonged to Thornton, under whose direction wrecking activity at various electric stations was carried out by engineers of the firm—MacDonald, Nordwall, Cushny, and Olyenik.

Through these persons, as well as directly, Thornton came into contact with counter-revolutionary groups and came to terms with them to effect breakdowns and to conceal defects in equipment supplied by Metro-Vickers; he gave bribes to state employees for criminal actions committed by them; engaged in military espionage on territory of the U.S.S.R., collecting through MacDonald, Cushny and Olyenik secret information of military importance, and gave bribes to state employees (Gusev, Sokolov, and others) for information received. The criminal action against Thornton was in reference to Article 58 of the criminal code, Clauses 6, 7, 9, and 11.

Monkhouse, a representative of the Moscow office of Metro-Vickers, was informed about Thornton's activities and participated by bribing state employees to conceal defects in equipment supplied by Metro-Vickers and also to conceal defects in erection work which led to breakdowns. The criminal action against Monkhouse was in reference to Article 58, Clauses 7, 9, and 11 of the criminal code.

The executors of the wrecking instructions of Thornton were MacDonald, Nordwall, Sushny, and Olyenik, who organized breakdowns, concealed defects in equipment and collected military information of a secret nature. The verdict incriminates Anna Kutuzova in concealing and assisting the criminal actions of some employees of Metro-Vickers.

On the basis of facts established by the court

and of a resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on March 14 (which declares that, since state employees convicted of wrecking are traitors to the fatherland, they should bear more severe responsibility than employees of private enterprises), the court sentenced Gusev, Sukoruchkin and Lobanov to ten years' imprisonment, deprivation of rights for five years and confiscation of all their property.

The court based its choice of this punishment, rather than execution, on the fact that the criminal wrecking was of local character and did not do serious harm to the industrial strength of the U.S.S.R.

Sokolov, Zorin and Kotlyarevsky were given eight years' imprisonment on the same basis. Krasheninnikov was ordered imprisoned for five years. Considering that Lebedev was only a tool in the hands of Lobanov, the court gave him two years' imprisonment.

Of the employees of the Moscow office of Metro-Vickers, Thornton received three years. In the case of MacDonald, because he was considered to be acting under the direct instigation of his immediate chief Thornton and because of his sincere confession in court, the judges commuted the punishment required by law, and sentenced him to two years' imprisonment.

Monkhouse, Nordwall and Cushny were ordered exiled for five years and must leave in three days. The court, taking into consideration Olyenik's dependence on Thornton as an employee of a private firm, gave him three years' imprisonment; Kutuzova, a year and a half. The time of the preliminary detention of the defendants will count as part of their sentences.

The judges considering that Ziebert by his work after 1931 proved that he sincerely broke with the wreckers, freed him from arrest. Gregory, in view of insufficient evidence, was considered not guilty.

Litvinov-Ovey Conversations

A record by Mr. Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, of the conversations between himself and Sir Esmond Ovey, British Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., regarding the trial of the British engineers, was published on April 16 by the Moscow Izvestia. A translation of the most important parts of the record is given below.

I

March 16, 1933.

STATING that he came by instruction of his government, Sir Esmond Ovey spoke at length of the impression which the arrests have produced in London and of the grave consequences which this might have on the trade negotiations and on our relations in general.

He read to me Mr. Baldwin's statement in Parliament, stressing particularly the part in which Mr. Baldwin expressed complete conviction of the innocence of the arrested men. No one in London would believe that the prisoners, who are well-known in Great Britain, had engaged in sabotage or committed any other crimes. Nor are the motives which could have led them to such actions clear. The anxiety felt in England is particularly strong since only a few days ago a report was published by the OGPU of the shooting of 35 persons without a trial and since the imprisoned British subjects are held by the same authorities and may expect a similar fate. Monkhouse naturally told the Ambassador of the questions he was asked and the Ambassador deems them absolutely ridiculous. They cannot understand in Britain how one could be guilty of damaging machinery. Nor can they understand in Britain the term "economic espionage." It is believed there that one who lives in a certain country has a right to be interested in everything that takes place there and to gather for this purpose all necessary information. In this connection, Sir Esmond talked at length on the subject of habeas corpus and of the liberality of the British laws. We should, in his opinion, take into account Mr. Baldwin's statement as well as the grave consequences to our mutual relations and *immediately release the prisoners,* declaring that *there was no evidence of their guilt.*

After hearing out the Ambassador, I told him the folllowing: I completely failed to understand the connnection with this case of the shooting of the 35, which in no way concerns Britain. We have lawfully constituted authorities who care for the safety of the country and who act on the basis of laws and government orders. It is their duty to uncover violations of the laws, all cases of damage and injury to the state, and to punish the guilty persons, irrespective of whether they are Soviet citizens or foreign nationals. If the authorities have evidence or information of the guilt of a foreigner, they cannot ignore it and refrain from taking measures only because this might produce an unfavorable impression abroad. The security of the state, then, is more important than considerations of such impressions. I do not question the sincerity of Mr. Baldwin's conviction regarding the innocence of the prisoners, but our authorities charged with investigating offenses against the law cannot on

this basis release the prisoners without investigating the case, in spite of the information and evidence at their disposal or even confessions of the prisoners themselves. Everything that Sir Esmond said amounts to a proposal that British nationals be excepted from Soviet jurisdiction and be given immunity from arrest and trial. Sir Esmond must understand that not only is it impossible for us to accept such a proposal but that we cannot even take it under consideration. Nor would the proposal be admissible that a prisoner who is being investigated should be released merely on the basis of a statement of his government regarding his innocence. Of course, the arrest of foreigners sometimes has a temporary unfavorable effect on the relations between nations but such arrests occur not only in our country, but in all countries. Recently, a director of a French polytechnical school, a very respectable professor, was arrested and condemned in Italy. Similarly, a charge of espionage was recently made in Japan against representatives of one of the largest American banks. This may result in temporary friction between the governments but no sovereign state can renounce its right to prosecute, detain and try foreigners who violate its laws and interests. When Britain reestablished relations with us, she was aware that we have laws which differ from the British laws, and methods of investigation different from those employed in Britain. Hundreds of British nationals have visited the Soviet Union, lived and worked here and have gone back without ever being subjected to arrest. Thousands of Germans and Americans reside at present in the Soviet Union and the authorities do not bother them. Finally, the Metro-Vickers representatives were not interferred with in the course of ten years. All of this shows that foreigners are assured here of as much liberty as in other countries and that arrests are episodic cases. International relations are determined and should be determined by higher and deeper considerations than such episodes. If the Ammassador refers so often to public opinion in Britain, he should give consideration to what our public opinion, our workers and peasants, would say if they learned that a man suspected of damaging machinery was released without any investigation, only because he was a foreigner and his government disapproved of his arrest. We must reckon more with our public opinion than with the British. I can not express any opinion on the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, since I am not familiar in detail with the evidence. This can be established only by the investigation. The investigation will also establish what motives and interests guided the guilty persons. A prisoner cannot be released merely because we do not know or understand the motives of the crime. Motives are revealed and taken into consideration only by the court. The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs went as far as possible to meet the wishes of the Embassy, having secured for it an interview with the prisoners, and hastened the examination of the prisoners. Under normal conditions, the examination of Monkhouse and Nordwall would perhaps have continued several weeks, but due to our efforts it was carried through in two days. The examining officers did not spare themselves, examining the prisoners for long periods during the two days. The Embassy should appreciate this. We are continuing to exert pressure on the investigating authorities to speed the examination of the other prisoners. More than this we cannot and have no right to do.

Sir Esmond, still excited, stated that Mr. Baldwin in his statement before Parliament characterized the information which we have so far furnished as unsatisfactory and inadequate, and that he has instructions to present to me additional questions, namely:

1. What information do we have of the further developments in the investigation? I replied that we have no information except that the investigation continues in normal fashion and, as I have stated before, at an accelerated pace.

2. Had the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs been informed of the arrest of the British nationals? I replied that this did not in any way concern the British Embassy and that it was our internal affair, hence I did not consider myself under obligation to answer such a question.

3. Under what article of the criminal code were the prisoners held? I promised to find out and to inform the Embassy.

4. Could any member of the Embassy have an interview that day with the prisoners? I promised to find this out and to inform them.

5. Who decides the question whether the case would be tried in court or by the Collegium of the OGPU, and could the defendants have British counsel to defend them? I replied that I was not familiar in detail with the question of procedure but that, as far as I knew, the question is usually decided by the Supreme Court. There is a special representative of the prosecuting authorities who follows the investigating activities of the OGPU and, if necessary, reports to the Supreme Court. Neither I nor anyone else, therefore, could give formal promises that the case would be tried in court but I could express my own surmise that this case could hardly be settled in any other way than by a public trial in court, since we ourselves were interested in giving publicity to this case.

Somewhat reassured, Sir Esmond asked what else I could tell him or advise him with regard to the case. I said that officially I have answered all these questions, but unofficially I can, if he desires, express my opinion and advice. I believe

that the Ambassador, as well as his Government, manifests excessive nervousness about this case and is making too much of a fuss. This will not help the case. On the one hand, both Mr. Baldwin and the Ambassador have expressed conviction of the absolute innocence of the prisoners, and on the other hand, they are arguing as though it were certain that the guilt of all the prisoners would be proven and that shooting inevitably awaited all of them. There is a certain contradiction in this. I think that there is no ground for asserting so categorically, without knowing the case, their innocence, or to express such extreme apprehensions for the fate of the prisoners. The case will be investigated and considered in the most objective way. This is evidenced by the release of two of the prisoners. Strong language and strong expressions, which Sir Esmond seems to be under instructions to use, and threats all the more so, will not benefit the prisoners, nor of course, Soviet-British relations. This method can only lead to quite the opposite results. Sir Esmond should understand that our Government is not affected by threats. The less excited the British Government was about the case, the better it would be for the prisoners and for our relations. Our laws remain in force and cannot be changed to please another government. We apply them to the extent that it may be necessary and in the interests of our nation. We cannot enter into any agreements with the British Government to modify our laws. Nor am I authorized to make any formal statements which come under the jurisdiction of the investigating authorities. The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs will, as heretofore, do all that is necessary in strict accord with our laws, with the dignity and independence of our state and with its interests.

II

March 19, 1933.

Sir Esmond started by saying that on the basis of the proposal concerning the immediate release of the arrested men, he was ready to cooperate with me in working out any formula for an explanation of this release. He made this last appeal before the decision of the British Cabinet and asked me to find any way whatever to release the prisoners, after which the incident would be regarded as closed, and the British Government would make a declaration to satisfy public opinion in Britain. We, on our part, however, would have to assure the British Government that there would be no repetition of such incidents. He mentioned in this connection that the TASS statement was an exact and fair account of my declarations to him.

I pointed out to Sir Esmond that he was starting out from an entirely incorrect supposition about our decision to release the prisoners and discontinue the whole matter, and about our alleged desire merely to save our face, for which he was so polite as to offer his help. I had to absolutely dispel this illusion of his. There was no question then of discontinuing the affair and of freeing the prisoners. Only that day the case had been handed over to the prosecuting attorney, upon whom the further course of the case depended.

Replying to Sir Esmond, I explained that after taking the matter in his own hands, the prosecuting attorney would verify all the material of the case, once more questioning the accused, and the witnesses, if there were any, and later place the case before the court.

Sir Esmond asked whether the prosecuting attorney could decide that day to discontinue the case. I answered that theoretically the prosecutor has this right, but that, as far as I had ascertained from conversation with the prosecutor and with those who had conducted the inquiry, this would not happen in the given case. I laid stress on this because Sir Esmond had industriously taken what I had said about the right of the prosecuting attorney to release prisoners in order to send this information to London. I had to warn him that if he sent this information to his Government in such a form, that there might be created a new illusion about the possible discontinuation of the case as the result of further pressure.

Further, I said that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was keeping track of this case from the viewpoint of our relations with Britain, but that we could not leave out of sight the general interest of the state. We were trying, as far as possible, to make matters smoother; we had arranged the first meeting for the embassy and were trying to hasten the inquiry.

I also said that I feared that if the behavior of the British press and of the Government itself would not change. I should hardly be able to be helpful to Sir Esmond in the case, and that the cooperation which the Ambassador asked would be reduced to nil.

As soon as the case had passed over to the prosecuting attorney, I had got in touch with him and arranged a second meeting between the embassy and the prisoners, which could take place on that day after 8 p. m., under the same conditions as the first meeting.

I was ready, as soon as the prosecutors had studied the case and questioned the prisoners, to ask the prosecutor whether it were not possible to relax the detention measures in the case of some or other of the prisoners and, for example to release them on bail, which the firm would no doubt readily offer. I was ready to use all my influence to obtain the prosecutor's consent to this, but I could count on success only under the conditions that the British Government would not hamper my efforts by further public declarations and pressure.

Sir Esmond stated in conclusion that he had fulfilled his duty but that, unfortunately, he was unsure as to whether we recognized the gravity of the situation.

I replied that we have sufficient imagination to foresee and gauge all the consequences.

III

March 28 1933.

Sir Esmond declared that he had been entrusted to tell me the contents of a bill which his Government proposed placing before Parliament. I expressed surprise that the British Government was polite enough to consider it necessary to inform me of its bills before placing them before Parliament. Drawing out a paper, Sir Esmond said that he had instructions from his Government "to give the following information should he not receive from me a satisfactory answer about the stopping of the trial," and began to read the paper to me.

I stopped Sir Esmond saying that I could save his time and could state right away, according to the opinion of the prosecutor, that the trial would take place and that this trial could under no circumstances be stopped, irrespective of what the British Ambassador might tell me; and if what Sir Esmond wanted to read to me had for its purpose influencing the prosecutor's decision, that I could see no reason for listening to this information, since it would have no influence whatever on the decision.

In reply to Sir Esmond's question as to what he should inform his government, I asked him to transmit what I said, namely that the trial would take place and that nobody could stop it.

Miscellaneous News

FIRST ALL-UNION GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS

On April 11 the first All-Union Geographical Congress opened in Leningrad, under the chairmanship of Prof. R. L. Samoilovich.

The chief purpose of the congress was to work out a single plan for geographical research of the U.S.S.R., having in view the further development of the cultural and productive forces of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the second five-year plan.

Among the papers presented to the congress were the following: "Geographical Distribution of the Productive Forces of the U.S.S.R.," by Academician Gubkin; "Economic Geography of the Kola Peninsula," by Academician Fersman; "Exploration of Soviet Arctic Regions," by Prof. Samoilovich; "The Geographical Museum of Nature," by Prof. Semenov-Tianshansky; "Fifteen Years of Soviet Ethnography and its Future Problems," by Prof. Motorin; "New Tendencies in Physical Geography," by Prof. Grigoriev; "The Role of the National Geographical Society and Its Branches in the Study of the U.S.S.R.," by Prof. Edelstein. In addition, Prof. Gorbunov made a report on "Geographical Researches in Tadzhikistan," Prof. Lichkov on "Underground Waters of the U.S.S.R.," and Prof. Nalivkin on "Geographical Researches in Central Asia."

In addition to the plenary sessions there were special meetings of the physical geography, ethnography, bio-geography and geomorphology sections.

The congress aroused a great deal of interest in scientific circles. Over five hundred people took part in its deliberations, which included problems not merely to geography but of related scientific disciplines. A number of exhibits were held in connection with the congress, which closed on April 19th.

MOSCOW ART EXHIBITIONS

Plans are being made to transfer the exhibition "Fifteen Years of Art in the R.S.F.S.R." (described in the April issue of the SOVIET UNION REVIEW) from Leningrad to Moscow. A special commission of three, consisting of Grigorev, head of the Art Section of the Commissariat for Education, and the artists I. Brodsky and S. Gerasimov, went to Leningrad to choose a thousand pictures from the exhibition to be shown in Moscow, as well as a number of recent works by Leningrad artists and sculptors.

The main section of the Moscow exhibition will open early in May in the Moscow Historical Museum, where all the paintings will be hung and some of the sculpture will be shown. Most of the sculptural work and all of the graphic section will be shown in the Fine Arts Museum.

An exhibit of "Fifteen Years of Theatrical Art" is in preparation in the Bakhrushiva Museum of the Theater. An exhibit of Soviet posters and cartoons is being prepared by the Moscow Artists' Cooperative Society.

SCULPTURAL DECORATION FOR MOSCOW

At the present time over a hundred Moscow sculptors are at work on the artistic development of the capital. The entire city is divided into sections, for each of which one sculptor or a group of sculptors is responsible. One sculptor is responsible for Gorky Street, one for Miasnit-

sky, and so on. Preliminary sketches have already been presented, and it is proposed to hold an exhibition on the models and designs during May.

A large bas relief is in preparation for one of its main buildings of Moscow on "Achievements of the first Piatiletka." Another bas relief on which work will be started this year is one depicting the revolutionary struggle against Tsarism, to cover a whole wall of the "Dom Katorgi i Ssylki," which is being constructed on the Novinsky Boulevard.

During 1933 twelve statues and bas reliefs are to be executed for the Moscow Soviet on the Mokhovaya. The work of beautifying the shores of Moscow River and Moscow parks and gardens will also be undertaken this year.

Soyuzphoto

Moscow school children carry on a campaign for the protection of birds

CHILDREN'S BOOKS FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS

Meksin, the well-known collector of children's books, and the organizer and director of the children's Book Division of the Museum of People's Education, has donated his valuable collection of children's books to the People's Commissariat for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.

Meksin gathered his collection over a period of fifteen years from the shelves and storerooms of second-hand book dealers in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. Included in the collection are many books given him during his trips abroad.

The library consists of over 4,000 rare and profusely illustrated volumes, representing the best that has been published in children's books for the past hundred years. There are children's books from old Russia, the U.S.S.R., Germany, France, the Scandinavian countries, the East (Japan, China, India), Spain, Italy, and other countries.

The People's Commissariat has decided to use this collection, added to the collection in the Museum of People's Education, as the basis for a permanent Children's Book Museum, which will be gotten together gradually and opened next year. The Museum of People's Education is now organizing an exhibit of Soviet and foreign books.

RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

On March 13 Boris Shumiatsky was appointed head of the Chief Administration of the Cinema and Photo Industry of the U.S.S.R.

On March 23 Ivan I. Mezhlauk was appointed secretary of STO, the Council of Labor and Defense.

On March 23 A. A. Troyanovsky, formerly Soviet diplomatic representative in Japan, was appointed an assistant chairman of Gosplan (State Planning Commission).

CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN SERVICE

On March 29 Adolph Markovich Petrovsky was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Austria, at the same time being relieved of his post as Soviet diplomatic representative in Persia.

On March 29 Sergey Konstantinovich Pastukhov was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Persia in place of Mr. Petrovsky.

SOVIET-TURKISH CONVENTION EXTENDED

On March 28, in Angora, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Soviet ambassador to Turkey signed a protocol prolonging by six months the Turkish-Soviet convention of August 6, 1928, regarding methods of settling border conflicts.

BOOKS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 120)

"Soviet Scene," by Frederick Griffin. The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Toronto, 1932. $2.50.

"The New Russia—Between the First and Second Five-Year Plans," introduced by Edw. M. House, edited by Jerome Davis. The John Day Co., New York, 1933. $2.50.

"An American Looks at Russia," by George A. Burrell. The Stratford Co., Boston, 1932. $2.50.

"The Red Flag of Ararat," by A. Y. Yeghenian. The Woman's Press, New York, 1932. $2.00.

"Red Virtue—Human Relationships in the New Russia," by Ella Winter. Harcourt Brace and Co., New York, 1933. $3.00.

Books About the U.S.S.R. in the English Language

The following list is given in chronological order.

"Ten Days that Shook the World," by John Reed. International Publishers, New York.
"Russia in 1919," by Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1919.
"The Bullitt Mission to Russia." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, of Wm. C. Bullitt. B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1919
"Fighting Without a War." An Account of Military Intervention in North Russia, by Ralph Albertson. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.
"The Russian Workers' Republic," by H. N. Brailsford. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1921.
"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhys Williams. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1921.
"The Russian Soviet Republic," by Edward A. Ross. The Century Co., New York, 1923.
Leon Trotsky: "Literature and Revolution," International Publishers, New York, 1925; "Lenin." Minton Balch & Co., New York, 1925.
"The New Theatre and Cinema in Russia," by Huntley Carter. International Publishers, New York, 1925.
"Broken Earth," by Maurice Hindus. International Publishers, New York, 1926.
"Oil Imperialism—The International Struggle for Petroleum," by Louis Fischer, International Publishers, New York, 1926.
"Modern Russian Composers," by Leonid Sabaneyef. International Publishers, New York, 1927.
"The Russian Land," by Albert Rhys Williams. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1927.
"Russia After Ten Years," Report of American Trade Union Delegation to U.S.S.R. International Publishers, N. Y., 1927.
Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1927-28: "How the Soviets Work," by H. N. Brailsford.—"The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union," by Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy.—"Village Life Under the Soviets," by Karl Borders.—"Religion under the Soviets," by Julius F. Hecker.—"Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors," by R. Page Arnot.—"Soviet Trade Unions," by Robert W. Dunn.—"Women in Soviet Russia," by Jessica Smith.—"New Schools in New Russia," by Lucy L. W. Wilson.—"Health Work in Soviet Russia," by Anna J. Haines.—"Liberty under the Soviets," by Roger N. Baldwin.—"The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets," by Avrahm Yarmolinsky.
"Soviet Russia in the Second Decade": Edited by Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn and R. G. Tugwell., John Day Co., N. Y., 1928.
"Present Day Russia," by Ivy Lee. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.
"Labor Protection in Soviet Russia," by George M. Price. International Publishers, New York, 1928.
"Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution," 1917-1927. Ten Years' Progress Reported by Authoritative Russian Leaders. 2 Vol. International Publishers, New York, 1928.
"Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution," by Maurice Dobb. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1928.
"Guide Book to the Soviet Union." International Publishers, New York, 1928.
"American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917," by Dr. Fred L. Schuman. International Publishers, New York, 1928.
"Dreiser Looks at Russia." by Theodore Dreiser. Horace Liveright, New York, 1928.
"Lenin," by Valeriu Marcu. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.
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BABUSHKA STEPS OUT

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

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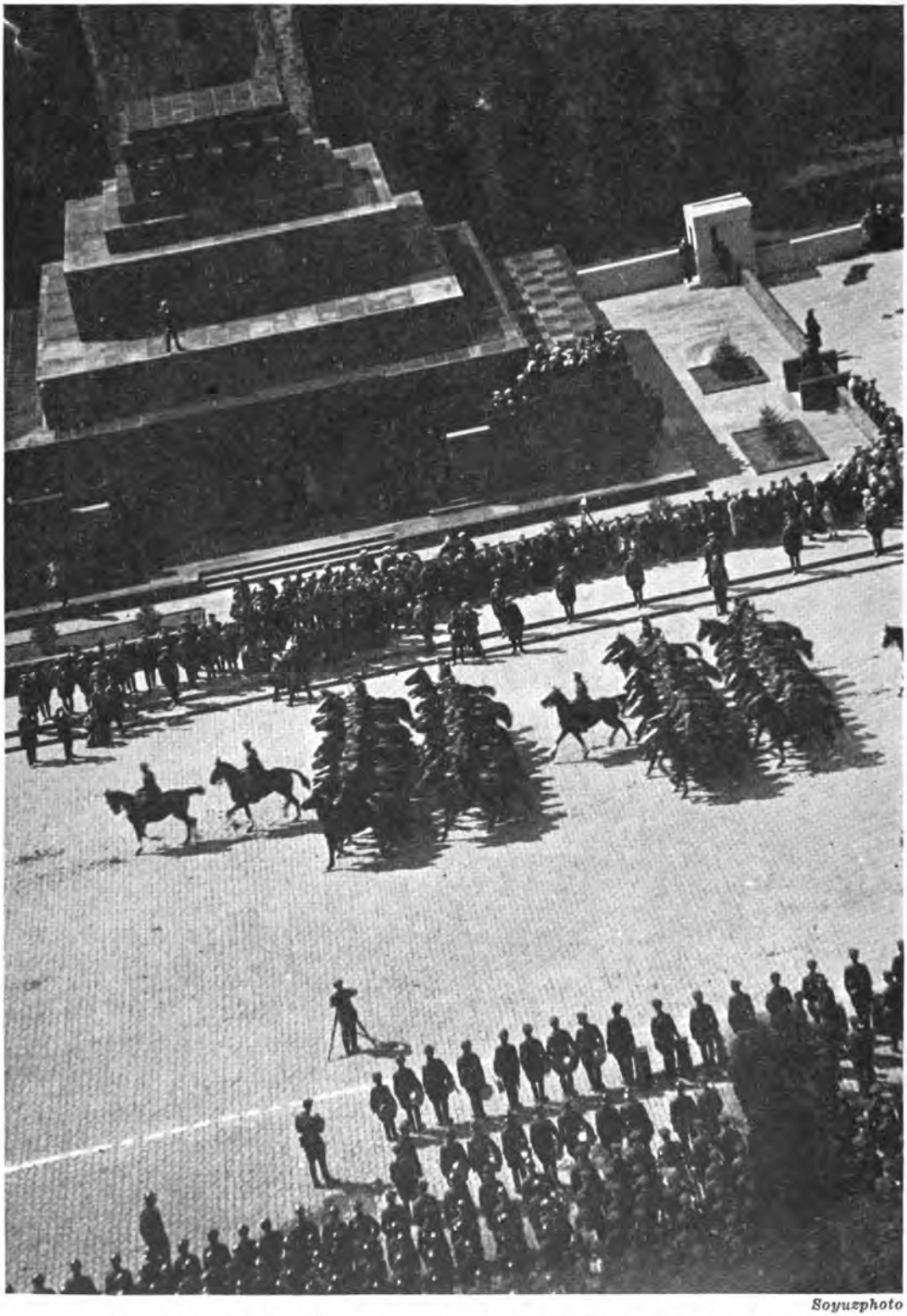

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Cavalry passing Lenin's Tomb on the Red Square in the May Day Parade

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Foreign Trade Policy of the USSR

THE fifteenth anniversary of the signing of the decree introducing the state monopoly of foreign trade was observed in the Soviet Union on April 22.

During these fifteen years the foreign goods imported into the Soviet Union have amounted to 8,300,000,000 gold rubles ($4,275,000,000). In the first years of the revolution, the years of disorganization and famine following the world war and the civil struggles in Russia, the Soviet Union was compelled to import scores of millions worth of grain and food products. After that, the U.S.S.R. started importing raw materials and semi-finished products such as cotton, wool and hides, as well as various types of equipment and machinery necessary for the restoration of light industry. Previous to 1928, raw materials and semi-finished products constituted 50 per cent of Soviet imports. In 1928 the country began to import larger quantities of equipment, which by 1932 made up 62 per cent of all imports. At the same time, the importation of general commodities, which in pre-revolutionary Russia formed 35 per cent of the imports, was reduced to 7 or 8 per cent.

In the course of fifteen years the Soviet Union has imported industrial goods to the extent of 6,700,000,000 rubles (equipment—3,100,000,000 rubles; raw materials and semi-finished products —3,600,000,000 rubles), general commodities amounting to 1,200,000,000 rubles, and other articles amounting to 400,000,000 rubles.

Soviet exports, which are the main source for covering import expenses, have amounted to 7,200,000,000 rubles, leaving a passive balance for the entire period of over a billion rubles. An important export base has been established for such commodities as oil, timber, furs, flax, etc. The list of exports has been increased from 50 to 800 articles within the last eight years, and a number of export items have been developed which did not exist in Tsarist Russia.

The composition of Soviet exports has also undergone a sharp change. While Tsarist Russia exported mainly farming produce and only 25 per cent of industrial goods, the latter exports now form 63.6 per cent of all Soviet exports.

Sixty per cent of all the imports falls to the share of Germany, England and the United States. In the course of fourteen years imports from Germany into the U.S.S.R. amounted to 2,500,000,000 rubles. Trade with England began in 1919 and in the course of six years imports from England reached 111,000,000 rubles. After the rupture of diplomatic relations in 1927, trade with England fell off considerably, but rose again after the renewal of relations in 1929, reaching 91,000,000 rubles in 1932. Trading operations with Italy

developed in a comparatively recent period. In 1922-23 imports from Italy amounted to 730,000 rubles. In 1931 they rose to 30,000,000 rubles. Soviet imports from the United States were very extensive for a time. In the fiscal year 1929-30 they amounted to 264,500,000 rubles, but in the last few years various factors have caused a shift of Soviet purchases to other countries.

REPORT OF ROSENHOLTZ, COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN TRADE

In connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the foreign trade monopoly of the U.S.S.R., Mr. A. P. Rosenholtz, Commissar for Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R., made a report on the foreign trade situation before a meeting of the foreign trade workers of the U.S.S.R., on April 23. The report was printed in *Izvestia* of April 30. A translation of the more important sections of it follows.

Mr. Rosenholtz began his address by pointing out that Soviet exports are necessary only as a means of paying for the purchase of imported products required for the program of Socialist construction.

"For the building up of socialism in our country," stated Mr. Rosenholtz, "we had first of all to create our own heavy industry and particularly a machine-building industry (in Tsarist Russia this branch, as is well known, was the most backward). For the accomplishment of this task we have imported from abroad during the past ten years, iron, steel, non-ferrous metals and various types of equipment to the value of almost 3,000,000,000 rubles (about $1,500,000,000) of which 2,000,000,000 rubles worth was imported in the past four years.

"Of great interest is some preliminary data on hand giving an idea of the cost of imported equipment for a number of our industrial giants: Gorky automobile plant—over 40 million rubles; Stalingrad tractor works—about 35 million rubles; Dnieper hydro-electric plant—over 30 million rubles; Stalin (formerly Amo) automobile factory—almost 25 million rubles; Kaganovich (Moscow) ball-bearing plant—over 20 million rubles; Cheliabinsk tractor works—about 20 million rubles; Kharkov tractor plant—almost 20 million rubles.

"Such imports have been a great help in the development of the machine-building industry in the shortest possible period. As a result, in 1932 our machine-building industry recorded an output ten times that of the pre-war."

Mr. Rosenholtz cited figures to show the increasing importance of domestic machinery in spite of the steady growth in imports. According to a census of metal-working machines made on April 10, 1932, there were 227,000 machine tools in the U.S.S.R. on that date, of which 68,000, or 30 per cent, were installed in the pre-revolutionary period, and 159,000 during the Soviet regime. Moreover, the machines installed in recent years have a much higher productivity than the old machines, many of them being automatic and semi-automatic. Of the entire number of machine tools installed during the Soviet regime, about 100,000 were imported from abroad, of which 70,000 were brought in during the period of the five-year plan. Despite the large imports, the percentage of machines of domestic manufacture to the total number increased from 22 per cent in the pre-war period to 30 per cent in 1926-27 and 38 per cent during the five-year plan period.

"At the beginning of the second five-year plan the U.S.S.R. possesses powerful electrical and agricultural machinery, mining and metallurgical machinery, machine tool and other industries. In a number of branches of industry we have outstripped Europe and are surpassed only by the United States."

Here Mr. Rosenholtz cited a long list of machinery and other products which the U.S.S.R. formerly either did not produce at all or only to an insignificant amount and which are now being produced on a mass production basis. He pointed out that the U.S.S.R. is now in a position to manufacture any type of machinery and that it has also rapidly developed its raw material base.

Imports In the Second Five-Year Plan

"The first five-year plan freed the Soviet Union from dependence on foreign countries in the decisive sectors of our economy.

"Due to the extraordinarily rapid rate of construction in the first five-year period and our almost complete inability in the preceding period to produce ourselves sufficient quantities of the necessary semi-manufactured products and equipment, we were forced, in many cases, to resort to the purchase of these essential means of production abroad on terms very unfavorable to us. Often we had to make purchases on relatively short credit terms and to reconcile ourselves to considerable overpayment in the credits extended —overpayments which were often concealed in artificially raised prices. That was the situation in the past period.

"Under present conditions, we have an entirely different set-up. We are no longer dependent on foreign sources.

"Now that our hands are freed, we can either expand or contract our imports, depending on the terms our foreign suppliers propose to us for the placing of orders, and depending on the trade and political relations with countries in which these orders will be placed.

"In our foreign trade operations during the second five-year period, we shall undertake an expansion of our imports only on the basis of a considerable change in the financial-credit conditions for the placing of our orders, a lengthening of the terms and changing of the form of

Soyuzphoto

A. P. Rosenholtz, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade

credit, and the conversion of these from commercial into financial credits, the entire proceeds of which will be employed for purchases in the countries where such credits are opened. We shall not undertake an expansion of our imports under the condition of overpayments such as have heretofore frequently been effected, either openly or in a concealed form, by means of abnormally high interest on credits. We shall take into account the conditions established in one or the other country for our exports and the existence of normal trade and political relations. With the existence of such conditions, we could expand our purchases, and to such a considerable degree that they could become a very substantial factor in the economy of the countries trading with us; but in the absence of these conditions our imports, naturally, will be contracted.

"Under present conditions, with the background of the technical and economic achievements of the first five-year plan and utilizing our considerable manoeuvering capacity, we are in a position of greater independence than before.

Soviet Payments Promptly Met

"The world foreign indebtedness at the end of 1932 is estimated at a sum exceeding 200 billion marks. At the present time a considerable part of this great indebtedness is frozen. Neither the principal nor the interest on these debts is being paid. It is sufficient to point out the fact that on September 1, 1932, in the American market the bonds and loans on which payments were suspended came to a sum of over three billion rubles.

"In addition to this not only are the governments themselves not paying their obligations, but many governments have declared moratoria and established foreign exchange restrictions which make it impossible for their citizens to cover their private obligations abroad. For instance, Greece has established regulations whereby commercial debts abroad may be paid each half-year to the extent of not more than 10 per cent of the total amount of the debt falling due in that period. Uruguay has declared a moratorium on all commercial debts abroad. Brazil has also followed this path, having imposed a moratorium on all private debts in foreign countries, etc.

"In Germany, Austria, Hungary, foreign bankers were confronted with the necessity of concluding agreements with local banks under which they were compelled to prolong the credits. Moreover, as a rule, the new terms of payment are not fulfilled and the credits must be further prolonged. The situation is still worse in the case of those debts incurred before the period of the development of the currency crisis in 1931 and not entering into these agreements. Payment on these is suspended, and whereas in Germany this prohibition of payment does not affect debts owed for merchandise, in Hungary it extends also to debts for commodities. The extent of this indebtedness may be judged from the fact that the indebtedness alone of the German banks coming under the moratorium of 1932 consisted at the end of February, 1932, of about five billion marks and Germany succeeded in obtaining a moratorium on the payment of its debts abroad to the sum of several billion rubles.

"Against the background of widespread financial collapse abroad, the promptness and the scrupulousness with which we meet all our obligations has refuted the attacks of our enemies.

"The struggle to obtain credit conditions acceptable to us is easing up at the present time when the fact of our financial stability is now clearer to the entire capitalist world than ever before. Our indebtedness to foreign firms for imports (for acceptances given by us or obligations under agreements for merchandise not yet delivered) has been reduced by more than 300 million gold rubles during the past one and one-half years."

Trade Relations With Individual Countries

Here Mr. Rosenholtz analyzed the development of trade and the problems of trade relations with Germany, England, Italy, France and other countries. He pointed out the importance of the Soviet market for the industrialized countries. For instance, whereas the U.S.S.R. was fourth among

German export markets in 1931, it rose to second place in 1932. Of many types of equipment, the U.S.S.R. took from 20 to 90 per cent of the entire German exports last year. It took over 25 per cent of British machinery and over 80 per cent of its machine-tool exports in 1932.

Regarding trade relations with the United States, Mr. Rosenholtz said the following:

"Our trade turnover with the United States expanded up to 1930 and 1931, in which years our imports from the United States amounted respectively to 264 and 230 million rubles. Our orders in the United States undoubtedly played a large part in a number of very important branches of American industry. Nevertheless, even up to this time, there are various obstacles to the export of Soviet products to the United States. There still remains a virtual embargo on the import of gold of Soviet origin, which we have been paying to the United States in order to cover obligations on our imports. Furthermore, in the matter of financing our orders, we have been confronted in the United States with much shorter terms of credits than in Europe.

"The absence of diplomatic relations and a normal juridical basis for mutual trade relations also is naturally not without influence on our trade with the United States.

"The result of all this has been that in 1931 and 1932 we were forced to reduce sharply our orders in the United States. Our purchases for 1932 in that country were reduced to less than one-seventh of those of 1931 and we were faced with the necessity of forcing the construction in the U.S.S.R. of a number of enterprises for the manufacture of machines which formerly we imported in especially large quantities from the United States.

"This does not mean, however, that now there is nothing for us to buy from the United States. On the contrary, one could hardly find any other country which has such great possibilities of developing its exports to the U.S.S.R. as the United States. And, on its part, the United States could become a large market for the sale of Soviet products. For this, of course, the necessary prerequisites must be created."

Conclusion

In the concluding section of his address, Mr. Rosenholtz pointed out that the state monopoly of foreign trade and the steady growth of Soviet economy gives flexibility in adapting exports to the requirements of foreign markets and, when necessary, in replacing one kind of export by another. In the last eight years, the number of export items has grown from 50 to 800, of which many products were formerly imported. There has been a steady gain in the relative importance of industrial exports and a corresponding drop in exports of agricultural products. The latter made up only 36 per cent of the total in 1932 as compared with 46 per cent in 1928 and 70 per cent in 1909-13. On the other hand, the proportion of industrial exports in the total increased from 30 per cent before the war to 54 per cent in 1928 and 64 per cent in 1932. Also, there has been an increase in the export of finished products (refined oils, dressed furs, veneers, etc.).

The exporting organizations, said Mr. Rosenholtz, are faced with the task of further improving the quality of export products. As far as imports are concerned, the basic problems are to strive to obtain lower prices and reduced cost of financing and improvement in the quality of merchandise purchased. Under present conditions, the U.S.S.R. with its perfect record of payments, is in a favorable position to attain these ends.

LITVINOV ON SOVIET TRADE POLICY

The Soviet press of April 23 published the reply of Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to a query sent him regarding Soviet foreign trade policy by Ian Fleming, special correspondent of Reuter, and S. P. Richardson, Moscow correspondent of the Associated Press. A translation of the reply follows:

"I have received your letter of the 20th of this month requesting me to state my views in regard to the conditions forming the basis for trade relations with the U.S.S.R. in view, as you point out, 'of the situation which has arisen following the imposition of an actual embargo on Soviet exports to Great Britain,' and also of misconceptions which might arise as to the policy of the U.S.S.R. in connection with foreign trade.

"Since there have been no new acts or ordinances of recent date in the U.S.S.R. bearing on foreign trade, it would seem that you would have been better advised to address yourself to the country whose actions gave rise to your request. I am, however, prepared to answer your question with regard to the trade policy of the U.S.S.R. in general.

"Our foreign trade policy is based on firm foundations which have not been altered since the beginning of our foreign trade and which we have no intention of changing. This policy is based on:

"(1) Economic intercourse between the countries of the world, and particularly between major powers, irrespective of their social-political systems.

"(2) Advantages accruing to each country from trade with other countries, and confidence between contracting parties based on real solvency proven by the fulfillment of commercial and financial obligations.

"(3) The absence of political upheavals in the relations between the trading countries as a condition for the stability of trade relations.

"(4) The liberty for official representatives of trading countries to fulfill the necessary formal functions connected with trade.

"(5) Lawful intercourse between the representatives of governments and the citizens of the trading countries.

"(6) The submission of foreigners to the jurisdiction of countries where they are resident.

"The absence or violation of any of these conditions inevitably hampers and reduces or renders quite impossible trade between two countries.

"We do not admit that trade of any country with another country is motivated otherwise than by self-interest, or that it is dictated by any special sympathy or liking for the other country. Soviet orders have been accepted and fulfilled because the merchants and manufacturers involved have found it profitable for themselves. Interest in these orders has increased especially during the past years of crisis and the contraction of other markets. Similarly, our export goods have found markets because of advantageous prices, quality, considerations of geographical proximity, etc.

"The special advantage of trade with the Soviet Union lies in the fact that while it imports chiefly manufactured goods (machine equipment) and semi-manufactured goods (metals), it exports almost exclusively raw materials absolutely essential for other countries, and not articles of luxury the consumption of which can be reduced or can easily be altogether dispensed with.

"Another distinguishing feature is that we sell our raw materials, not in order to accumulate gold or foreign exchange, but for the expansion and covering of our imports. Our raw materials might be replaced with the goods of other countries, but this would not result in an appreciable increase in the imports of these countries. The elasticity of imports is exclusively a distinguishing feature of the Soviet Union.

"To this should be added the objective and proven solvency of our country founded on its immense natural wealth and resources of raw material, its insignificant external indebtedness and, finally, the fact that the foreign trade of the Soviet Union is controlled by a monopoly in the hands of the state.

"In connection with the elasticity of our imports, it should be borne in mind that not only their very wide expansion but also their contraction is possible. We are already in a position, without detriment to the tempo of our construction, to reduce our imports, and we naturally are doing this and will continue to do so proportionately with the reduction of our exports. We are convinced that not only will those countries which compel us to reduce our imports themselves sustain the greater loss, but also that such a reduction will inevitably affect adversely the world crisis in general.

"On the other hand, under proper conditions we could increase our imports to dimensions which could not but have a favorable influence upon the world crisis. Without mentioning orders for machinery and equipment which would considerably reduce unemployment, given certain conditions, we would in the very near future be able through our orders to reduce the world reserves of certain metals by 30 to 40 or even by 60 per cent. There are even goods the world reserves of which could be absorbed by us up to 100 per cent.

"Tomorrow will be the fifteenth anniversary of our monopoly of foreign trade. It is unnecessary to mention that this system from our point of view has entirely justified itself. We know that this system serves as an object of emulation on the part of other states, some of which have even attempted to introduce it partially at home. This system should be recognized, however, as being of advantage also for the persons with whom we deal. In order to arrive at this conclusion, it is sufficient to reckon the number of bankruptcies of private commercial institutions, factories and banks in other countries and the total of the losses. When trade is distributed among many customers it is always necessary to count on a certain percentage of risk from bankruptcies and in years of crisis this percentage is particularly high. But this risk is nonexistent when there is trade with a single customer represented by such a powerful state as the Soviet Union.

"At one time the monopoly of foreign trade gave rise to fear abroad that the Soviet government would utilize it for political ends. These fears, however, had no basis in fact and have not been substantiated in practice. The Soviet government has carried on trade with friendly, semi-friendly and hostile countries and even with those countries with whom it has no official relations. But, by its very nature, foreign trade demands a certain legal framework, the absence of which affects its development. Trade has naturally developed most with those countries which have aided the creation of the conditions necessary for it. Trade development and trade stability demand a certain calm and absence of violent disturbances. Neither trade development nor trade stability is possible if the slightest friction or political clash between governments may at any time lead to a rupture in trade, or if governments assume the right to liberate their citizens or commercial enterprises from engagements contracted by them under commercial agreements or treaties. Such measures would hardly seem to constitute a suitable preparation for the World Economic Conference, one of the problems of which is to regulate and normalize foreign trade on a world scale."

Economic Report for April

CABLED reports of the principal indicators of Soviet industrial production for April showed general gains in output as compared with April, 1932, with the single exception of oil production, which showed a decline of 7 per cent. Coal production was up 5 per cent as compared with last year, pig iron 10 per cent, steel 1 per cent, tractors 30 per cent and motor trucks 140 per cent. Gains were also registered generally as compared with March, though the coal output showed a decline of 3 per cent. The increase in tractor production over March was 27 per cent.

Comparative figures for April output follow:

PRODUCTION IN APRIL

(in metric tons)

	1933	*1932*
Coal	5,787,000	5,506,400
Oil*		
Azneft	1,161,000	1,078,611
Grozneft	438,000	636,761
Pig Iron	568,000	516,684
Steel	520,000	516,331
Tractors (units)		
Stalingrad	4,064	2,991
Kharkov	2,356	1,950
Motor Trucks (units)		
Stalin (AMO)	1,924	1,404
Gorky (Nizhni)	1,450	(Not operating)

The Kharkov tractor plant produced its 25,000th tractor April 27, eighteen months after its opening in October, 1931. Its sister plant at Stalingrad, on the Lower Volga, which was opened in June, 1930, was in its twenty-first month of operation when its 25,000th tractor was turned out. Beginning April 19 the Kharkov plant reached an output of 100 tractors daily.

During April the Council of People's Commissars made public a list of 3,600 construction projects scheduled for completion during the present year. They include 106 coal mines, nine oil refineries and cracking plants, two sulphuric factories, twenty steel mills, nine non-ferrous metal plants, fourteen machine building plants, five chemical plants, eleven electrical stations.

A number of new industrial enterprises were opened in April. These include new gasoline refineries, chemical works, iron mines, and machine shops. After much exploratory drilling the mining of iron ore was finally inaugurated in the Kursk district, where the reserves are estimated at 200 billion tons. The first shaft has been constructed and high grade ore extracted at a depth of 96 meters.

May Day marked the opening of the sluices at Dnieprostroy which will make the Dnieper River navigable for 1,000 miles for vessels up to 2,000 tons. This improvement opens to ocean commerce an area of thousands of square miles along the Dnieper valley, in the rich black soil region of the Ukraine. Hitherto the Dnieper was blocked to navigation by the abrupt rapids 200 miles from its mouth.

Three great lock chambers in a channel built around the new dam lift or lower ships by 92½ feet, the mean average difference between the height of the Dnieper above and below the dam. It is estimated that two million tons of freight will pass through the locks each year.

Excavation on the site of the locks started at the same time as the general Dnieprostroy work in 1927. The work was arduous and difficult. Pouring of concrete was under way in 1929, but most of the work on the locks has been done in the past two years.

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Planning the spring sowing campaign in a Lower Volga Sovhoz

*The smaller oil fields in the Soviet Union, not given here, have an output of about 150,000 metric tons a month.

In agriculture the spring picture is much brighter in the Soviet Union than it was last year, and there is every evidence that the vigorous efforts toward a more effective integration of the agricultural forces are bearing fruit.

Spring sowings in the Soviet Union on April 30 totaled 25,320,000 hectares (62,500,000 acres) as against 14,976,000 hectares last year. The program was 26.7 per cent fulfilled as compared with less than 15 per cent on the same date in 1932. Sowings were also running far ahead of the corresponding period two years ago. Owing to more favorable weather conditions and better organization of the work, sowings this year got under way from 10 to 15 days earlier than last year.

Detailed estimates of sowings by regions as of April 25 show that the Ukraine, the Middle Volga and the Lower Volga regions were far ahead of last year, while the North Caucasus was about on the same level. The farms on the whole were well provided with seeds for the spring sowings. On April 20 the grain seed reserves of the collective farms, which now cultivate 70 per cent of the sown area, totaled 5,375,000 metric tons and were 3 per cent above the estimated amount required for the entire spring campaign. The state farms had 96.4 per cent of their seed requirements and only the individual peasants, who cultivate about a fifth of the total land area, were lagging behind.

An important factor in the good start made in the spring sowings this year is the work of the tractor factories and the plants producing tractor spare parts. The Stalingrad and Kharkov plants produced in the first four months of this year 20,206 tractors as against 16,745 last year. Spare parts to the value of $17,000,000 were manufactured in the first quarter of the year, 20 per cent above the program.

Situation on Chinese-Eastern Railway

AS AN outcome of the alarming situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway, Mr. L. M. Karakhan, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on April 16 invited Mr. Ota, the Japanese ambassador, to call, and, in the name of the government of the U.S.S.R., made the following statement* to him:

1. Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict and the entry of the Japanese army into Manchurian territory, the Japanese government, through the Japanese ambassador in Moscow and directly to the Soviet ambassador in Tokyo, has given repeated assurance that the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R., particularly on the Chinese Eastern Railway, will not be infringed, and that the Japanese command and Japanese officials in Manchuria have strict instructions not to allow any infringement of the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R. on the Chinese Eastern Railway. Such statements were made not only at the very beginning of these events, but during these events till the most recent times, from which it is clear that the Japanese government assumes responsibility for anything which may infringe the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet government accepted these assurances of the Japanese government with a certain relief, all the more since, at the outset, there could be observed a desire on the part of the local Japanese authorities to avoid anything which might infringe the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R.

In a number of instances when serious damage was caused to the Chinese Eastern Railway as a result of military hostilities in the vicinity of the railway, the Soviet government, although it called the attention of Japan to this damage, was inclined to regard it without undue disturbance, since such damage might be accounted for by the circumstances of the war situation.

2. During recent months the action of the Manchukuo authorities, the Japanese advisors in Manchukuo, and the local Japanese authorities directly, have created a serious situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway, arousing the alarm of the Soviet government not only with regard to the condition of the railway, the normal functioning of which was disrupted, but because these actions are aimed at aggravating the situation on the railway, by means including the artificial creation of conflicts on various questions.

3. The main facts to which the Soviet government calls the attention of the Japanese government are as follows:

(a) On July 7, 1932, the Manchurian authorities seized the transshipment station of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This took place, as the Japanese government was informed on July 8, under the direct guidance of Japanese subjects employed in Manchukuo. Through the fault of the persons indicated, this question has not been settled till the present time, as a result of which the interests of the U.S.S.R. have suffered.

Furthermore, notwithstanding the promise of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take urgent action to settle the question, on April 11, 1933, Japanese military officials occupied the offices of the transshipment station, hoisting the Japanese flag over the building and placing a Japanese guard there.

While the Manchukuo authorities have previously committed an unlawful act, in the settling of which the Japanese government took part, the Japanese authorities themselves have now decided to seize that which has been and is a subject for negotiations. The Soviet government cannot but protest against these actions, which are a clear violation of the above-mentioned assurances of the Japanese government.

(b) At the request of the Japanese government, the Soviet government agreed to the transportation of Japanese troops over the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is quite evident that the Soviet government and the Chinese Eastern Railway have regarded, and still regard, this transportation as purely commercial transportation, subject to payment in due course.

The negotiations between the Chinese Eastern Railway

* As reported by Tass and published in the Moscow *Izvestia* of April 18.

and the Japanese military authorities on this question, however, have been systematically prolonged, and there is already a vast indebtedness which weakens the financial position of the line, already suffering from the drastic curtailment of commercial transportation resulting from military operations in Manchuria.

(c) Particular alarm has been aroused on the part of the Soviet government by the recent events in Manchuria, when at the express demand of, and with the participation of Manchukuo officials, police authorities have carried out a number of violent acts directed expressly towards disrupting the normal work of the Chinese Eastern Railway and towards the infliction of serious harm upon the interests of the U.S.S.R. These acts consisted in the cutting of the line between the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Transbaikal Railway by spiking the switches, with the object of making communications between the Chinese Eastern Railway and the lines of the U.S.S.R. impossible and of putting difficulties in the way of European-Asiatic communications; in the seizure of freight belonging to the U.S.S.R., in grave infringement of the transit rights of the Soviet Union over the Chinese Eastern Railway.

(d) The Eastern line of the Chinese Eastern Railway is completely disorganized at the present time as a result of systematic attacks by bandits on the trains and the equipment of the railroad, the malicious wrecking of trains, assaults, robberies, murders and kidnapping of Soviet citizens working on the Chinese Eastern Railway. When requesting permission for the transportation of Japanese troops over the Eastern line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Japanese government assured the Soviet government that it would set itself the aim of restoring order, which it also undertook to maintain. Meanwhile, from the standpoint of order and safety, the position on the railroad during the very worst times has never been so grave as at the present.

(e) The Manchukuo authorities and the Japanese authorities in Manchuria have raised and exaggerated in a completely artificial manner the question of locomotives and cars which are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., inasmuch as they cannot but know that in both these questions the stand taken by the Soviet authorities is beyond reproach. The locomotives in question belong to the Soviet government and have never been the property of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Neither the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is the property of the U.S.S.R., nor Manchukuo, nor still less the Japanese, can have any claims with regard to these locomotives. As regards cars, the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Soviet railroads have always exchanged cars, and it is not surprising that a certain number of cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway are on the territory of the U.S.S.R., just as the same or even a larger number of cars—in the given case more than two thousand Soviet railway cars—are on the Chinese Eastern Railway. If the return of cars from the U.S.S.R. to the Chinese Eastern Railway has sometimes been delayed, this has been due to the military operations between Chinese detachments and the Japanese-Manchurian Army, which for many months have blocked the Chinese Eastern Railway from both ends—east and west.

(f) Mass arrests of Soviet citizens, many of whom have been held without trial for over a year under extremely severe conditions and have been subjected to tortures, Japanese gendarmes and Japanese subjects in the service of Manchukuo taking a direct part in this.

4. All of these facts, which by no means exhaust the violations of the interests of the U.S.S.R., compel the Soviet government to remind the Japanese government of the latter's assurances that the interests of the U.S.S.R. would not be harmed and to insist on effective measures being taken which could really protect the rights and interests of the Soviet Union from any encroachments and attacks.

Mr. Karakhan asked the ambassador for as speedy a reply to this statement as possible.

Mr. Ota promised immediately to transmit Mr. Karakhan's statement to the Japanese government and upon receipt of a reply from the latter, immediately to transmit it to the Soviet government.

Mr. Karakhan at the same time handed to the ambassador a memorandum containing information on the question of the locomotives and cars which constitute one of the factors contributing to the creation of a tense situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR BY KARAKHAN ON APRIL 15

The locomotives of the "E" series (D-K), to the number of 124, constitute part of a large group of locomotives of this type which were purchased by the Russian government in the United States for the railways of the U.S.S.R., and the Chinese Eastern Railway has had and has no connection with them. These locomotives were delivered by sea through Vladivostok port and were assembled in the Vladivostok and Harbin railway shops and then transferred to Soviet railways.

Owing to the military intervention against the U.S.S.R. in the Far East in 1918-1919, part of these locomotives, numbering 124, were held up on the Chinese Eastern Railway on the way to the U.S.S.R..

In the records of the main office of the Chinese Eastern Railway there are irrefutable documentary proofs establishing that there were thus held up on the Chinese Eastern Railway 38 locomotives in 1918, 33 locomotives in 1919, 36 in 1920, and 17 in 1921, a total of 124 locomotives of series "E."

The fact that these locomotives belong to the U.S.S.R. has been repeatedly acknowledged as indisputable in a number of decisions of the Railway Board, of the Auditing Committee, of the Administrative Council, etc. References to this are contained in the official minutes of the Board of the Chinese Eastern Railway No. 115 of 1919, in minutes No. 361 in 1919, in minutes Nos. 597 and 760 in 1920, No. 947 in 1921, No. 1,755 in 1922 and No. 3,951 in 1927.

The report on the operations of the Chinese Eastern Railway for 1922, which was approved by the Railway Board and the Auditing Committee, contains a special entry, "124 (D-K) locomotives belong to the Russian railways."

In considering the report for 1924, according to the journal of the Administrative Council of the railway of July 2, 1923, under No. 478, the following note was entered:

"The Railway Board . . . must record that both the technical and financial results of the operations of the road are to a considerable extent due to the Russian government, the railway operating with its rolling stock without recording, either in its budgets or in its reports, its debt for the use of this rolling stock."

In all the statistical annual reports of the Chinese Eastern Railway, including that for 1932, the 124 locomotives (D-K), since they belonged to foreign roads, were never included as part of the railway rolling stock.

When part of these locomotives were transferred last year to the U.S.S.R. roads and the Manchurian representatives on the Railway Board raised this question, Kuznetsov, Vice-Chairman of the Board, at a meeting of the Board and the Auditing Committee on April 7, 1932, explained:

"The locomotives are not on the territory of the Soviet Union for the first time, and we are surprised at the anxiety of the Chinese members of the Board. The Chinese members of the Board are aware of the fact that these locomotives were held up on the Chinese Eastern Railway during the intervention, and the Chinese mem-

bers, the chairman and our other colleagues, cannot, in view of this, have any claims on us.

"We consider ourselves entitled to use these locomotives also in the future. But at the same time, we categorically declare that our Chinese colleagues can be perfectly at ease, since we are concerned equally with them in the normal operation of the railway and the presence of the locomotives on the territory of the Soviet Union will under no conditions be allowed to impede normal movement on the Chinese Eastern Railway."

As to the debt of the Soviet government to the Chinese Eastern Railway for the assembling of these locomotives —which fact, in the opinion of some of the Manchurian representatives might justify a claim by the Chinese Eastern Railway for possession of the locomotives—the amount of the indebtedness of the Chinese Eastern Railway for the leasing and use of these locomotives during all of this time which the Soviet government holds against the Chinese Eastern Railway many times exceeds the debt for the assembling of these locomotives.

There was never anything surprising or irregular in the temporary presence of a certain number of railway cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway on Soviet territory. Cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway reach the roads of the U.S.S.R. as a result of the ordinary exchange of cars by adjacent roads, just as cars of the U.S.S.R. railways reach the Chinese Eastern Railway. At the present time, for instance, more than 2,000 cars belonging to the roads of the U.S.S.R. are on the Chinese Eastern Railway; this number, if it does not exceed, is at any rate approximately equal to the number of cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway which are now on Soviet roads.

If return of the cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway from the U.S.S.R. was at certain times delayed, this was not the fault of the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway or of the Soviet roads, but due to the military events in the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in which the U.S.S.R. was neutral. Since the Chinese Eastern Railway was cut off from the U.S.S.R. for many months, both at the eastern and western terminals, there were naturally periods when the normal return of cars could not take place.

As to the complaints on the part of Li Shao Gan, the Chairman of the Board of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in his letters addressed to Mr. Kuznetsov, Vice-Chairman of the Board, and on the part of other Manchurian representatives to the effect that the balance in the conventional exchange of cars has been disturbed, this is untrue; in any case, a careful check-up on the basis of records and the stock of cars at present on the Chinese Eastern Railway would be necessary. Precisely such a check-up has been proposed by the Soviet members of the Railway Board.

CORRESPONDENCE ON CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY PROBLEMS

Izvestia of April 21 published a statement by Tass regarding correspondence between Mr. Shi Liu Ben, diplomatic representative of the Manchurian government in Harbin and Mr. Slavutsky, Consul General of the U.S.S.R. in Harbin. According to the statement Mr. Shi Liu Ben sent Mr. Slavutsky a letter on April 13 in which he disputed the explanation made by Mr. Slavutsky in his letter of September 12, 1932, regarding the ownership of the locomotives of series "E" (D-K) bought originally for the roads of the U.S.S.R. and stranded on the Chinese Eastern Railway during the years of intervention, and stated that there were no documents attesting Soviet ownership.

While acknowledging that these locomotives are actually not listed in the inventory of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the representative of the Manchurian government nevertheless declared that the locomotives have become in fact the property of the Chinese Eastern, inasmuch as up until recently there have been no disputes regarding their ownership.

On this basis Mr. Shi Liu Ben asked for the return to the Chinese Eastern Railway of the locomotives transferred to Soviet territory, and payment to the road of money alleged to be owing for their use.

On April 18 Mr. Slavutsky sent a reply to Mr. Shi Liu Ben expressing surprise that the ownership of the locomotives in question should again be disputed, setting forth the facts regarding their ownership contained in Karakhan's memorandum quoted above and stating that the Soviet representatives on the Chinese Eastern were guided solely by the provisions of the Peking and Mukden treaties.

Izvestia of April 24 published a further Tass statement to the effect that on April 12 and 18, Mr. Kuznetsov, assistant chairman of the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway, received two letters from Mr. Li Shao Gan in connection with the situation that has developed at Manchuria Station.

In the first letter Mr. Li Shao Gan made the claim that the Ussurisk railroad owed a large number of railway cars to the Chinese Eastern Railway and insisted on their immediate return, as well as the return to the Chinese Eastern Railway of the locomotives which had been transferred to Soviet territory.

In the second letter Mr. Li Shao Gan declared that the violent actions of the Manchurian authorities at Manchuria Station, the closing of the switch uniting the Chinese Eastern with the Transbaikal railroad, the prohibition of direct communication and transit and so on had been carried out on the orders of the Ministry of Communications to protect the property of the railroad and to suspend through communication. As regards the trains of international communication, Li Shao Gan declared that no obstacles whatever were being placed in their way and that there was no intention to hinder such communication.

On April 20 Mr. Kuznetsov transmitted to Mr. Li Shao Gan an answer to this communication in which he pointed out that in the latter's notes of April 12 and 18 he found no answer to his previous letter of April 10 addressed to Li Shao Gan, in which he, Kuznetsov, had made a vigorous protest against the violent actions of the railroad police at Manchuria Station and set forth in detail the rights of the Soviet Union for direct and transit conveyance over the Chinese Eastern Railway on the basis of existing treaties.

In his letter of April 10, Mr. Kuznetsov also demanded that measures be taken for the immediate revocation of all illegal actions and orders,

and also asked to be informed when the negotiations proposed by the Ministry of Communications of the Manchurian government regarding the conclusion of a special agreement regarding direct connections between the Chinese Eastern Railway and the roads of the U.S.S.R. would commence.

Concerning the question of direct international communication between Europe and Asia, Mr. Kuznetsov wrote:

"You are aware that the management of the road is extremely concerned at the fact that on April 7 the chief of the border police detachment at Manchuria Station informed the station master by letter that in view of the instructions of the Manchurian government, direct freight communications were being cut off at both ends until the settlement of the question between the governments and that furthermore, padlocks were placed on the switches with the warning that any attempt to remove them, or to transfer cars to the Transbaikal road, would meet with resistance; furthermore the freight that had been detained could not be reloaded until the government had granted permission, and that the cars which had come to Manchuria Station from the Transbaikal railroad would not be released after unloading.

"I drew your attention especially to this in my letter of April 10, and until this time have had no word of any revocation of these orders by the police authorities, acting as they said, on the basis of instructions from the Ministry of Communications.

"The administration of the road, having in view these obstacles created by the local authorities, in a telephonogram of April 8 of this year, asked for our instructions, informing us that many of the part owners of the Eurasian roads have asked about the possibility of using the services of the Chinese Eastern for shipping freight over the direct European-Asian route.

"I hope that with the aim of preventing violation of the obligations of the Chinese Eastern road you will see that the necessary instructions are given to the authorities at Manchukuo Station to eliminate all the lawlessness caused by them and to advise the people previously notified about these illegal measures that they have been revoked. This will make it possible for the administration of the road to notify the part owners of the resumption of direct communications."

Setting forth the point of view of the Soviet government on the question of cars and locomotives, Mr. Kuznetsov pointed out further that the Manchurian part of the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway failed to take measures to guarantee the interests of the road, to prevent the ruin of a colossal amount of rolling stock as a result of wrecks on its Eastern section, secure the return of the transshipment station seized from the Chinese Eastern, and to protect the lives and property of its workers and employees.

In conclusion Mr. Kuznetsov expressed the hope that Mr. Li Shao Gan would take the necessary steps for the settlement of the questions raised and the creation of the necessary conditions for the normal operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

TASS STATEMENT IN IZVESTIA OF MAY 1

In answer to his letters of April 10 and 20 with regard to the illegal actions of the Manchurian authorities on the Chinese Eastern Railway, Mr. Kuznetsov, assistant chairman of the administration of the road, received two letters, dated April 20 and April 22 from Mr. Li Shao Gan, Chairman of the Board of the road.

In these letters Mr. Li Shao Gan denies the ownership of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Soviet Union declaring that Mr. Kuznetsov's statement to this effect had no legal basis.

Mr. Li Shao Gan accused the Soviet side, in particular the administration of the road, of illegal, unilateral actions.

Repeating his previous allegations with regard to the illegality of the exchange of cars between the Chinese Eastern and the Soviet roads, and the transfer of the locomotives (D-K) belonging to the Soviet Union to Soviet roads, Mr. Li Shao Gan intimated that the Soviet side had refused to answer the latter question.

In answer to the exhaustive explanation of Mr. Kuznetsov as to the rights of the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the contract and statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and also the Peking and Mukden agreements as to direct and transit carriage of freight, Mr. Li Shao Gan disputed the obligatory nature of the contract and statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway and cast doubt on the preservation in force of the Mukden agreement.

On April 28 Mr. Kuznetsov sent Mr. Li Shao Gan the following letter:

In answer to your letters of April 20 and 22 I am able to make the following statement:

1. You deny that the Chinese Eastern Railway belongs to the U.S.S.R. and is the property of the latter, and you declare that there is no juridical basis for such ownership. The question of the ownership of the road by the U.S.S.R. has never been a matter of doubt to anyone and is an indisputable fact recognized in all the documents and treaties.

Your statement cannot be understood otherwise than as a direct attempt to violate the existing treaties and first of all the Peking and Mukden treaties with the U.S.S.R. concluded in 1924.

Both the Peking and Mukden treaties are based on the indisputable fact that the Chinese Eastern Railway is the property of the U.S.S.R.

These treaties establish a number of privileges for the Chinese government voluntarily offered to the latter by the Soviet government, but in no way affecting the rights of the U.S.S.R. as the owner of the road.

According to Point 2, Article I of the Mukden treaty, "The government of the U.S.S.R. is agreed that from the day of signing the present agreement China has the right to purchase the Chinese Eastern Railway." Further it is set forth that "the road must be purchased by China with national funds at an equitable price."

In the Peking treaty Point 2, Article 9, it is stated that "the government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the government of the Chinese Republic with Chinese capital, as well as the purchase of all property belonging to the road and also agrees to transfer to China all the stock and obligations of the aforesaid road."

If the U.S.S.R. in your opinion is not the owner of the road, then how is it possible that the Chinese side could agree to purchase this road from the U.S.S.R.?

Precisely because of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the

owner of the road, Points 7 and 12 of Article I of the Mukden treaty and Article 7 of the Peking treaty on the Chinese Eastern Railway, provide a procedure for the settlement of the financial questions of the road, according to which the deciding vote rests with the U.S.S.R. as the owner of the road.

Your attempt to cast doubt on the right of ownership of the U.S.S.R. to the Chinese Eastern Railway, the basic fact on which both the Peking and the Mukden treaties were concluded, alarms me seriously and convinces me of the fact that the Manchurian side is attempting to undermine and abolish both of the aforesaid treaties concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway which are the foundation of cooperation and joint administration on this road.

2. In the light of these aggressive attempts of the Manchurian side, the conflicts and misunderstandings which have recently taken place and which continue to complicate and disrupt the normal work of the Chinese Eastern Railway, become understandable and acquire a special significance. It becomes understandable why the Manchurian authorities, in violation of the Peking and Mukden treaties, disrupt transit movement by the Chinese Eastern Railway, interfere with connections between the Chinese Eastern and the roads of the U.S.S.R., make deliberately false statements about the locomotives belonging to the U.S.S.R. and demand their return, accuse the U.S.S.R., without any basis whatsoever, of intentionally holding up freight cars, at the same time that a still larger number of Soviet cars are held up by the Chinese Eastern Railway.

I shall not dwell on such facts as the seizure by Manchurian-Japanese authorities of the transshipment station of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the seizure of cars and railroad equipment, the interference in orders and in the technical direction of the road by police and military officials and shocking instances of violence directed against Soviet citizens employed on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

3. In my letter of April 10 I gave you a very complete explanation with regard to the rights of the U.S.S.R. as regards direct and transit shipping by the Chinese Eastern Railway on the basis of existing treaties.

Article 10 of the contract for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway says: "The baggage of passengers as well as freight conveyed in transit from one Russian station to another will not be subject to any customs duties; equally they will be free from any internal taxes or collections. The company is obliged to send such goods, with the exception of passengers' baggage, in special cars." But still more clearly is the right of transit set forth in paragraph 3 of the statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, where it says: "All kinds of trains travelling between the Russian Transbaikal and the Ussurisk roads will be accepted by the Chinese Eastern Railway and transported, according to schedule, in their entirety, without any delays."

The articles quoted from the statutes and contracts of the Chinese Eastern Railway confirm the legal basis of my statement on this matter made in my letter of April 10 and compel me to insist on the earliest possible conclusion of a special technical agreement regarding direct communication between the Chinese Eastern and the roads of the U.S.S.R.

Your attempts to distort the real meaning of these obligations of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the roads of the U.S.S.R. and to deny the right of transit for the U.S.S.R. by the Chinees Eastern arise from a careless attitude on the part of Manchukuo with regard to existing international agreements. In answer to this I must declare categorically and decisively that neither I nor you are authorized to change or even more to violate existing contracts and agreements, and that the necessity for careful observance by both sides of the Peking and Mukden treaties, in the given instance in those sections regarding Manchuria, cannot be a matter for discussion.

4. At the same time I must decisively refute the attempts to accuse the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway of illegal one-sided action. You cannot adduce proof of a single instance of such actions on the part of the administration of the road. Finally you cannot in particular deny the fact that direct communication with the Transbaikal road as well as transit transportation have been carried on with your complete knowledge and agreement.

The activities of the administration of the road in recent years under conditions of military activities and elemental catastrophes deserve the highest possible respect on the part of all those interested in the normal operations of the road. And first of all the Manchurian side should have been grateful to the administration of the road that by their management under the most difficult possible conditions they have done everything they could to keep this railway artery, so vital for the whole region, from being destroyed and put out of business. You as chairman of the board of the road should yourself have refuted every complaint against Mr. Rudi instead of making the most baseless attacks on him yourself.

5. With regard to the question of cars and locomotives I have given an entirely complete answer in my letter of April 20. It is also apparent that your statement to the effect that the Soviet side refused to answer the question about locomotives has no basis. On the contrary, from the very first moment this question arose, the Soviet side has consistently held the same position, set forth in my statements at the meeting of the administration of the road on April 7, 1922. I must protest against the fact that a year after my exhaustive explanation on this question, the Manchurian side has unexpectedly and deliberately raised it again in order to make of it a pretext for violating and ignoring the Peking and Mukden treaties.

6. In conclusion I am compelled to direct your attention to the fact that in attempting to destroy the force of the Peking and Mukden treaties by such statements as the denial of the right of ownership of the U.S.S.R. to the Chinese Eastern Railway and denial of the right of transit shipment by the Chinese Eastern Railway, disrupting the normal connections between the Chinese Eastern and Soviet roads, you are also disrupting the international status on which the joint management of the Chinese Eastern Railway has rested. I am compelled to repeat in full the demands contained in my letters of April 10 and 20 and to express my conviction that the Manchurian representatives on the Chinese Eastern Railway will, equally with the Soviet side, manifest their interest in guaranteeing the normal work of the Chinese Eastern Railway and will carry on their work on the basis of strict observance of the Peking and Mukden treaties, without any attempts to violate and destroy these treaties, the obligations of which the government of Manchukuo could not but acknowledge and did acknowledge in its note to the Soviet government of March 12, 1932.

RUDI REPORTS ON CONDITION OF ROAD

On May 7, Mr. Rudi, the manager of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, submitted to the board of directors of the line a detailed report on the serious condition of the Eastern Line of the road, stating in part:

Supplementing the numerous reports on the situation on the Eastern Line, I am obliged to raise the whole question of the protection of this line, since the cases of track damaging, train wrecks, raids on railroad stations, on line barracks and semi-barracks, murders, injuring and robbing the employees and workers of the line, have been increasing every day to a catastrophic extent.

During 1932 and up to May 5, 1933, there have been considerable casualties among employees and workers on the railroad in connection with these events. During this period, 56 were killed, 825 wounded and injured, and 593 captured by bandits; many of those who returned from captivity proved to be unfit for service, having been sub-

jected to brutal tortures; the majority had to go through a course of medical treatment, while some are still in captivity, undergoing all the horrors of bandit imprisonment.

In addition, over 1,000 workers and employees have been subjected to various forms of robbery; among those captured and robbed have been both junior employees and members of the senior administration of the line and this has happened not only at the small stops but also at the big stations where there are guards and police, and even military forces, such as at Imianpo, Hantaohetsi and others.

During the same period 50 locomotives, 958 passenger coaches and 855 freight cars were damaged or smashed, the line itself being demolished in 53 places involving a total length of 4,000 meters. Civil and railroad buildings destroyed and damaged numbered 124. Traffic was interrupted 775 times for a total of 1,636 traffic days, not counting numerous small accidents.

This, together with the curtailment of the work of the line through suspension of traffic and damaging of freight, has involved losses running into millions. While on the Western and Southern lines the management of the road has been able with the aid of the guards, to maintain regular traffic, although cases of bandit raids have been recorded there as well, the situation on the Eastern Line is becoming daily more and more serious.

The number of incidents, similar to those cited above, has been on the increase, particularly since March of this year.

After describing nine serious train wrecks which took place on the Eastern Line between March 12 and May 5, Mr. Rudi proceeds:

Four employees of the line were killed and 12 injured; five passengers were killed and 17 injured, 7 locomotives and 117 cars were smashed, and the line damaged at 10 points.

During this brief period there were also 10 raids and robberies, and 32 kidnappings.

On the section of the Eastern Line, between the 1,118th to 1,412th kilometer, six locomotives, 43 passenger and freight cars, wrecked some time ago, are still lying on the slope, owing to the impossibility to arrange for removal.

The Eastern Line, which abounds in important railroad structures, the protection of which is the more necessary, actually remains unprotected. Even structures of as great importance as the bridges on the 1,266th kilometer across the Mutakiang River, and the Mulin Bridge, as well as the tunnels on the 1,328th, 1,332nd, and 1,333rd kilometers are left unguarded, not to speak of the other bridges and structures which are also unguarded and which, in the present state of affairs on the Eastern Line, are in need of protection.

The board of directors is aware of the incident which occurred on March 31 of this year, when criminals caused a train wreck in the tunnel at the 1,328th kilometer. This was possible only due to the absence of guards at this important point.

The majority of the stations themselves are unguarded. Stations Tamaikuo, Matseohe, Pelingtside, Tainpingling and others are being constantly deserted by the guards at dangerous moments. Even at stations where there are military and police guards, the latter frequently fail to assist in guarding the station.

The board is aware of cases when ticket offices were pillaged, at the Samokhvalovo and Hantaohetsi stations in the presence of police officers. At the Taipingling station and Ilyinski siding, employees were captured by insurgent railway guards. In most cases the guards desert whenever bandits make their raids, as was the case, for instance, during the wrecking of the service train on April 24 this year.

Bandits are active not only between the stations, but walk freely about the station buildings, frequently in the presence of the railway guards. They use, with impunity, the railway telegraph communications, have their own telephone apparatus and switch themselves into the railway telephone lines, thus obtaining full information of the movement of trains, and of all technical measures taken to combat the criminal attempts to damage the line.

The conductors' crews are powerless to interfere with the bandits traveling on passenger and freight trains, as the latter resort to violence, often kidnapping the conductors, despite the presence of guards on the train.

The line's employees and workers discharge their duties with incredible heroism and self-sacrifice, risking their lives to fulfill the orders of the management and maintain regular traffic, despite the fact that at many points the railway agents and their families are literally starving, food products having been seized by the bandits; and being forced to hide most of the time in cellars and basements, they are deprived of much needed rest.

Considering the extremely dangerous situation on the Eastern Line, the management of the road has been forced to take a number of precautionary measures safeguarding the traffic, namely: (1) maintenance of passenger and freight traffic only during daylight; (2) reduction of speed of trains at the Imianpo-Mulin section to 15 km. an hour; (3) simultaneous movement of passenger and freight trains in both directions with other trains to follow closely; (4) passenger traffic without pushers; (5) replacing the dispatcher telephone servico by the use of the telegraph wires; (6) appointment of scouting trains in front of passenger trains; (7) strengthening of line guards and appointment of additional line watchmen, and, (8) strengthening of the guard on passenger trains now running with an armored half-car attached.

But owing to the above-mentioned bandit raids on the section Imianpo-Pogranichnaya, tho above measures introduced by the management have not yielded the desired results, and the situation on the Eastern Line remains serious.

LITVINOV EXPLAINS PROPOSED SALE

In view of the attention bestowed by the foreign press on the recent interview of Mr. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, with Mr. Ota, Japanese ambassador in Moscow, especially with regard to the question of the possible sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Tass asked Mr. Litvinov for a statement, and his answer was published in *Izvestia* of May 12:

It is correct that in the course of my interview with Ambassador Ota on May 2 we considered the serious situation that has recently developed on the Chinese Eastern Railway as a result of the actions of the Manchurian authorities, a situation which threatens to complicate our relations with both Manchuria and Japan. We discussed the possible means for the solution of the conflicts that have arisen, and, as one of the most radical means, I mentioned the possibility of purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Manchukuo—that is to say, the sale of the road by us to the Manchurian authorities.

It is also true that the Nanking government queried the Soviet government on this matter, disputing our right to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to anyone whomsoever outside of the Nanking government, and that Ambassador Yen gave us a memorandum to this effect.

The arguments adduced by the Nanking government do not correspond with either the formal obligations of the Soviet government nor with the actual condition of affairs. Neither the Peking nor the Mukden agreements, which grant the right to China to purchase the road before the expiration of the treaties, limit the right of the Soviet government to sell the road to anyone whomsoever, especially to the authorities which exist in Manchuria and which are actually carrying out the rights and obligations accruing to the Chinese side from the Peking and Mukden agreements.

Much more important, however, is the fact that the Nanking government and its subordinate authorities have ceased to be the actual partners of the U.S.S.R. on the Chinese Eastern Railway for more than a year and a half. They have been deprived of the possibility, for reasons beyond the control of the U.S.S.R., either to make use of their rights or fulfill their obligations under the Nanking and Mukden agreements. According to these agreements the government of China must send its representatives to share in the management of the road. But for more than eighteen months there have been no Chinese representatives in the administration. There has also been no opportunity for the Nanking government to investigate the complaints regarding the violation by the Manchurian authorities of the rights and interests of the Chinese Eastern Railway nor to take measures guaranteeing the normal functioning of the road. The failure of the Nanking government to fulfill the obligations incumbent upon it under the Peking and Mukden agreements for a period of eighteen months, deprives it both formally and morally of the right to refer to these agreements.

During his conversations with me in Geneva regarding the restoration of diplomatic relations, Dr. Yen, present ambassador of China in Moscow, proposed that we should exchange notes confirming the inviolability of the Peking and Mukden agreements. I expressed agreement with this, but with the following reservation: "Insofar as the changing situation in Manchuria does not make the fulfillment of these agreements impossible for the Nanking government." This reservation was rejected by Nanking, apparently in recognition of the impossibility for their fulfilling at the present time the obligations undertaken according to the Peking and Mukden agreements.

It seems to me that enough has been said to prove that any possible claims of the Nanking government in the event of the sale of the road to anyone whomsoever, especially the Manchurian authorities, are entirely unfounded. As for the motives impelling us to agree to the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, they are as follows: In building the road in Manchuria, on foreign territory, the Tsarist government unquestionably was pursuing imperialist aims. The Soviet government has not and cannot have any such aims. After the October revolution the road lost the significance it had had for the people of the Russian empire as an instrument of penetration. The road was, however, built out of the hard-earned money of the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union, and therefore the Soviet government considered and still considers itself obliged to defend the property interests of the road. It has always been prepared to sell the road to China, but the latter has not been in a position to purchase it.

Fully defending its property rights to the road, the Soviet government has transformed it into a purely commercial enterprise and, taking into consideration the fact that it crosses foreign territory has considered it just to grant to the owners of the territory, parity in the administration of the road and half of the profits. Nonetheless, the Chinese Eastern Railway was becoming a source of friction among the U.S.S.R., China and Manchuria. Everyone remembers the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway which arose in 1929 through no fault of the U.S.S.R. With the aim of eliminating the source of conflicts the Soviet government in 1930 carried on negotiations regarding the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway with Mo Te Hui, representing the Mukden and Nanking governments. These negotiations were broken off as a result of the Manchurian events in the autumn of 1931. Now the question of the sale of the railroad has again arisen. In consideration of the above, we have made a proposal with regard to the sale of the road. Our proposal is still another manifestation of the desire of the Soviet government to maintain peace. I am convinced that objection could be made to this proposal only by those who for some reason are interested in aggravating Soviet-Japanese and Soviet-Manchurian relations.

Berlin Treaty Extended

RATIFICATION documents regarding the entry into force of the Protocol prolonging the Berlin Treaty of April 24, 1926, and the Soviet-German Agreement on Conciliation Procedure of January 25, 1919, signed in Moscow, June 24, 1931, were exchanged on May 5, in Moscow, between Mr. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, and the German ambassador in Moscow, Dr. von Dirksen.

As a result of the exchange of ratification documents the Berlin Treaty, which in connection with the Rapallo Treaty has laid the basis for Soviet-German relations, has been continued in legal force.

The text of the Protocol of June 24, 1931, follows:

Protocol

on the extension of the Treaty of April 24, 1926, and the Convention on Conciliation procedure of January 25, 1929, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Germany.

The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German government

Wishing to continue the friendly relations existing between them, to assist in the further development of friendly cooperation, in the interests of both countries, and at the same time to assist in the strengthening of universal peace,

Have agreed to extend the Treaty signed in Berlin on April 24, 1926, and the Convention on Conciliation Procedure signed in Moscow January 25, 1929.

To this end the accredited representatives of both sides, namely:

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Nikolay Nikolayevich Krestinsky, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

On behalf of Germany—Dr. Herbert von Dirksen, German ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

After having exchanged their credentials, found to be in good and proper form, agreed on the following provisions:

Article I

The Treaty concluded on April 24, 1926, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Germany, including the attached note of the same day, is considered extended from the day of expiration of its validity. Each of the contracting powers have the right to denounce the Treaty at any time, but not earlier than June 30, 1933, and a year's notice must be given.

Article II

Article IX of the Convention on Conciliation Procedure of January 25, 1929, is changed to provide that the period of operation of that convention is considered extended with the provision that in the future the Convention may be denounced only simultaneously with the Treaty of April 24, 1926, in accordance with Article I of the present Protocol.

Article III

The present Protocol is subject to ratification. The exchange of ratification documents is to take place in Moscow.

Article IV

The present Protocol is drawn up in two copies in the

Russian and German languages. Both texts have identical force.

In witness whereof both of the above mentioned accredited representatives have signed the present Protocol and affixed their seals.

Done in Moscow, June 24, 1931.

N. KRESTINSKY
VON DIRKSEN

Izvestia Editorial on Soviet-German Relations

In connection with the exchange of ratification documents with regard to the prolongation of the Berlin Treaty the Moscow *Izvestia* of May 6 carried a leading editorial which read, in part, as follows:

"Soviet-German relations have been up to this time based on two treaties: on the treaty concluded at Rapallo April 16, 1922, and on the Berlin Treaty of April 24, 1926.

"The Rapallo Treaty settled the claims of both sides remaining after the World War. In spite of its limited concrete contents, it was an important historical event. Germany, burdened by reparations, still under control of the Allied officials, and the Soviet republic, beating off the troops of intervention, but still threatened on all sides, entered upon this treaty as two equal great powers, settled old disputes in a friendly manner and thus cleared the way for the development of friendly relations. The contents of the Berlin Treaty were broader. It was concluded at a moment when Germany, having recovered to a certain extent from post-war destruction, and temporarily strengthened by foreign loans, entered the League of Nations. . . .

"The Rapallo and Berlin Treaties were accepted by the other capitalist powers as a screen concealing some secret German-Soviet pact directed against the rest of the world. The more than eleven years that have passed since the conclusion of the Rapallo Treaty, and the seven years that have passed since the signing of the Berlin Treaty, have shown how unfounded were these suspicions. These treaties have served to strengthen the economic and political relations of Germany and the Soviet Union, but they have not hindered either side from striving to strengthen their relations with other powers. As for the U.S.S.R., the treaties with Germany did not hinder the Soviet government, persistently striving to maintain peace, from concluding non-aggression pacts with Poland and France, the best proof of the fact that the Rapallo policy was not directed against these powers. . . .

"The people of the Soviet Union will undoubtedly endorse the re-entry into force of the Berlin Treaty. In spite of their attitude to Fascism, the people of the U.S.S.R. wish to live in peace with Germany, and consider that the development of Soviet-German economic relations is in the interests of both countries. The Soviet policy in relation to Germany, as to all other countries has been consistently one of peace. The people of the Soviet Union have never considered any plans directed against the integrity of German territory, and have no desire to make any changes or revisions in Soviet policy with regard to Germany.

"The central idea of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the preservation of peace as the best condition for the development of relations between peoples. The extension of the Berlin Treaty serves the policy of peace."

Soviet-Italian Agreement

ON May 6 a new tariff convention and credit agreement by the Italian government to guarantee Soviet orders placed in Italy was signed in Rome by Mr. Mussolini, head of the Italian government, and Mr. Levenson, trade representative of the U.S.S.R. in Italy, in the presence of leading Italian government and business officials.

After the signing of the agreement Mr. Mussolini, addressing Mr. Potiomkin, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Italy, declared that he was highly gratified with the constructive results of the negotiations and was convinced that the signing of the new agreement would serve to strengthen Italian-Soviet relations.

The Soviet diplomatic representative in his reply expressed appreciation to all those who had helped in bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion, noting especially the active support given by the head of the Italian government, and expressed his assurance that the new agreement would strengthen the close and friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy.

Under the new tariff convention each country grants to the other a general most favored nation treatment, while under the old convention the most favored nation principle was extended only in relation to a limited number of commodities.

Both agreements enter into force immediately, by exchange of notes. The new customs convention replaces the convention of 1924.

Izvestia on Italian-Soviet Agreement

The Moscow *Izvestia* of May 9 commented as follows on the conclusion of the new trade and credit agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Italy:

The fact that the U.S.S.R. and Italy have succeeded, even under present conditions of world trade, in extending the limits of the customs convention previously concluded between them and in concluding a new treaty on the government crediting of trade, will undoubtedly make a favorable impression not alone from the point of view of Italian-Soviet relations.

This is not the first time that the relations between Italy and the U.S.S.R. have given evidence of the fact that if relations with the Soviet Union are considered from a business point of view, all the necessary factors are at hand for the establishment and the uninterrupted development of economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and

New automobiles turned out by the Gorky (Nizhni-Novgorod) plant

any capitalist country. The trade and credit agreement signed on May 6 serves as a new proof of the fact that the Soviet Union sincerely desires to establish peaceful relations with the capitalist countries and will gladly meet half way any of them which seriously wish to establish normal and close relations with the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. and Italy gave an example of wise and business-like approach to mutual trade relations as far back as 1924, when they signed the first normal trade treaty between the U.S.S.R. and a Western European capitalist power. The treaty of 1924 today provides the juridical basis for the relations between the two countries. On this foundation it was possible to conclude the credit agreement in August, 1930, the credit agreement in April, 1931, and exactly two years later this new credit agreement and customs convention.

This continued extension of treaty relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy has undoubtedly been possible because of the fact that each new agreement has been in conformance with the mutual interests of both countries and has led to the development of mutual trade relations. The industrialization of the U.S.S.R., the fulfillment of the five-year plan, as was to have been expected, not merely have not hindered but on the contrary have assisted in the extension of trade relations with Italy. Our imports from Italy have grown steadily, and this growth has been accompanied by the establishment of ever closer relations between the Soviet market and definite branches of Italian economy. In the case of such of our import commodities as electrical equipment, ships, electrical engines, ball bearings, Italy has been our most important and regular supplier. On the other hand, Italy is in constant need of different kinds of fuel, lumber, and certain metals which we are able to supply regularly.

As a result of the correct basis of our trade and credit agreements, the role of the Soviet Union in the foreign trade of Italy is growing constantly. It is enough to point out that the share of the U.S.S.R. in Italian imports has grown from 1.6 per cent in 1929 to 4.2 per cent in 1932. The share of the U.S.S.R. in Italian exports has grown from .46 per cent in 1929 to 4.8 per cent in 1932. To this must be added the fact that the chartering of Italian ships by Soviet economic organizations grows from year to year. As a result, we chartered Italian ships with a total tonnage of 1,500,000 in 1932. Connections between Soviet and Italian industry, in particular connections based on technical aid contracts, are also increasing constantly.

Kalinin's Reply to Roosevelt

THE reply of Mikhail Kalinin, President of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, to the message sent by President Roosevelt to the sovereigns and presidents of the nations participating in the World Economic and Disarmament conferences, is given below. The reply was made public at the White House on May 19:

"I have received your message of political and economic peace to all states and I feel sure that it will meet with warm response from the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"The Soviet government, expressing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union, has never ceased, at all international conferences in which it has, for over ten years, taken part, to draw attention to the necessity for universal disarmament as an indispensable premise for peace between nations.

"The Soviet government itself proposed and supported at Geneva definite projects for universal disarmament, especially those which provided for the utmost reduction of armaments, at the same time exposing unworthy attempts to discredit the idea of disarmament by exploiting it in the interests of the national policy of some states against others. The Soviet government also proposed and supported measures aiming at preventing or at least impeding any kind of aggression or any attempt on the part of any state to enlarge its territory at the expense of others. The Soviet government has concluded non-aggression pacts with most of the countries with which it is in official relations and can therefore only welcome your proposal for the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression by all countries.

"The same may be said of the Soviet government's policy with regard to economic peace. It is common knowledge that, bearing in mind the economic interdependence of countries in all continents, we proposed at Geneva a pact for economic non-agression. Agression, whether military or economic, on the part of one country against another, affects the interests not only of the two countries concerned, but also of all other countries, by adding to the existing economic chaos.

"The Soviet government intends to continue in its efforts in the spirit of this policy. It will willingly cooperate with governments interested in the realization of such a policy, whether at the Geneva disarmament conference or at the London economic conference."

Soviet-British Trade Restrictions

FOLLOWING the British government's order issued on April 19, in connection with the trial of the British engineers in Moscow, for an embargo on 80 per cent of Great Britain's imports from the Soviet Union, retaliatory restrictive measures were taken by the Soviet government.

On the basis of the decree of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) of October 20, 1930, regarding "Economic relations with countries which have established restrictive measures in connection with trade with the U.S.S.R.," Mr. Rozenholtz, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, issued a decree on April 22, providing the following measures in regard to trade with Great Britain, to go into effect on April 26:

1. Foreign trade organizations are prohibited from giving any orders to Britain or effecting any purchases with that country.
2. Sovfracht (the Soviet government's ship chartering organization) is prohibited from chartering any vessels sailing under the British flag.
3. Restrictive rules are introduced for British goods in transit via Russia.
4. Transit and re-export organizations are ordered to reduce to the utmost utilization of British ports and bases.

These measures are to remain in force during the entire period of the validity of the embargo applied April 19 on imports to Britain of the main items of Soviet export.

Another retaliatory measure, invoked by the Commissariat for Water Transport on the basis of the "Decree on duties and payments for services rendered in the ports of the U.S.S.R." (ratified February 19, 1926), instructed all chiefs of ports to charge vessels under the British flag higher rates as port duties instead of the preferential duties British ships paid during the period of validity of the Soviet-British trade agreement.

On April 21 it was announced in London that Mr. Alexander Ozersky, trade representative of the U.S.S.R. in London and his two assistants had been recalled to Moscow for consultation.

Turkmenistan's Oil Mountain

NEFTEDAG, or Oil Mountain, is an oil-bearing hilly section, of anticlinal structure, on the shore of the Caspian Sea, in Turkmenistan, 137 kilometers from the city of Krasnovodsk. The highest point of the bill is 70.7 meters above sea level. It is surrounded by salt marshes from which smaller hillocks arise.

Recent boring for oil in sections of Neftedag where the surface is covered with red sand, where formerly it was thought there was no oil, has given excellent results. Well number 12 produced a gusher with a daily productivity of 5,000 tons, and well number 13 a gusher which has produced over 10,000 tons on some days. It is expected that still deeper oil-bearing strata will be discovered on further prospecting than have yet been exposed.

Prospecting for oil in Neftedag began fifty years ago. Beginning in 1882 quite a bit of boring was done, to no considerable depth, and not yielding very satisfactory results, because of the primitive methods employed. After 1887 the district remained a barren wilderness until the Soviet government renewed boring activities in 1927. The first efforts did not prove very fruitful, and the opinion gained ground that it was useless to expend further efforts in this direction. Prospecting carried on in the year 1930-31, however, finally determined the industrial importance of the oil reserves of Neftedag, when the first well sunk in the red sand section produced results.

The best results of all were obtained from well number 13, which produced one of the greatest gushers of recent times, comparing with some of the largest in the Baku district. Its size and force gave evidence of the extent and power of the underground reservoir from which it came, and provide grounds for some estimate as to the general extent of the Neftedag reserve.

Since the district has not been thoroughly prospected there are still not sufficient facts at hand to permit more than a preliminary estimate of its industrial importance.

In general the geological structure, a closed anticlinal fold, is favorable to the accumulation of large reserves of oil.

In the northern section of the oil-bearing district, where fairly thorough prospecting has been done, conservative estimates place the supplies at about 5,000,000 tons. An estimate of the reserves in the southern section is much more difficult to make since no prospecting whatever has been carried on there. But from its geological features and similarities with the northern section, it is reasonable to suppose that there is at least another 5,000,000 tons in this section, so

that the known reserves of Neftedag may be conservatively estimated at 10,000,000 tons. This is entirely leaving out of consideration the possibility of still deeper oil-bearing levels than have yet been reached, which a number of leading Soviet geologists feel sure exist. If prospecting now under way to reach these deeper levels has favorable results, Neftedag may prove to be one of the richest oil fields in the Soviet Union.

Still more important is the fact that Neftedag is situated on a tectonic line which passes through Cheleken, Neftedag, Monzhukly and Boyadag. In its northwesterly direction this line enters the Caspian Sea, and in this direction there are mud volcanoes. To the southeast it goes almost as far as the Amur-Daria river.

There are oil fields at Cheleken already in exploration, and there are signs of oil at Boya-dag. In Monzhukly there are carbohydrate gasses. There are also certain signs indicating the presence of oil along the line between these places. It is therefore entirely possible that further prospecting will disclose not merely separate oil fields, but an extensive oil-bearing region which will be of great industrial importance to the whole Soviet Union.

Babushka Steps Out

NOT long ago a gathering of women, most of them grandmothers, was held in Nalchik, a town on the Northern slope of the Caucasus mountain range, the capital of the Kabardino-Balkarian autonomous region, which unites some 300,000 mountain and valley peoples of various nationalities. The conference was called to discuss the role of the older women in this year's farm work and to issue an appeal to the grandmothers of the region to set an example to the younger members of the collectives. Last month the grandfathers met.

No one under 45 years was admitted to the congress. Five hundred and six delegates took part of whom more than half were between the ages of 55 and 70. There were 47 women between 70 and 80, and nine over 80 years of age. Nine nationalities were represented. The majority were Kabardines, the rest Russians, Balkarians, Ossetians, Mountain Jewesses, Georgians, as well as one German and one Polish woman. Thirty-one delegates were members of the Communist Party, and 152 were *udarniki* (shock troop workers).

It was enough to send out the call to the *starukhi* (old women—in Russian villages, any woman over 40 is given this title), and they crept out from the crevices and corners of the villages, old and bent, but rejoicing, sprightly, ready to get to work, ready to grow young again.

Many of them have never seen a city, never seen a railroad. Now they go along the streets holding tightly to one another's hands—they might so easily get lost in the great city of Nalchik!

They continue their accustomed habits, and rise with the dawn. They swarm into the hall long before time for the meeting to begin, and demand that someone play the accordion, so they can dance. And when two pairs of old ladies get together to dance the *kafa* (Kabardino national dance), three hundred years are dancing together. And how they dance! And with what spirit the gray haired old women from the Primalsk settlements sing the old Cossack songs! They sing of young love, of beautiful girls, merry songs of their own youth.

They sit in the huge hall, overwhelmed by their own numbers, proud of their honors, saddened by their disgraces. The best districts, those which have carried out their spring sowing programs, are seated in the front part of the hall, and the worst in the back, by the door.

The Red Banner won by the foremost district is against the wall on the right. And the *starukhi* of Nalchik, proud winners of the banner, will not budge from it a single inch.

The old women of Nalchik are puffed up with pride, well they know that they have surpassed all the others. They are as confident as young girls. Tsutsa Khromova from the village of Aushiger says:

"Old women, do you think I am already 63 years? No, by heaven, I am only fifteen!"

And she glides onto the stage like a swan to dance the *kafa*, her eyes cast down modestly, her face as modest as that of a bride watching the gallant dancing of the groom. But when the *starukha* Bzhenakova from Zalukokasha steps forward to take the place of the groom in the dance, Khromova refuses her.

"You backward districts!" she says, scornfully, "Go back and finish your seeding before you start dancing—"

The meeting opens. The secretary reports on the achievements of the different sections. About a hundred delegates take part in the discussion that follows.

Gitova comes on the stage, an old communist, who has seen 64 summers. For fourteen years she has been an active worker among the women. Her husband was hung by the Whites. She is

Soyuzphoto

Formerly illiterate Ossetian women and their Comsomol teacher

overloaded with social duties—assistant chairman of the village Soviet, a member of the bureau of the Communist cell, a member of the kolhoz administration, head of the women's brigade. The old women of Kabardia know, love and respect Muslamat Gitova. But today they do not want to listen to her. They call out to her:

"Go and agitate in your own village—there is nothing for you to do here among us."

Gitova throws up her hands and leaves the stage in tears, for it is true enough that her own village is very backward, and there seems no way to overcome this backwardness.

Then comes a tall and shapely and still beautiful woman of fifty-eight, Alkhudan Kabieva, from the collective Sarabasheva in Upper Balkaria. She utters one sentence only:

"Work day and night if we must, we will, but we swear to get that banner from the old women of Nalchik!"

"Your arms are short!" the women of Nalchik fling back at her.

Kudzium Taudzhikova, delegate from the village of Deiskoye in Little Kabardia, follows her to the tribune.

"Our arms may be short, but our hearts are bathed in grief at our shame," she says, "but I shall arouse my sons and daughters-in-law. I shall call together the old people and the brides. I shall not let them sleep, I shall not let them eat, until they wipe out our shame and win the Red Banner of the region!"

Next comes a Cossack woman from Svedatsky village, and pressing her hand against her old heart, cries out as only old age (87 years) could cry:

"Women, citizens, I have lived my life and I have been put back by the door. I can do no more. Our brigade has already planted wheat and sunflowers and corn, only the millet holds us back—and here am I by the door. We are old, the young ones have left us behind. But, grandmothers, aren't we Cossacks, weren't we Bolsheviks, aren't we workers? We'll get that banner if we have to die for it!"

Then, with the easy stride of a mountain woman, Mushimat Tikhova from the prize kolhoz Nartan mounts the tribune. Tikhova throws back her kerchief from her head, and with arms akimbo cries out passionately in a young, ringing voice:

"Ei, Ei—I've heard a lot of boasting here. But who can say as we kolhozniki of Sharkala that the plowing is finished and the seeding is finished, that in the furrows there's not a weed, that the sunflowers are already up to the knees, that the early wheat might be cut like hay, so high it's grown. I see some of you shaking your heads. You don't believe me—but half of you came to visit us on an excursion yesterday, and those know that Mushimat speaks the truth. We got the banner only by our shock work. Only so can you take it away. But just try! If I were left all alone in the district I would not give up th banner."

Then Khana Yazhokova, sixty-five years of age, another one from the victorious Nalchik district:

"I rejoice in our district, that it strides ahead and will yield to no one our Red Banner. Sooner will the wood rot from the staff than our hands will unclasp to give it up.

"We have fully finished the sowing and are now

extending our gardens. The grain procuring and all other plans we fulfilled 100 per cent. All implements are ready for cultivation and harvest.

"You, sitting at the door, you backward regions, listen to what an old woman from Shaithali says to you. You are backward because you harbor loafers, lie-abeds, who like to sleep a lot. Old women, it's our job to be energetic and pull the rest along. When things went hard with us, we took the place of the men. When the men wouldn't work, we took their places."

Tsuka Lakunova, 67, came next:

"Our mothers and grandmothers cannot remember such a Congress. Who would ever have called them in council, who would ever have listened to their words?

"I forget what I wanted to say. When I come into this hall it seems to me the ceiling will fall down—I never saw such a building—I never was in town. All my life I never spoke out loud.

"We do not rejoice so much that we are ahead, for there are backward ones and we must help them forward. And there are in the Union kolhozes better than ours. We must catch up with them!

"Now it is well with me; I have many friends. When our kolhoz members plowed, they had fresh cucumbers to eat. Why doesn't Urvan District work like us? The lacks in other kolhozes are a blow to us. We must somehow make it that all shall get on as well as we do."

After her came Bolldan Gochayeva, age 61, telling of the change the Muskayeva Kolhoz wrought in her life:

"Hear, old women, of my life! It is like unto yours. I was given early to a husband, and they got for me not even a tiny piece of bride-money, since we were so poor. My husband's sister was a beauty; they sold her to a landlord, but she would not live with him, and three days later they burned her alive.

"We worked for the princes; milked cows, swept floors, toiled for a crust of bread no bigger than a finger. We lived in a miserable hut. Then the kolhoz began. My sons, my grandsons and I, we have worked in the kolhoz together since the beginning—I think it is three years now.

"Now we have a new house, with a wooden floor and a wooden ceiling. Our house is all lit up, just like in town. Once we had just one wooden bunk, but now we have iron bedsteads with springs and mattresses. Once we sat on an unpainted bench, but now we have chairs. We have even a wardrobe, and placards on the walls. We have overcoats and a canvas against rain. We can even change our linen! My grandsons are clad as I never even dreamed in my youth. Then we wore wooden shoes, but now we have regular shoes and rubbers. That's because we work well. I cleared off the hay, planted the potatoes, cleaned eight hectares of stones. When my cow didn't calve, the kolhoz helped me buy another. I live well, because the kolhoz is my life."

And finally seventy-year-old Samin Kokova:

"Our arms are short and our tongues do not roll easily for shame. Our district is behind the others; our kolhoz is behind. Our workers worked lazily, so I cannot say that everything is well with us.

"But I see around me a fine work, a merry work, a new life. Here they said that we must fight to the last drop of our blood that our district shall be first. No, that is little; I will fight to the last dust of my bones."

At the end of the conference the old women made a stirring appeal to all women collective farmers in the Union. Here it is, in part:

> The sowing draws to an end. . . The days are numbered to the time for cultivating, the fight for high harvest yield.
>
> We, old women collective farmers, call on all old women collective farmers—immediately to organize complete assembly of all implements, and to see that they are in order. Carry on the fight against weeds, let no one stay at home.
>
> We take on ourselves the task of honor of inspecting the progress of cultivation and harvest. We must be in the fields all the time, and see that all goes well.
>
> We must see to it that the collective kitchens waste no food, but prepare it better than at homes; we must carry over into the fields our experience as housewives.
>
> Comrades, old women, don't rest till all the grain is gathered accurately without loss, caring for every head, keeping every grain of our collective harvest—this is our task of honor.
>
> We must also take on ourselves the work of organizing the nurseries for children, so that the mothers may work in peace; we must set aside the best women for this work.
>
> Let us count up our strength, old women, and agree in time with the administration of our kolhoz, telling what we can do in the tasks of cultivating and harvest, and showing the great strength of our devotion to the cause of collectivization.

Nezhdanova Honored

THE completion of thirty years as a leading singer of the Russian opera by Antonina Nezhdanova, one of the most gifted and most beloved of Russian sopranos, was recently celebrated. Visitors to the Soviet Union will remember hearing Nezhdanova in "Eugene Onegin," in "Sneguritchka," "Coq D'Or" and other Rimsky-Korsakov operas, in "Lohengrin," "The Barber of Seville," "Rigoletto," in Prokofiev's "Love of Three Oranges," and many other operas.

Nezhdanova was graduated from the Moscow Conservatory of Music in 1902, its honor student, and the same year made her debut at the Bolshoye Theatre, where she has been singing ever since, as well as giving many performances in other parts of the country and abroad. In 1922, during an extended concert tour which was to have included London and the United States, the

Bolshoye Theatre asked Nezhdanova to return for the opening of the season. She cancelled her tour and returned to Moscow.

Nezhdanova has received all the honors the Soviet government has to bestow. In 1929 she was made an Honored Artist of the Republic, in 1925 she was accorded the title of "People's Artist of the Republic," and on May 6 she was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labor by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

A gala performance was held at the Bolshoye Theatre on the evening of May 6, with Nezhdanova singing in acts from "The Tsar's Bride" and "Traviata." Kalinin, Voroshilov, Bubnov and Budenny occupied the government box and the theater was crowded with representatives of the Soviet theatrical and musical world, and deputations from workers' and social organizations.

After the musical program was over the curtain rose on a stage filled with fellow artists and well-wishers. Nezhdanova stood for two hours receiving warm greetings and gifts.

Knipper-Chekhova, on behalf of the Moscow Art Theater; Ippolitov-Ivanov, flanked by Myakovski and Prokofiev, bringing the homage of the composers and conductors of the Republic; the Moscow Conservatory, proud that the great soprano had made her debut in the Bolshoye Theatre as one of its students; representatives of Leningrad theaters; Sali Sano, the Japanese theatrical director, who expressed admiration for a government that so honors its artists; representatives of all of the great and lesser theaters of Moscow, of factories and government institutions, these and many others made their bow before Nezhdanova.

The New Ballet

By VICTORINA KRIGER

Ballerina of the State Art Theater of the Ballet

THE Moscow State Art Theater of the Ballet is now going through a transition stage. In the beginning the theater visualized its task in terms of acquainting the masses of the workers with the achievements of the classical ballet, and at the same time testing the reactions of the worker audiences to the art of the dance. This question was of cardinal importance to us. If the audiences of workers should prove indifferent to the ballet, that would mean that this art was no longer necessary. But after numerous trips to different parts of the country, after giving performances at factories and shops, at the new construction projects, in the workers' clubs, in the oil fields of Baku and in the mines of the Donbas, and coming everywhere into close contact with the working masses, we became firmly convinced that the art of the dance met an eager response from them, and was an essential form of entertainment for them. But we also became convinced that a classical repertoire alone was not sufficient for the workers. They also required pieces that would be in closer harmony with the present epoch.

Our original repertoire consisted of classical pieces only, so it was necessary to create an entirely new repertoire. Our first attempt in this direction was "Carmanola," a revolutionary piece which, while it had many defects, also represented a positive advance in the sense of throwing off some of the old academic traditions and finding our way toward new themes. Through the production of "Carmanola" we discovered the weaknesses of our technical equipment and learned that we must completely change our whole method of work. Whereas in the past the center of attention had been on the performance of the individual dancers, it was now necessary to concentrate on the subject matter and the performance of the dancers as a whole.

The creation of a new repertoire meant the creation of a new type of dancer as well, a dancer in whom the art of pantomime will be as highly developed as that of the dance itself. This does not mean that we in any sense deny the importance of the dance. Without a highly developed technique of the dance there would be no ballet. But the dance must not be self-sufficient, divorced from the action. It must be completely bound up with the action, must flow out of it. The dance must be the expression of the idea of the piece.

In order to train the new type of dancer, it is necessary to break down the walls that have separated the ballet from the best achievements of the modern theater. In applying the experience of the theater to the training of our dancers, it is natural that we should turn, first of all, to the Moscow Art Theater, which has developed the training of its actors to such a high point.

This does not mean that we shall blindly apply the methods of training used by the Moscow Art Theater to the ballet. We shall strive to adapt it to the needs of the ballet, taking from it only what can be of real use to us. We know that a long and difficult road is before us, experimental in many respects. We are by no means seeking for novelty for its own sake. It is possible, even, that for our first experiment we shall take some one of the old ballets and revise both the libretto and the production in accordance with our new philosophy. We shall keep what is best of the old, draw on the experiences of the modern theater, as well as the vital subject matter presented by the life around us, and so, at last, we hope to achieve a new ballet worthy of the new epoch.

DEATH OF SVIDERSKY

On May 10 Alexey Ivanovich Svidersky, Soviet diplomatic representative in Latvia since 1929, died in Riga. His ashes were taken to Moscow and the urn buried in the Kremlin wall.

SOVIET STRATOSPHERE ASCENT

The ascent into the stratosphere being planned by a group of Soviet engineers, scientists and aviators is scheduled to take place early in July. A trial flight will first be held by E. E. Chertovsky, the engineer in charge of the construction of the stratostat VA-1, which will make the flight, and his assistant, Vasenko, who expect to reach a height of 10 to 12 kilometers. In the second ascent, to reach 22 kilometers, Academician Joffe, the eminent Soviet physicist, and Professor Rynin, leading authority in aeronautics, will take part. The ascent will be made from a point in the central part of the Soviet Union. The stratostat has been constructed entirely according to specifications of Soviet specialists at Soviet plants.

The committee in charge of the flight has organized a scientific bureau which is working out details of the flight and observations to be taken and will analyze the data obtained.

In an interview with the press concerning the flight, Mr. Chertovsky made the following statement:

"The Leningrad Provincial Council of Osoaviakhim began to work out the project of the VA-1, a balloon designed for flights into the stratosphere in 1930. In October, 1932, the project was completed. Work on the actual construction of the balloon was begun on Feb. 1, 1933, and is to be finished in June.

"The VA-1 balloon will have a volume of 22,000 cubic meters. The envelope of the balloon is being made from special rubberized material. Attached to the envelope will be a hermetically sealed gondola enclosed in a cane basket. The cabin will be of material ensuring that the passengers will not be affected by harmful rays."

SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE

Soviet foreign trade for the first quarter of 1933 showed a turnover of 200,500,000 gold rubles (approximately $100,250,000). Exports were 112,103,000 rubles and imports were 88,401,000 rubles, giving a favorable balance of 23,702,000 rubles. Exports for the same period of last year were 144,536,000 rubles and imports were 192,120,000 rubles. The reduction of imports was 54 per cent and of exports 22 per cent.

The principal countries figuring in the trade turnover were as follows:

	Imports (*thousands of rubles*)	*Exports*
Germany	46,529	26,631
England	6,295	21,695
Western China	5,451	3,725
Italy	4,892	5,583
Mongolia	4,311	5,867
United States	3,938	2,462
Persia	2,674	3,627

Imports from the United States showed a drop of 58 per cent, as compared with the same peiod of 1932.

Book Notes

"RED VIRTUE," by Ella Winter. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1933. $3.00.

This study of human relationships in the new Russia answers many questions long unanswered for Americans as to how the people of the U.S.S.R. live from day to day, as to what is "done" and "not done" under the new standard of values. It is the most complete study that has been made of manners and morals under the Soviet regime, touching a wide range of related subjects—problems of women and the family, ethics, psychology, the courts, children, housing, art. Miss Winter's study is especially valuable because she has given not only the theoretical basis of the changing morality, but depicts vividly the actual effect of the deep social change that has taken place on the lives of individuals and, most important of all, she quotes richly from many conversations with the new citizens themselves, among whom she has a wide acquaintance, giving their own ideas on all the subjects of which she treats. The book is well illustrated with photographs, and contains an excellent bibliography and index.

"THE RED FLAG AT ARARAT," by A. Y. Yeghenian. The Woman's Press, New York, 1932. $2.00.

This is the story of a visit to Soviet Armenia by an Armenian woman now resident in the United States. It is an unpretentious narrative of personal experience and observation. The story is written with both simplicity and charm. The whole gives an interesting picture of one of the smaller national republics of the Soviet Union. There are many photographs of Armenian scenes and characters.

"AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT RUSSIA," by George A. Burrell. The Stratford Company, Boston, 1932. $2.50.

Colonel Burrell is an American engineer who spent eighteen months in the Soviet Union under employment by the Soviet petroleum industry. His book is a forthright narrative of his experiences and impressions. The author's descriptions of the things he saw and his own mode of living are interesting and obviously sincere. When he gets into inferences from things he has heard the results are sometimes a bit grotesque. The book contains many photographic illustrations.

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(*Continued from page* 144)

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"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhys Williams. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1921.
"The Russian Soviet Republic," by Edward A. Ross. The Century Co., New York, 1923.
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ECONOMIC SITUATION

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Litvinov at London

Speech made by Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, at the World Economic Conference in London, June 14, 1933.

THIS is the third time in the last six years that the Soviet government has responded to an invitation to take part in an international conference dealing with economic problems, although it derives from its world outlook a special conception of the laws of economic development under the capitalist system and the causes underlying the acute periodical crisis inherent in this system.

Thanks to the specific nature of the economic system in my country the world crisis has been unable to affect the steady development of its economic life, and such symptoms as over-production, the accumulation of stocks of goods for which no market can be found, unemployment, increase in foreign indebtedness, bankruptcy and wage-cuts are conspicuous by their absence. And yet the crisis is not without its unfavorable effect on the development of our foreign trade. Although perfectly able, thanks to the success of the first five-year plan, to develop its own economic life independently of imports and foreign markets, my government has no desire to shut itself off from the rest of the world by economic barriers, or to withdraw into its own economic shell, and in spite of the ever-increasing productivity of its own industry it is not addicted to "autarchy," and has no objection to advantageous imports of foreign goods.

Our president in his opening speech has drawn a gloomy enough picture of the economic situation. He mentioned 30,000,000 as the extent of unemployment. If we add to this figure part-time employment and the dependents on unemployed, it will hardly be an exaggeration to say that at least 60,000,000 persons are eking out a semi-starved existence in countries embraced by the crisis.

At the same time there has been a catastrophic drop in the earnings of those who are still in employment, and a corresponding drop in purchasing power and consumption, leading in its turn to an accumulation of stocks, in spite of a decline in the production, and an unprecedented shrinkage in foreign trade returns.

I have already remarked that crisis-phenomena are lacking in the Soviet Union, which, with the crisis growing steadily in other countries, has successfully developed its own economy and industry at rates never before seen. While in the rest of the world industrial output in 1932 fell 33 per cent, as compared with 1928, it rose 219

per cent in the Soviet Union for the same period. While in most countries the number of those employed has gone down catastrophically, in the U.S.S.R. the number of employed persons went up during the last four years from 11,600,000 to 22,800,000.

Had I time to quote figures for each separate country I should have no difficulty in showing that the world crisis is the sum total of economic crises in various countries, and the result of the decline in the economic life in these countries, and that, reacting on each other, each state has contributed to the phenomenon which we call world crisis. The only exception is the Soviet state, in which throughout the crisis years not only have there been no manifestations which might be regarded as symptoms of a decline in economic life, but on the contrary economic life has shown intensive development. It cannot therefore in any way have contributed to the world crisis, or be held responsible for the shrinkage of international trade. On the contrary, while the imports of other countries, ever since the beginning of the crisis, have been showing a steady tendency to decline, and by 1931 showed a reduction of over 40 per cent, imports to the Soviet Union during the first years of the crisis continued to show steady increase, reaching in 1931 their highest point—about 560,000,000 gold dollars. It was only the measures adopted in various countries undergoing the crisis, causing a reduction in Soviet exports, that, in 1932, forced the Soviet government to revise its import plans.

Even so, there was in 1932 only a 20.2 per cent reduction as compared with 1929, while the corresponding reduction in world trade amounted to 58.8 per cent. It may, therefore, be safely said that the Soviet Union, while having had no part in the creation of the conditions bringing about the world crisis, has itself been to a certain extent affected by this crisis, in respect of its foreign trade.

This Conference has set itself the task of finding measures for putting an end to, or at least mitigating, the crisis. As far as may be judged from the agenda drawn up by experts for the Conference, attention is to be concentrated upon questions regarding limitation of output, tariffs, methods of credit policy and of raising prices. Not wishing to go into a theoretical discussion on these points, the Soviet delegation ventures to express doubt as to the adequacy of such methods for fighting the crisis. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation it would be better to concentrate upon the potential absorption of the stocks which are exercising pressure upon the markets, and upon attempts to enable the industries making the means of production to increase the use of their capacity. I think the work of the Conference might be more effective if it could hear from the lips of the various delegates what possibilities in this respect are open to their countries, what are the prospects of a revival of economic life and expansion of imports into these countries, and take corresponding action. Following up this suggestion the Soviet delegation is ready to give a reply to these questions as far as the state it represents is concerned.

The Soviet government as a rule draws up its import plans in strict accordance with its export possibilities and credit facilities. But the Soviet delegation could conceive of conditions, such as lengthened credits, normal conditions for Soviet exports and other favorable factors, which might induce its government to extend these plans to a degree which would have no small influence in the alleviation of the crisis. According to the calculations of the Soviet delegation, the Soviet government, given such conditions, might agree to place orders abroad in the near future to the sum of about one billion dollars. To be still more definite, the Soviet Union could in the near future absorb about 200 million dollars worth of ferrous metals, 100 million dollars worth of raw materials for the textile, leather and rubber industries, 400 million dollars worth of machinery, including railway equipment to the value of 100 million, 35 million dollars worth of agricultural goods, including breed stock, 50 million dollars worth of consumers' goods, such as tea, cocoa, coffee, herring, 50 million dollars worth of new

Soyuzphoto

Maxim M. Litvinov

ships, chiefly for industrial purposes such as fishing, seal hunting, dredging, and so on.

The significance of these figures will be more evident if it is realized that they amount to from 25 to 66 per cent of existing world stocks in respect to such metals as aluminum, nickel, copper and lead, to 100 per cent in the case of some of the consumers' goods mentioned, to one-third of the annual world export of machinery and 100 per cent of last year's total shipbuilding output.

It only remains for me to add that the vast majority of countries here represented might be supposed to be interested in the export of the commodities I have enumerated.

It should be clearly understood that the figures I have quoted would be in excess of any plan already drawn up by the Soviet government and do not apply to goods urgently required by it, and to be ordered under present conditions. We merely wished to set this Conference along the path which, in our opinion, is the most likely to lead to effective results in the sense of alleviating the crisis, and to show an example to other delegations. It seems to us that if other delegations were able to state with the same frankness and precision the import potentialities of their countries, and the conditions which would make such imports practicable, the existing chaos in international economic relations might be to a certain extent reduced, and a way found which would, better than any other, lead the Conference to the end it has set itself.

By making such a suggestion we are far from inviting the Conference to lose sight of other aspects of the situation, such as artificial obstacles and barriers in the way of international economic relations. We should be the last to deny that the application by states of methods of economic warfare in their economic relations is making worse an international economic situation which is bad enough as it is. Herein must be included all methods of discrimination, tariff wars, covert or overt, currency wars, the discriminatory prohibition of imports or exports and all forms of official boycott.

I have already had occasion as a delegate to the Commission of Inquiry for European Union to recommend economic disarmament and to propose the conclusion of a pact of economic non-aggression. Unfortunately this proposal was itself the victim of aggression, taken prisoner and thrown into a dungeon—one of the League of Nations commissions. I would venture to remind the Conference of this proposal, which in my opinion is now still more appropriate and necessary than when it was first advanced by me, seeing that measures of economic aggression have not only been diminished since them, but have developed still more and more and are assuming new forms every day.

I think, gentlemen, I have said enough for you to understand that the Soviet delegation, which is against all forms of economic aggression, cannot object to the proposal for an economic truce. Although under the system of state monopoly in foreign trade existing in my country customs duties do not play so important a part as in other countries, since no amount of customs dues can have a direct influence on the total sum of Soviet imports, other countries can by no means be indifferent to the customs duties established for them in the Soviet Union. Supposing, for instance, state and cooperative economic organizations with fixed limits established for their capital investments but with free play within these limits, order equipment and goods from abroad; they are bound to have an interest in seeing that the order should absorb the least possible proportion of their capital investments or revolving capital. Having the choice of several countries, other things being equal, they naturally give preference to the country granted, in virtue of trade agreement, the lowest customs duties in the U.S.S.R. Thus the consent of the Soviet government to an economic truce is of no small importance for other countries.

The Soviet delegation also considers that an economic truce might be really effective and do something to clear the economic atmosphere only if states refrain from applying existing measures of economic warfare, as well as from the introduction of new ones. By speaking of a truce we acknowledge the existence of a state of war. An armistice means the cessation of all fighting, and not merely abstention from beginning fresh battles. The same should be true of economic warfare and the truce ought to mean the cessation of all hostilities. The Soviet delegation therefore, while supporting the resolution for an economic truce, would propose that it be supplemented by an undertaking for the simultaneous suspension in all countries of all legislative or administrative measures of economic warfare, and will propose a resolution to that effect.

The Soviet delegation would like to hope that the Conference will not confine itself to the adoption of such temporary measures, but will go on to convert the truce into a prolonged peace. One way of doing this might be to release from its dungeon the Soviet proposal for economic non-aggression, which in the face of ever-increasing economic war during the last two years might now be developed and extended.

I am sure, gentlemen, that you all realize that economic peace is only possible against the background of peace in all phases of international life. However excellent may be the resolutions passed by the Economic Conference they will have no influence whatsoever in the alleviation of the economic crisis so long as we continue to be in the present state of general political uneasiness and perturbation, with the uncertainty as to what the morrow will bring forth, and the fear of the outbreak at any moment of that most ter-

rible manifestation of economic conflict—war. This sentiment of general anxiety has not only not been allayed of late, but if anything, has increased, in spite of international consultations and the conclusion of pacts. Indeed, we are now cognizant of international consultations and pacts which have actually added to political mistrust. Nothing but radical measures in the sphere of disarmament and the strengthening of security guarantees by the signing of bi-lateral and general pacts of non-aggression, could, to some extent, calm these fears and create the proper atmosphere for peaceful economic relations.

One factor, and that no inconsiderable one, in the creation of political uncertainty, is the attitude of the capitalist world to the state of 170 million inhabitants which has adopted the Soviet system and is endeavoring to bring about socialism, that is to say, the realization of a theory which would make all international wars and economic crises an impossibility. Although the International Economic Conference of 1927 adopted a resolution admitting the principle of the peaceful co-existence at the present historical stage of two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—this principle has up to the present not been put into practice by all states. Even in the sphere of economics, special barriers have still been preserved, hampering the free development of economic cooperation between certain countries and the country of the Soviets. Some countries in which these barriers have been removed are, from time to time, putting them up again. The Soviet government for its part has always adhered strictly and consistently to the principle of peaceful co-existence and abstained from all possible measures of aggression in all spheres of international life, in which, of course, counter-reprisals cannot be included. Soviet delegations have acted in the spirit of the peaceful policy of their government and the peoples represented by them, at all international conferences in which they have taken part. The Soviet delegation attends this Conference in the same spirit.

Economic Notes

WITH more than four-fifths of the spring sowings completed at the end of May, the planting campaign in the Soviet Union was showing the results of the careful preliminary organization and the thorough preparation made this year. Areas that had completed their sowings by June 1 were the Moscow province, Chuvash republic, Tartar republic, Middle Volga province, German Volga republic, Daghestan republic, Moldavian republic and Georgia. The Ukraine and the North Caucasus, key sectors in the grain harvest, had each sown 82.2 per cent of their quotas. East Siberia was the most backward section of the country, with only 42.5 per cent of the scheduled sowings completed. Sowings are always late in this region of long winters.

Harvesting with Soviet combines on "Gigant" State farm

Total sowings up to June 1 were 78,864,000 hectares, or 83 per cent of the program. At the same date last year the total sowings were 75,132,000 hectares. By June 10 the total sowings of this year had moved up to 87,901,000 hectares, or 92.5 per cent of the program. The total at the same date last year was 86,700,000 hectares.

The indication as of early June is that the spring sowing program will be fully realized, probably somewhat exceeded. The program for last year, which was about 5 per cent larger than that of this year, was fulfilled less than 95 per cent.

The grain harvest in advanced districts begins about the middle of July.

Upwards of four-fifths of the area sown this year is embraced in the "socialized sector" of collective and state farms.

Coincident with the spring sowing campaign has gone the campaign for public subscriptions

to the 3,000,000,000-ruble loan, called the loan of the first year of the second five-year plan. By June 15 the loan was already oversubscribed, 3,050,400,000 rubles having been taken in. Subscriptions were still continuing when this amount was reported. As of June 1, Leningrad and Moscow provinces led all other sections of the country with subscriptions representing 120.6 per cent and 119.4 per cent of their quotas, respectively. Rural subscriptions this year were greater than ever in the past.

This is the largest of the various industrialization loans designed to raise capital for the planned development of the country. The first, in 1927, was for 200,000,000 rubles.

The output of industry in May, as indicated in key production, showed the usual recessions as compared with April, owing to the May Day holidays, but registered substantial gains as compared with May, 1932. Production of tractors for the month was 6,120 as compared with 2,697 in May, 1932, an increase of 120 per cent. The Stalingrad plant more than doubled its production as compared with last year and the Kharkov plant increased its output 160 per cent, while the plant at Cheliabinsk, the new Soviet "giant" formally opened June 1, turned out a preliminary production of twelve large caterpillar tractors.

The output of motor trucks was 2,989, as compared with 950 in May, 1932. In addition the Gorky plant near Nizhni-Novgorod produced 600 passenger cars. The output of both tractors and motor trucks exceeded the planned schedule for the month.

While the total figures for pig iron, coal and steel for May were not yet available, daily output was up 7 per cent, 13 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively, as compared with May, 1932. Reports for the first ten-day period of June showed higher daily output than in May.

The opening of the new tractor plant, at Cheliabinsk in the Urals, June 1, marked the inauguration of another of the Soviet "industrial giants." At full capacity the plant is built to turn out annually 40,000 60-h. p. caterpillar-type tractors. The program for 1933 is set modestly for an output of 2,000 tractors, starting with a schedule of five a week and working up to a production of 610 tractors in December.

Initial construction work on the great plant began toward the close of 1929. The buildings cover 85,000 square meters, a space twice as large as that covered by Stalingrad plant. It has a much larger proportion of Soviet-made equipment than its two predecessors at Stalingrad and Kharkov. All the furnaces, including the electric furnaces, are of Soviet construction, as are the iron and steel foundry conveyors, and the other transport installations were built and erected by Soviet organizations. The plant includes the latest technical advances derived from the United States and European countries.

Cheliabinsk, formerly a typical provincial Russian town, with nothing but decrepit wooden houses, has already become a thriving industrial center. Apart from the tractor plant a powerful electric station of 100,000 kw. has been built in the city. There is also an electro-metallurgical plant producing ferro-silic, ferro-chrome and other alloys required for the production of high grade steels. A plant producing abrasive materials essential to the automobile and tractor industry has also been built in the city and is already operating, and numerous modern buildings are going up.

Three kilometers from the town, along a broad new motor road, the workers' city of the Cheliabinsk tractor plant is going up. It already has a population of 15,000, and when completed will be able to house 60,000 in modern apartment houses. A sound cinema is already functioning, as well as dispensaries, kindergartens, schools, a cooperative restaurant and factory kitchen, and a large clubhouse is nearing completion.

A section of the new Cheliabinsk tractor plant **Soyuzphoto**

The Soviet Chemical Industry

By V. VOLKOVA

Translated from "Molodaya Gvardia" (The Young Guard) for April, 1933.

THE growth of the Soviet chemical industry is one of the outstanding achievements of the five-year plan. Before the revolution the chemical industry was on an extremely low level. In the past four years dozens of new *combinats** and factories have sprung up, giants of the chemical industry have replaced the former small, primitive enterprises. The manufacture of nitrogen, sulphuric acid, superphosphates, mineral salts, aniline and lacquer dyes, synthetic rubber, artificial fibre, drugs, and many other chemical products has been built up anew or entirely reconstructed on almost barren territory. A sum of almost a billion and a half rubles has been spent on the creation of the chemical industry, which has meant a renewal of its basic capital by 81 per cent.

Chemistry is one of the basic factors in the development of the productive powers of the country. Let us take, for example, sulphuric acid, the foundation of the whole chemical industry. On it are dependent both ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the oil, dye, textile, leather, paper, printing, artificial fibre, and many other industries. Therefore, the extent of the manufacture of sulphuric acid may be taken as an index of the development not merely of the chemical industry, but of industry as a whole. In Tsarist Russia, in 1913, there was manufactured altogether 150,000 metric tons of sulphuric acid, or 1.4 kilograms per each member of the population, while in Germany, in the same year, the amount was 28 kilograms, in France 25.5 kilograms, in England 23 kilograms, and in America 22.5 kilograms. In 1921 production dropped to 11,000 tons of sulphuric acid. The first year of the five-year plan, 1928-29, the output was 271,800 metric tons. Through the reconstruction of old sulphuric acid plants and the building of new ones during the four years of the plan—including the Chernorechensk Combinat, the Berezniki, Bobriki, Voskresensk, Nevski, Aktiubinsk and other plants, 800,000 tons of sulphuric acid were produced in 1932. From the crude, half-primitive factories of the past we have graduated to well equipped modern plants producing hundreds of thousands of tons of acid a year. Especially important has been our release from the necessity of importing raw materials. However strange it may appear, our old plants, in spite of our enormous natural wealth, depended on imported pyrites. Only after the beginning of the five-year plan did our factories begin to use pyrites from the Ural region. They went further, and learned to use the tailings from the flotation process, the by-product gases that escape from blast furnaces and coal pyrites and other sources which increased the raw material basis of the sulphuric acid industry. These methods are, to be sure, an old story in America. The important thing is that the Soviet chemical industry is being built up from the beginning on advanced processes which it has taken years of experimentation to develop elsewhere, and which through centralized planning can be applied in the most effective way, without duplication or waste.

The manufacture of mineral fertilizers is of exceptional importance for us. While Tsarist Russia held the foremost place in the world with regard to the extent of its seeded area, it was on the level with China, Turkey and other backward countries in the manufacture of mineral fertilizers. The very low crop yield was largely due to this. The revolution found our agriculture literally at a medieval stage of development—at least 150 years behind the countries of Western Europe, due largely to the lack of mineral fertilizers. It is enough to point out that Holland, for example, used 6.5 centners of mineral fertilizer per hectare, while its average yield was 28.1 centners per hectare; Germany, with a yield of 22.1 centners per hectare, used 3 centners of mineral fertilizer per hectare; while Russia, with a yield of 6.3 centners per hectare, used .01 centners of mineral fertilizer.

Previous to the five-year plan, we not only had no industry of our own for the manufacture of mineral fertilizers, but did not even have sufficient information as to the extent of our raw materials for this purpose. The work of our geologists during the five-year plan has revealed rich sources of raw materials for the production of mineral fertilizers. Enormous quantities of phosphates and potassium have been found. On January 1, 1928, our known resources of phosphate ores (group A.2) amounted altogether to 22,000,000 tons; by January, 1932, they had grown to 512,000,000 tons. Before the war we imported from Germany upwards of 80,000 tons of potassium chloride annually. Now the first thousand tons of Soviet potassium have already been used on Soviet fields, procured in the process of sinking the shaft of the first potash salt mine at Solikamsk. The first potash mine, planned for an output of 1,500,000 tons a year, will soon be ready for exploitation. Work has also been begun on the second potassium mine at Solikamsk. By 1937 it is expected to procure 12,000,000 tons from this source.

The Solikamsk potassium deposits are not, as has previously been supposed, the only ones in

*A combination of several related industrial processes.

the U.S.S.R. Recent explorations have revealed extensive potassium deposits in the Ural Emba region and in the Turcoman Republic.

In the course of carrying out the five-year plan we have put life into whole new districts. We have opened up the tundra (frozen plains of the Far North), the taiga (dense Siberian forests), quicksand areas, boundless steppe-lands, mountain peaks. In the deep forests of the far Northern Urals, in place of the old Stroganov salt and soda works, the huge Berezniki chemical *combinat* has grown up, one of the largest nitrogenous fertilizer industries in the world. Its base is Kizelovsk coking coal, Solikamsk-Berezniki potassium, and phosphorites from Verkhnekaina. On the basis of these raw materials the *combinat* will produce 250,000 tons of the most important types of fertilizers—nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. The first section of the *combinat* is already in operation and is producing synthetic ammonium, potash and other chemicals formerly imported from abroad.

The chemical industry has also gone beyond the Arctic Circle, and has begun to exploit the Khibinsk apatite deposits. Two or three years ago foreign specialists were assuring us that nothing whatever would come of these apatite deposits. Now no one can doubt their value. In Khibinsk the first section of the huge factory built to produce 250,000 tons of concentrates from the apatites has started operations. Thus the raw materials for the most important of fertilizers, phosphoric acid, have been found. The possibilities for the use of apatite are, however, still more extensive. Close to the apatite deposits, deposits of the important mineral nepheline have been found. Nepheline is used in the manufacture of glass, tanning, treating of wood (to make it fireproof), and finally in the manufacture of aluminum products.

The cotton fields of Central Asia are especially in need of phosphates. A special *combinat* for their production is being constructed in Aktiubinsk, in Kazakstan. In 1926, the known industrial reserves of raw material for phosphates for the whole Soviet Union amounted to 40,000,000 tons. By 1931 they had increased to 1,200,000,000 tons—thirty-fold.

Through the close connection between scientific research in chemistry and the requirements of agriculture, types of fertilizer almost unknown to us previously have been disclosed. Among these must be mentioned first of all ammonium chloride, a fertilizer with exceptionally valuable qualities. Very important, too, is the use of peat as a fertilizer in the north and central regions of the U.S.S.R., where its largest deposits are to be found.

The fight against agricultural pests of all kinds is of the greatest importance for our efforts to increase crop yields—since about 30,000,000 tons of grain are destroyed annually in this way. The only reliable methods of defense against them are chemical ones. The chemical products necessary for this purpose—vitriol, carbon bisulphide and others — have been developed extensively. The production of formalin for the treatment of seeds has also greatly increased. Upwards of 100,000,000 tons of grain could easily be added to the harvest of the collectives and state farms through the proper mobilization of our chemical resources.

The development of chemical by-products of wood—the source of formalin—is of the greatest importance in the application of chemistry to agriculture, as well as in the development of our whole national economy. The main chemical wood by-products—cellulose, viscose, rosin, turpentine, tar, formalin, acetic acid, wood alcohol, acetylene, and others—are needed in large quantities by the paper, textile, viscose, pharmaceutical, and other branches of industry. The chemical working up of wood gives at least twenty-five different products. In this way fire-proof wood is produced, as well as alcohol, yeast and sugar. Different kinds of fabric are made from wood products treated chemically. The basis for our wood chemical industry is provided by the main timber areas of the U.S.S.R., which cover 900,000,000 hectares, exclusive of local wooded areas. In producing building material, the sawmills use only about 37 per cent of the lumber—the remaining 63 per cent is waste material, which is a burden on the industry, as it takes up a lot of room, increases the fire hazard, and its disposal merely adds to production costs. In 1933, out of 350,000,000 cubic meters of timber, 210,000,000 cubic meters went to waste. In the wood chemical industry this material is used for the manufacture of valuable products. In Tsarist Russia there were just a few primitive enterprises in this field, the entire production of which was limited to the distillation of tar, rosin, or at best, turpentine. All the remaining chemical products of wood were imported from abroad. We are now beginning to export some of these very products previously imported.

Fuel is also an important source of chemical products. Nitrogenous fertilizers, coal tar paints, chemical drug preparations, synthetic fuel equivalent to gasoline, synthetic rubber—hundreds and thousands of other chemical products are the result either of the chemical working up of coal, peat, schist and other fuels, or are by-products of the coking process.

The coking of coal for the requirements of metallurgy gives off coal tar as a by-product, which represents the basis of the important aniline dye industry. The gases of the coking and blast furnaces serve also as a very important raw material for the chemical industry. Almost 80 per cent of the entire present output of the chemical industry is based on the working up in one form or another of the products of the fuel industry. The chemical industry has had signal success in utilizing local low quality fuels poorly adapted for

burning. For example, schist, of which there are large deposits in the Middle Volga and Leningrad regions, and which makes a very poor fuel, is a very valuable product for the chemical industry. It can be used in the rubber industry, for liquid fuel, medical preparations, valuable gases. As a result of the coking process, peat produces coke for the smelting of high quality steel. The gas given off in the process serves as raw material for nitrogenous fertilizers, wood alcohol, and thus may serve as an important substitute for oil, especially for such remote regions as the Urals and Siberia.

The combined use of low quality coal gives important results. The example of this is the Bobriki power and chemical *combinat*. The coal of the Moscow basin has always been considered to be of the lowest quality, little adapted for use. It has been used for industry only when absolutely necessary because of a shortage of Donetz coal. This is understandable if we consider that the Moscow coal contains 30-35 per cent moisture, 18-20 per cent ashes, and 5 per cent sulphur, that is, about 62 per cent is waste. The old Russian mine owners were very neglectful of this coal region. Instead of having the mines properly worked, they merely scratched the surface of the deposits without really ascertaining the actual wealth of the region. Prospecting has revealed 800,000,000 tons of coal, and it is estimated that the total reserves are 6,000,000,000 tons. It has also been demonstrated that the coal may be transformed to coke which can be used for generators and boiler furnaces. The coal fragments burn beautifully in the modern furnaces. The injurious components—pyrites—are used for the production of sulphuric acid, and the ashes, which have previously simply been a burden because of their large quantity, have proved valuable because they contain upwards of 40 per cent of aluminum oxide. The clay which is inserted between the layers of coal is also rich in aluminum. At the Leningrad experimental plant metal aluminum has been obtained from this clay which is not inferior in its quality to the foreign product. In the same basin there is a fireproof clay with a fusion temperature of 1,740 degrees, which can be used in the manufacture of fireproof brick. The complex uses of the variety of raw materials of this region are so organized that the waste product of one process is utilized as the basis for another. There are fourteen different plants in the Bobriki chemical *combinat:* sulphuric acid, aluminum oxide, synthetic ammonium, nitric acid, hydrated pitch, synthetic spirits, chloride producing and semi-coking plants, of a combined productivity of 460,000 tons a year. Since the beginning of the five-year plan, a town of 40,000 inhabitants—the builders and workers in this gigantic enterprise—has grown up in this formerly empty and uninhabited region. The ceramics plant is already in operation, and of the group of chemical plants the synthetic ammonium factory is ready for production.

The creation of an automobile industry of our own during the first five-year plan has resulted in important demands on the rubber industry.

The old plants "Krasny Treugolnik," "Bogatyr" and others, even though expanded and reconstructed, are no longer sufficient. Some of this need has been covered by the new Yaroslavl giant built during the piatiletka. Rubber is the only raw material in which our country has been lacking and in which we have had to depend on imports. Now this problem has been solved and we have our own Soviet rubber. It comes firstly from the plantations of rubber-bearing plants developed in Central Asia and the Ukraine, and secondly from the new synthetic rubber factories. The Yaroslavl plant is already manufacturing automobile tires from Soviet rubber.

Of exceptional interest and importance for our entire national economy is the manufacture of artificial fibre which is completely changing the nature and organization of the modern textile industry. Artificial fibre is not only in itself a useful product of mass consumption, but, in com-

The Yaroslavl Rubber and Asbestos Combinat before completion

bination with natural raw materials, it increases the general level of textile goods.

In Tsarist Russia there was only a negligible embryo of this important branch of industry—one small factory which produced barely a hundred tons of silk a year, while an additional 700-800 tons was imported. In the first five-year plan thirteen new factories were scheduled to be built in the Western region, in Moscow and in Leningrad. The first three factories are already working. In the sphere of artificial fibre-production we have moved forward to one of the first places in the world—along with Germany and England—coming directly after the United States.

The oil industry has been completely reconstructed and mechanized on the basis of modern chemistry. The simple process of distilling oil to obtain kerosene and gasoline is accompanied by the loss of many products of value and importance to the national economy. But under the cracking process which has been developed extensively under the five-year plan, many useful by-products are procured.

The five-year plan for the chemical industry was not merely fulfilled, but over-fulfilled, both as to quantity and quality. The production of synthetic rubber, oxygen, iodine, and other chemical products went beyond the requirements of the plan.

Not only was the Russian chemical industry extremely weak, but chemical machine construction did not exist at all in Tsarist times. The meagre sum of 200,000 rubles a year for "chemical vessels" was all that was spent for the chemical industry. No complicated chemical apparatus was produced. Now a chemical machine construction industry has been created, and in 1932 the production of special apparatus for the various chemical plants amounted to 6,000,000 rubles.

How Soviet Artists Live and Work

Adapted from an article by K. Kravchenko

IN the spring of 1932 an important change took place in the Soviet policy toward art. The change has opened up much greater opportunities for the work of the artists and writers of the Soviet Union than previously existed and has borne fruit in greatly increased artistic activity during the past year. Up until that time Soviet writers and artists were greatly hampered by the policies of certain organizations which held an extremely dogmatic point of view as to the form and content of revolutionary art and literature and exercised such a rigid censorship that much creative activity was stifled. In the literary field, the organization was "The Association of Proletarian Writers" (RAPP), which consisted entirely of Communist Party members. In April, 1932, by order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, RAPP was disbanded, and in its stead a non-partisan organization known as the "Union of Soviet Writers" was formed. This has had a very healthy effect, since the more liberal attitude of the new organization has brought back many of the *poputchiki* (fellow-travelers—non-Communists, but sympathizers), temporarily silenced because of the narrowness of vision of the RAPP group, into creative activity.

The "Association of Revolutionary Artists" (AKHRR), played a somewhat similar role among artists. The situation here was more complicated, however, since there were a great many different artists' organizations, each proclaiming that its style of painting was the only one permissible from a revolutionary point of view, and a great deal of energy was dissipated in the dissension among these various groups. In line with the new policy AKHRR and the various other groups were united into a single "Union of Soviet Artists" at the same time the new literary organization was formed. This union is an entirely voluntary organization to which any artist may belong, which exercises no dogmatic control, but frankly recognizing this as an experimental period, gives free rein to the development of different trends and styles of art to express the new epoch, and permits the organization of different groups within the union. Without any attempt to regiment the work of Soviet artists, the new union does strive to bring the artists into more vital contact with the living issues of the day, to arouse their interest in the problems of socialist construction, to use their gifts to the fullest possible extent in beautifying the new buildings and towns and raising the artistic standards of the people. The mass pageantry of the great national holidays—May first, November seventh, and others, for example, offers a new and exciting field of activity to the Soviet artist. Groups of artists are given different sections of the city to decorate for such occasions. Artists and theatrical producers help plan the demonstrations. Thus, when airplanes zoom over the Red Square, tiny airplane emblems, like grace notes, are raised in the hands of the marching workers below. The formation of the workers as they pour into the square is composed as carefully as a great paint-

ing. The massed banners flowing over their heads at intervals are of blending rich red hues instead of the many clashing shades one used to see. Much of Soviet pictorial art of today goes into this sort of thing, but there is plenty of encouragement for the easel artist, too, not now frowned on as out-of-date, as was the case a few years back.

It is recognized that the artists can function well only if the necessary material base is provided. There is generous government assistance to this end, and the artists' cooperative, *Vsyekohudozhnik*," established in 1929, does much to provide a practical material basis for the artists' work.

The cooperative has a membership of four thousand throughout the R.S.F.S.R. alone, and has sixteen branches in the larger cities, its chief groups being in Moscow and Leningrad. We shall examine the work of the Moscow cooperative, since it is typical of the other cities as well. The Moscow cooperative has a membership of 809 painters, 208 sculptors, 370 graphic artists, 46 architects, 418 decorative artists, 251 commercial artists, and others.

On the one hand, this cooperative includes organizations producing art supplies such as paints, brushes, canvases, etc., and on the other it has its own art workshops where a staff of artists is constantly employed. *Vsyekohudozhnik* so plans its budget that it has funds to purchase works of art, to send artists out on special commissions, give special orders, organize art classes, and so on.

The income of *Vsyekohudozhnik* is chiefly provided by its workshops, where the artists do decorative work, make banners and emblems, arrange and manage exhibitions, make models, children's toys and games, work in marble, enamel filigree and many other mediums. Among the workshops of the *Vsyekohudozhnik* is that of the *palekh* artists, famous for their lacquer work.

Some of the artists working in these shops are paid regular wages of from 300 to 350 rubles a month, for a normal working day of six hours. Others are paid on the usual cooperative artel basis—that is, they receive a definite proportion of amounts taken in on orders—their income amounting to about the same as that of those who work for wages. As regards painters, there is a "contracting" system whereby the artist receives a monthly salary of from 300 to 500 rubles while executing a special job. The usual norm for a painter working under contract is two pictures a year. The theme of the pictures is decided upon by the cooperative and the artist in consultation. The cooperative supplies the materials, and the painting becomes the property of the cooperative which may sell it, exhibit it, or have it reproduced for mass distribution in the form of poster, placard or post card. In the latter case some agreement is made with the artist regarding the receipts.

Sculptors are expected to produce from three to five works a year, depending on the size. Usually they do small pieces, used later on in mass production, but there are also monumental sculptural works to be done. In the case of mass production of a piece of sculptural work the sculptor receives special remuneration. When pieces of sculpture are chosen for mass production from the work of a sculptor not working under contract, the sculptor usually receives five per cent of the selling price of each copy, the original remaining in his possession.

In addition to the two forms of work mentioned above—work in the shops and on contract, there are also the so-called "planned orders." Workers' clubs, palaces of culture, new housing projects, etc., will order paintings, murals, sculptures, or other forms of decoration depicting themes of labor, new forms of life, historical or revolutionary subjects, which will be given to groups of artists to execute. The number of such orders is growing constantly, opening up endless opportunities for the artists. Frequently there are competitions for such orders in which the best works submitted are bought by museums, or other organizations.

Still another new type of work for the Soviet artists is to go out on art commissions to new construction projects, collective farms, and on geographical and other expeditions to remote districts. The Soviet government is anxious to have artistic as well as scientific records of these historical events. Such commissions usually last from one and a half to two months. The artist receives a monthly salary of 600 rubles, traveling fare, and reduced rates for materials. *Vsyekohudozhnik* organizes special exhibitions of work done in such commissions. The work remains the property of the artist to be disposed of as he wishes after the exhibition. Such works are frequently purchased by the government or the institution which has organized the expedition. During 1930 and 1931 a thousand artists received commissions of this kind. Two exhibits of their work were held at which over 700 works of art were shown. During 1932 a large number of artists received special commissions for paintings, sculpture, etc., in connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the revolution.

These traveling commissions are very popular with Soviet artists, as they offer such a wide range of choice. One may choose the Leningrad shipbuilding yards, one the Ural machine-building factories, others Samarkand or Tashkent, the tea plantations of Batum, the state farm Gigant, the Pamir expedition, the Berezniki chemical combinat, or the new powerful electrical stations—Dnieprostroy, Volkhovstroy or Zages (near Tiflis). Some want especially to concentrate on portraits of shock workers, or on depicting the

new life of women. The farms offer opportunities for those who prefer to paint out-of-door scenes—the factories those who love machinery. The artists are welcomed everywhere.

There are so many new engrossing, unusual subjects, everything is so saturated with vitality that there is no longer any need for the artist to retire to his ivory tower, to escape from reality, to search for new forms and color combinations not existing in nature.

Among the chief purchasers of the works of *Vsyekohudozhnik* are the Central State Buying Commission (which acquires work mainly for museums), central art museums, district organizations, workers' clubs, sanatoria and rest homes, and separate Soviet organizations. In all, *Vsyekohudozhnik* sold 171 compositions by 144 different artists during 1932. In 1931 the Central Buying Commission purchased pictures from *Vsyekohudozhnik* alone to the amount of 147,900 rubles, in 1932, 127,590 rubles, and for the first quarter of 1933, 56,920 rubles.

The cooperative also distributes the orders given by various organizations among the artists. Thus, for the anniversary exhibition of the Red Army a number of orders amounting to more than one million rubles were distributed among the artists. The Sormovsky factory ordered panels to the amount of 15,000 rubles, which were done by the artists Yakovlev and Shukhman. The Krasnopresensky Soviet ordered two panels for 12,000 rubles; the School of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, five panels; a new factory kitchen ordered a series of panels on themes of socialist construction which were made by a brigade headed by the artist Deineka. The chemical plant of Berezniki bought for 20,000 rubles the work of the artist Lekhi who worked there on commission during two visits, in 1930 and 1931.

If an artist temporarily needs a certain sum of money to complete a large piece of work which he has started, or during a period of illness, the cooperative gives him a loan which is later repaid in work or money.

One of the chief activities of *Vsyekohudozhnik* is the arranging of exhibitions. Exhibitions are planned a year in advance so the artists may prepare ahead of time for the ones in which they will participate. In 1931, seventeen such exhibitions were organized, in which 2,970 works were exhibited and 423 artists were represented; in 1932 there were 18 exhibitions; showing 3,130 works of 550 different artists. During 1931, 86,102 people visited the galleries, and approximately the same number the following year. In addition, *Vsyekohudozhnik* sent out traveling exhibitions which were visited by about 200,000 people. These traveling exhibits went chiefly to the new construction projects and state farms and collectives, some of them in quite distant parts of the Union.

The price of an oil painting, depending both on the artist's standing, and the merit and size of the picture, ranges from 300 to 6,000 rubles; water color paintings run about 150, 200 and 300 rubles; engravings from 30 to 200 rubles; sculpture from 1,500 to 2,000 rubles.

Organized at the end of 1929, the cooperative received a loan of 15,000 rubles from the Central Communal Bank in 1930 and had a turnover of 980,000 rubles. In 1931 its turnover was 5,000,000 rubles and in 1932, 11,000,000. The budget for 1933 is being planned with a turnover of 30,000,000 rubles in view.

All professional artists may become members of the cooperative. The entrance fee is ten rubles with a sliding scale for shares depending on the artist's salary. In order to be of practical assistance in improving the living conditions of the artists, the cooperative has organized a dining room in Moscow with a capacity of 1,000 people. In 1932 the construction of a house containing two hundred apartments and studios for artists was begun.

Vsyekohudozhnik is by no means the only organization which provides work for artists and looks after its sale. There are several other organizations fulfilling the same functions. The Tretiakov gallery, the Museum of Decorative Arts, the Russian Museum in Leningrad, the Museum of the Revolution, and others, all hold exhibitions of modern art and buy from the artists directly. In 1932, for example, the Tretiakov gallery purchased about seventy paintings, two hundred drawings, five pieces of sculpture and two hundred rare posters, amounting altogether to 86,000 rubles. The Museum of Fine Arts has a complete collection of wood-engravings, etchings and lithographs, which it has purchased directly from Soviet artists.

Large numbers of artists are employed regularly as illustrators and book designers in the publishing houses, such as the State Publishing House of Arts Literature, the "Akademia" Publishing House, the Publishing House of Text Books, and others. These artists are required to design and illustrate books for mass circulation as well as special artistic editions.

The illustrations may be pen-and-ink-drawings, water colors, pencil drawings, wood-engravings, etchings, lithographs. Most of the artist's work is in illustrating children's and juvenile books. The salaries of illustrators vary. Usually the price of a page drawing is 75 to 150 rubles, a water color brings about 25 rubles, a wood engraving, 150 to 250 rubles, and so on. For the illustrating and designing of a special artistic education an artist usually receives from 2,000 rubles up.

Particularly interesting is the work of "Izogiz," the publishing house of decorative arts, which issues posters, placards, and the like. During 1932 Izogiz had under contract 135 artists work-

Soyuzphoto

The artist Bogorodok in his studio at Moscow artists' colony

ing at a monthly salary of 400 rubles. Under this contract, painters placed two pictures a year at the disposal of the publishing house, with the right to its reproduction as a mass placard or post card, the original pictures remaining the property of the artists. Poster painters are required to produce from five to nine posters per year. From 300 to 900 rubles is paid for a poster, depending on its size and the qualifications of the artist. From 500 to 1,000 rubles is paid for the right to reproduce paintings or drawings as mass pictures and post cards.

Posters by Soviet artists have won attention at the many international exhibitions at which they have been shown. Soviet illustrators have received a number of prizes at international exhibitions and contests. The Grand Prix was received by Kravchenko and Navarsky at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris, in 1925. The first prize was won by the artist Lapshin at the international competition in book illustration, organized in 1932 by the New York Limited Editions Club.

The Soviet theatre with its large number of new productions and its wide experimentations in new play settings, offers a rich field of activity for artists. The usual sum paid to artists for designing a theatrical production is from 2,000 to 5,000 rubles, depending on the difficulty of the production and the skill of the artist.

The Union of Soviet Artists is not merely an ideological organization. Its chief aim is to establish suitable creative, productive and cultural living conditions. The Moscow Province Union has over 700 members—among them some of the foremost Soviet painters, engravers and poster artists. The Union of Sculptors is organized separately and has a membership of 150 in its Moscow organization.

Some of the commissions for paintings of the new construction projects are handled directly through the Union rather than through the cooperative. Thus the Union of Soviet Artists sent a brigade of artists to paint the projects in the Ural regions at the request of the Ural building organizations, who later purchased their work. The Union has also become a "patron" of transport organizations, and several brigades have portrayed achievements in transport in decorative art. The Union has organized a "Central Exhibition Bureau," which makes contracts to arrange exhibitions for such Soviet organizations as "Osoaviakhim" (Aviation and Chemical Society), "Avtodor" (Automobile Society), and others. Orders are given to artists to execute special canvases and sculptural works for these organizations.

In Moscow there is a cooperative apartment house for artists which was built in 1929 out of the funds of the Society of Revolutionary Artists (one of the separate groups existing before the Union of Soviet Artists was established). It houses about three hundred persons—a hundred artists with their families. Each floor has apartments of one, two or three rooms with studios attached. There are also a number of large studios for collective work, where monumental painting and large sculptural work is executed. In these large studios the brigades of artists work on government assignments — picture-panels, group pictures, huge posters for national celebrations, and so on.

A number of communal enterprises have been established in this artists' apartment house which relieves them of many of the burdens of individual housekeeping. There is a general cooperative dining room which is used by all the residents. There are also a day nursery and kindergarten with a separate dining room for the children, rest rooms and play rooms, where the children are cared for during the day under expert supervision, thus insuring quiet in the studios and giving the mothers an opportunity to participate in social life. The house is well equipped with baths, a mechanized laundry, a barber shop, and a club library and reading room with a fine collection of books on art, both Soviet and foreign. Various study circles hold their meetings in the reading room. On top of the building is a roof solarium and surrounding the house are sport fields where the artists play tennis, volley ball, and other games. A second house

for artists is already being built by *Vsyekohudozhnik* and eventually it is planned to build a whole artists' city to serve as a model both in methods of work and new ways of life.

This cooperative apartment house does not, of course, accommodate all the artists. Artists working at home in a regular apartment are supplied with separate rooms for studios, apart from the rooms occupied by their families, paying the usual low rental based on income allowed workers.

While the situation has been described as it exists in Moscow, the organization of the life and work of artists is carried on similarly in all other large centers of the Soviet Union. The same principles are applied in the organization of art work in the various national republics, and its results may be judged by the gifted artists who have developed since the revolution in the Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan and Tadzhikistan.

Secure in their conditions of life and assured a definite income and an opportunity to plan their work the Soviet artists can devote their time to creative work unhindered by material and financial worries. Naturally they have shared the general deprivations of the years of struggle, lack of consumers' goods and difficult housing conditions. But with the improvements that are being made in this direction under the second five-year plan the artists, too, will have better conditions than ever before under which to develop the new Soviet art.

New Trends in Soviet Children's Books

SOVIET children's books have aroused a great deal of attention in the outside world because of their freshness and vigor, their color and variety, their forthright and expert handling of problems of real life. They have been the delight of artists and collectors at international book exhibitions, they have been the subject of numerous magazine articles.

The whole question of children's books is taken very seriously in the Soviet Union. In 1931 six times as much literature was published for children as in any year before the revolution. Conferences are held regularly by Gosizdat (State Publishing Company) to consider questions of children's literature. In February, 1931, the first all-Russian conference on this subject was held in Moscow and another one is to be held soon.

Children's books are issued in editions of 50,000, 100,000, 150,000—and they are always very cheap—five, ten, twenty cents is the usual price. Their bright covers are to be seen everywhere—in bookshops, in kiosks, in railroad stations all over the country. Special attention is paid to children's books in libraries. In Moscow there is a museum for children's books, where the whole history of the book, of printing and polygraphic processes, is graphically shown. A "Theater of Children's Books" popularizes the best of the books in puppet shows.

Some of the foremost Soviet artists regularly illustrate children's books, and writers of distinction are being increasingly drawn into this field. Such well-known writers as Vsyevolod Ivanov, Alexey Tolstoy, Lydia Seiffulina, Ilya Ehrenburg, Tikhonov, and others are writing books for children this year. Outstanding among writers for children was M. Ilin, who died recently, author of "New Russia's Primer," the English edition of which was edited by Professor George F. Counts, "Black on White," the story of books, "What Time Is It?", the story of clocks, the latter two also published in America with the original Lapshin illustrations, and numerous books on such fascinating subjects as "Around the World in Twelve Hours," "The Factory of the Future," "100,000 Questions." Ilin was a chemical engineer, a lecturer at the Leningrad Technological Institute and builder of a chemical factory. C. Marshak, brother of Ilin, is one of the most popular writers of verse for children. He heads the new school of children's literature in Leningrad—a group of twenty or so specialists in various fields engaged in writing about their specialties for children and in coaching other people engaged in practical work to write about what they are doing. The group includes a sailor, a naturalist, a fireman, an architect, a diver, a surveyor, a textile worker, and two former *bezprizornie* (homeless children).

The Gosizdat catalogue of the "Hundred Best Books for Children" shows what a wide range the present books for children cover. The main sections are social and revolutionary books, science, production and socialist construction, international themes, the new way of life, nature, play, and funny stories. Among the titles are "Light—Yesterday and Today," "The Post," "How a Tool Made a Tool," "From Rubber to Rubbers," "The Krassin Rescue," "Gigant," "Children of China," and many others.

It might have been supposed that Soviet publishers of children's books would be willing to rest on their laurels for a while. But not at all. The very successes in this field have raised the stan-

dards and the demands for more and better books. Millions of new child readers are developing through the universal compulsory education system, the children of the collective farms of far off Yakutia and Kamchatka, of sections where no children's books at all ever penetrated in the old days are adding their demands to those of the more sophisticated children of the cities. The educators and writers and artists concerned with the making of children's books are more bothered about the defects in the new children's literature than proud of their achievements, and a new campaign is under way to increase the output and raise the quality of children's books. Many articles are appearing in the press by authorities in this field. Some of the "leftist" mistakes of the RAPP authors and critics in confining the subject matter of literature too closely to the immediate present have been repeated in connection with children's literature, but the more liberal policy inaugurated in the spring of 1932 with regard to literature in general has also affected children's books. Myths, folk tales and fairy stories are no longer completely banned. The leaders in the children's book field are still against the kind of fantasy in children's literature that means a complete withdrawal from reality, but they are for the kind of fantasy that means a healthy development of the imagination.

V. N. Liadova, director of the Children's Department of Gosizdat (The State Publishing House), in a delightful article published in "Pravda" last spring, told of the efforts that had been made to stamp out of literature anything that might conflict with the young eight-year-old dialectician's sense of reality. In Marshak's verses in "Dnieprostroy," one of the most effective of the recent children's books, illustrated by Bibikova, a man says to the Dnieper river:

"I will lock you out by a wall.
You will jump from the peaks,
You will turn machines."

And the river answers—

"No," said the water,
"Nevermore, nevermore, never . . ."

Sleepless nights, according to Liadova, were spent over this by the purists. In what language did the man converse with the river? How could the river respond? Could this, to the child mind, have been managed without the help of dark powers? Did not this treament conflict with the scientific approach? The obstacles to eliminating everything not completely realistic from children's literature proved insurmountable.

"After all," writes Liadova, "heresy lurks even in metaphors. Dosen't the very sun 'rise' and 'set?' Indeed, the human language was not prepared by recipe in a chemical retort. It has come from the laboratory of history carrying with it the animistic and anthropomorphic traces of its childhood. Different cultural epochs, social and national changes, different forms of production, have all left deep marks."

Liadova points out that since the present epoch in the U.S.S.R. is one of industrialization there has been a tendency to criticize everything in children's books not directly connected with that theme as a departure from modernity. But this, she writes, obscures the real meaning of industrialization, which can only be properly understool in connection with its whole historical development. This, she explains, is not necessary in every book, but children's literature as a whole should give an all-around picture of historical background as well as present reality. It is a mistake, too, Liadova believes, to present contemporary reality in too simplified and completed a form. The children should have a picture of the living Soviet Union today in all its phases, and of the various peoples inhabiting it, with all their many-sided characteristics, and a picture of the outside world as well. She quotes Krupskaya as saying that the writers for children are inclined to write almost exclusively of tractors and machines, that people have largely disappeared from the pages of children's books, and that juvenile literature during the past few years has taken on too narrowly utilitarian a form.

The Narkompros (Commissariat for Education) has recently taken definite steps in the direction of improving children's books, and on May 7 passed a decree calling attention to the fact that there has been a tendency recently to issue dull and didactic books for children. It points out that far too little use is made of the best examples of pre-revolutionary Russian and European literature, practically no new translations have been made of the best of the world classics, nor have they been adapted for modern children. The decree also states that Soviet writers do not make sufficient use of the wide range of literature forms—tales, fables, poems, ballads, historical novels, picaresque romances.

A plea is made for higher artistic standards and for a more careful use of language.

The decree then outlines measures for the improvement of children's literature. The "Young Guard Publishing Company," which is particularly concerned with books for children and young people, is to work out a special plan for the development of children's books during the next few years, including the re-publication of the classics of both world and Russian literature. This plan is to be discussed thoroughly by writers, artists, teachers, parents and young pioneer organizations, and presented to the Narkompros for consideration in the autumn of 1933. Special attention is to be given to the question of translation, and some of the best Soviet writers will be called on to help in this. Manuscripts chosen for translation are to be given the most thorough possible preliminary consideration.

They are to be discussed by writers and critics and tried out on children before any decision to publish is reached, and small trial editions will be put out before large scale publication is undertaken. Literary journals are to pay more attention to problems of children's literature. During the summer an extensive campaign for the popularization of children's books is to be carried on in cooperation with the Union of Soviet Writers. All-Russian exhibitions of children's literature are to be made annual affairs. The present commission on children's books under the Narkompros is to be made permanent and its membership and scope strengthened by the addition of writers, artists and teachers. During 1933-34 children's literature courses are to be added in the normal schools and colleges, and a special seminar on children's literature is to be added to the Institute of Literature.

The whole problem of the change in the direction of children's literature was discussed recently by C. Marshak in two articles in *Izvestia*. Marshak begins by pointing out that while there have been a few really remarkable children's books which have truly and courageously pictured the world as it is today—not standing still, but in its dynamic onward surge—these might all be placed on a single shelf and that for the most part the millions of child readers are without sufficient reading matter to satisfy their eager curiosity in the building of the new life around them. The shortage of paper, Marshak points out, is one difficulty—but the limited choice of books is a far more serious matter.

"Our children," says Marshak, "must grow up more cultured than we are ourselves—they must have knowledge, imagination, historical perspective."

The literature of the past epoch, he continues, was in some senses far richer, offered a greater variety of subjects, than that of today, since it was the accumulation of 150 years, while Soviet children's literature has had only fifteen years in which to develop. While he considers most of the old literature useless for today, it should by no means all be cast out, but must be combed through carefully, the best of it, especially the classics and the folk tales, selected for publication. He takes issue with those pedants who would throw out all folk literature and fairy tales, and stresses the importance of going back to original source material, since in so many cases old tales have been corrupted by later writers and a false morality superimposed.

"But with all the richness of our classic inheritance," declares Marshak, "this cannot be the basic capital of Soviet literature for children. We shall take from it its heroic quality, its satire, humor, its pointed sayings. But we cannot live by this inheritance alone. We must ourselves create our today and tomorrow, we must lay the basis of new traditions which will not be found in pre-revolutionary literature. It has not been so easy to switch literature for children from its course of hackneyed morality to a course dealing with real problems, opening up for children the gateway to adult life, to show them not merely the goal, but all the difficulties of our work, all the dangers of our struggle."

Marshak goes on to say that while the former children's books were easily divisible into novels and tales on the one hand and popular scientific books on the other, there are many books of today which do not fall into either category, but which have an encyclopedic character — presenting the important facts of the present day in a dramatic way. To illustrate he mentions Paustovsky's book on the Bay of Kara-Bugaz, which tells of the first explorers of this region, the pioneers who are creating an industrial center in its sands, and winds up with an imaginary picture of the future. He mentions Ilin's "Tale of the Great Plain" (published in English as New Russia's Primer) as belonging to this category—combining as it does political economy, technique and geography—an epic tale of the making over of nature and of man. And finally, Bezborodov's "The Bolsheviks Discover Siberia," which begins with tales of exiles, and ends with a map of the new socialist industrial Siberia. There are also numerous books devoted to a single theme, scientific or technical, such as the books of Boris Zhitkov, "About this Book," "The Locomotive," "Telegrams," in which the typographical machine, the locomotive, the telegraph are again invented and perform their functions before the eyes of the young reader. In Leningrad, he says, there is an Administration of Weights and Measures, which might seem a dull business to write about for children. But Merkulova, the mathematician, writes a book on this subject which she calls "The Factory of Exactness," in which she succeeds in demonstrating to what an extent this institution controls the life of the country—how through some mistake in measurement, trains might be wrecked, how the whole machinery of a factory might have to stop working if some small part departed from a specified measurement by even the tiniest fraction of an inch. The dry-as-dust subject comes alive, is filled with dramatic content. Another writer tells of a porcelain factory, but writes not only of the work of the factory, but of how the secret formula of making china was mastered and handed down to our day. Marshak then enumerates a number of Soviet novels for children dealing with actual happenings—the civil war, the story of a children's sanitarium, tales of school life. He points out that while stories of school life are always eagerly read, the interests of the children of today go far beyond the events of their school life. They want to hear about the adventures of adults—aviators, engineers, explorers. This interest, he feels, is a very healthy sign and should be satisfied. In the

West and in old Russia novels of adventure in particular have gone far beyond the realm of possibility, whereas the real life of today in the Soviet Union is as full of adventure and wonder and excitement as any child could wish. The former type of writers of children's literature, ready to write about anything, whether equipped with the necessary knowledge or not, are being replaced by writers of real knowledge and experience. When Boris Zhitkov, for instance, an observant traveler and an engineer gifted with imagination, writes about a port city, he knows exactly what he is writing about, his descriptions and conversations are at once authentic and exciting. Children's literature, more than any other, demands of the writer real material taken from real life. That is why such writers of adult literature as Prishvin, N. Tikhonov, Sergey Grigoriev, who have such material in abundance at their finger-tips, have been attracted to the writing of children's books. Persons who have never written before—explorers, hunters, Red Army men, scientists, are being drawn into the field of children's literature. Firemen and divers are writing of their own experiences—of people whom fire will not burn nor water drown, of people accomplishing exploits as marvelous as those of any fairy prince, and even more acceptable to children. A new children's almanac containing material on a variety of subjects by such writers as Zoschenko, Tikhonov, Panteleyev, Libedinsky, Bergolitz and others, points the way to a new genre in children's literature. Such collections and almanacs, Marshak feels, should help create a new folk lore, a new satire, new scientific utopias, new fantastic novels. History, natural science, ethnography—these subjects offer rich sources of material. While little has been done along these lines, the beginning that has been made deserves the attention of the public and the critics. Marshak closes his articles with a plea for new criticism for children's literature which will be of constructive value in determining the course it is to take.

Maxim Gorky follows the Marshak articles with an article published in *Izvestia* and other papers in which he offers a list of subjects to be treated by the authors of children's books. Books on science and technique, he feels, should deal not only with completed discoveries and inventions, but should introduce the child reader to the processes of research work, showing the actual problems of overcoming material difficulties and tradition. He suggests that some children's books be written on such fascinating subjects as "A Journey to the Center of the Earth," to lay a foundation for geology"; on the meaning of emptiness in science—"What is Nothing?"; on the structure of the human being, with simple diagrams of the brain, alimentary canal, stomach, etc.; on "How Men Have Become Giants"—a book telling how science has lengthened our sight (telescope, television), our hearing (telephone, radio), our legs (modern means of transportation), and so on.

"A large share in the subject matter of children's books," he continues, "should be devoted to the history of civilization. I do not mean courses gathered together in textbook form. This should be a series of books and albums on the most diverse themes relating to the history of various objects—the plow, the ship, the loom, the printing press, etc.

"The courageous and successful attempts of some of our authors to deal with problems of socialist construction have convinced us that it is possible to write simply and engagingly for children on the most serious themes, without being in the least didactic.

"We should attempt to prepare for children a large book on the theme 'Two Natures.' The first part to deal with the power of nature over man: wind, hail, swamps, cold, heat, rapids, deserts, beasts of prey, poisonous plants, etc. The second part, the war of man with hostile nature and the creation of a new nature; the conquest of wind, water, electricity; obtaining peat from the swamps; utilizing differences in temperature; animals and plants

Soyuzphoto

A book-guessing game in progress at the Children's Book Museum

in the service of man, etc. The third part to deal with the conquest of nature by man—the planned, organized labor of a socialist society, victory over the elements, over sickness and death."

Also needed, says Gorky, are more books about the peoples of other countries and he suggests that some of the best Soviet artists and writers be called upon to write about the peoples of the world. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. should be written about by participants in the numerous expeditions constantly going forth to explore various parts of the Soviet Union, and members of regional study groups should record the changes and development in the national minority groups coming under their observation. Students of the national minority groups in the colleges and the institutes of the North and East should be called upon to help in this field.

Gorky does not feel that all children's books need necessarily be of an instructive nature. He calls for books appealing to the artistic instincts, and especially he calls for joyous and humorous books, and the creation of new comic characters to delight the children. He also advocates more poetry for children, and collections of the best of the folk material. Finally, he proposes the establishment of a publishing company devoted exclusively to children's literature, "Detizdat," employing the most competent writers and endowed with sufficient funds, as the most effective way of carrying out the program to improve children's books.

Wages and Living Standards

IN the first Five-Year Plan the tremendous amount of construction in industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy attracted large new sections of labor power into productive work and led to the complete elimination of unemployment. The total number of hand and brain workers increased from 11,500,000 in 1928 to 21,200,000 in 1932, or by almost 85 per cent. Especially great was the increase in the number of workers employed in state industry, which grew from 3,500,000 in 1928 to 6,600,000 in 1932. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture through the development of state farms meant an increase in the agricultural workers on state farms from 2,000,000 to 3,400,000. Thus in 1932 there were 10,000,000 workers employed in state industry and agriculture alone.

Wages have grown during the same period. The total wage fund in 1928 amounted to 8,100,000,000 rubles—in 1932 to 30,000,000,000 rubles. The average annual wages of workers and employees in the census industry increased from 843 rubles in 1928 to 1,456 rubles in 1932—225 rubles more than originally provided for in the Five-Year Plan, representing an increase of over 72 per cent. In the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. the average annual wages increased from 702 rubles in 1928 to 1,374 rubles in 1932, that is, by more than 95 per cent. In the agricultural sector wages increased by 194.8 per cent in the five-year period.

The growth of individual wages does not, however, completely express the improvement in the material conditions of the workers and employees of the U.S.S.R. during the piatiletka. A very large place in the budget of the workers is occupied by the so-called "socialized" wages, including the expenditures of the government for social insurance of the workers, education, medical aid, cultural services, etc. The growth in socialized wages during the Five-Year Plan may be seen from the following table, showing the average annual payment per one member of a working family:

	1929	*1932*
	In Rubles	
1. Social insurance	37.2	40.0
2. Education	14.5	44.4
3. Cultural services	7.0	12.7
4. Medical aid	24.0	34.0
5. Vacations	16.8	27.8

In 1929 an average of 113.2 rubles was spent annually in socialized wages for each member of the workers' family, in 1932, 200 rubles.

The number of workers covered by the social insurance system has grown from 9,674,000 persons in 1927-28 to 22,400,000 in 1932. The budget for social insurance during this period grew from 1,050 million rubles to 3.5 billion rubles, while the expenditure per insured person increased from 108.3 rubles in 1928 to 141.7 rubles ($37.00) in 1932.

In view of the absence of unemployment, the activities of the Social Insurance Department are concentrated largely on prophylactic and medical aid, public health, the construction of children's institutions and assistance to housing organizations. The expenditures for health protection have increased from 256 million rubles in 1927-28 to 820 million rubles in 1932. The totals are exclusive of the large appropriations from the government budgets. In particular, there has been a great increase in the network of the social insurance offices connected with industrial enterprises, which increased in number from 1,038 at the beginning of 1930 to 2,581 at the beginning of 1932. There has also been a corresponding increase in the number of hospitals, clinics, dispensaries and other medical institutions maintained by the Social Insurance Department.

The number of workers given free treatment at sanitariums and rest homes has increased from year to year and in 1932 reached a total of 1,500,000. Recently the Social Insurance Department

has undertaken several new forms of activity such as the arranging of workers' tours, the promotion of physical culture and sports, camps for workers' children, overnight rest homes for workers whose condition makes it unnecessary for them to stop working, but who require special food and treatment.

Another source of additional income for the worker's family is the increasing number of members of the family entering productive work each year. Thus during the past three years the money income of the workers' family has increased by 73 per cent, whereas the actual increase in individual wages has averaged 43 per cent.

The New Agricultural Tax

Terms of the agricultural tax for the present year have been made public in the decree of May 25, signed by Kalinin and Molotov, representing the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., respectively. The decree specifies in minute detail the rates to be applied to different groups of farms, to the different crops, the dates of payment, the exemptions and privileges granted to certain groups of farmers, and so on.

In the main the decree provides for three sets of taxation rates. Collectivized farms naturally receive the best treatment. Individual peasants who till their own soil form the next group, and kulaks constitute a distinct group subjected to the heaviest taxation.

In the case of collective farms definite rates are fixed per hectare, the lowest tax being imposed on grain and fodder and the highest on grapes, the rates varying between 1 ruble 90 kopeks and 30 rubles a hectare.

There is a category of peasants who come midway between collectivized and individual farmers. They are organized in Societies for the Joint Cultivation of the Land, in which they pool their machinery, although retaining their individual plots of land. These societies pay taxes 50 per cent higher than collective farms.

Individual peasants are taxed on the basis of income; income is determined by assessing certain fixed values per hectare of each crop, the value varying with the different republics. Thus a hectare of grain and of certain other crops is evaluated at 60 rubles in the R.S.F.S.R., the lowest rate, and at 115 rubles in Uzbekistan, the highest rate. A hectare of garden crops, on the contrary, is priced at 400 rubles in the R.S.F.S.R. and only 280 rubles in Uzbekistan, with a still lower rate, 250 rubles, in Tadzhikistan. On the basis of this assessment of income, the peasant pays a tax ranging from 15 rubles upwards, the tax rising progressively with the income.

Both collective farms and individual peasants are subject to various exemptions, either to encourage the growing of certain crops or for extraordinary efficiency in managing the farm or in consideration of crop or other losses from causes beyond their control.

Collective farms which exceed their crop yield plans and organize their accounts on an efficient basis receive rebates from the regular rates ranging up to 25 per cent. This money is to be used for premiums to be given to the best brigades and individual shock brigaders.

All sugar beet crops, both of collective farms and individual peasants, are exempt from taxation. Cotton and rice grown in new regions are also exempted, as are certain new industrial crops such as kenaf, kendyr, and others.

All cattle, fowl, rabbits and bees are likewise exempted in order to stimulate breeding. Income from trade by collective farmers (both individual and collective trade) in agricultural produce at public markets is similarly free from taxation. Finally, no taxes are to be collected from peasants who have removed to new uncultivated regions, particularly in the Far East and in the North, where they are to be exempt from taxation for 10 years. If they migrate as collectives, the exemption is for 15 years.

Kulaks alone are not subject to any exemptions whatsoever. The definition of a kulak is left, on the whole, to the Council of People Commissars of the Union republics, but peasants engaging in systematic speculation and those maliciously refusing to sow a given amount of land and to fulfill other state obligations will be classed as kulaks unless they clearly belong to the group of poor peasants.

It is of interest to note that the entire agricultural tax goes to the local budgets—80 per cent goes to the district Soviets, while 20 per cent of the total proceeds are to be used by the village authorities. The Central government receives no part of this tax.

Soviet Aviation

Passenger and mail service on all the airlines of the U.S.S.R. is being considerably increased this summer. Regular service of mail airplanes will be established for the first time on the Moscow-Vladivostok airline of 10,000 kilometers, one of the longest in the world. The course of the Moscow-Tiflis line is now directly across the Caucasus mountains, reducing the former roundabout route by 800 kilometers. A number of new lines will be opened this summer: Moscow-Voronezh-Stalingrad, Kharkov-Kiev, Stalinabad-Baumanabad and Tashkent-Krasnovodsk.

The lines connecting large construction jobs in Central Asia and the Urals are being well developed. Aerial connection is also being introduced between district and regional farms and

state and collective farms. Light airplanes, for which expensive airdromes will not be necessary, are being used for this purpose.

Three new airlines are being organized in the Far East: Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka—Khairuzovo, Petropavlovsk-Nagaevo (Sea of Okhotsk) and Nagaevo-Shantar Islands. Special expeditions are now making the necessary surveys for these lines.

Sixteen airplanes were sent in the early summer to the Arctic regions to accommodate the whole shore of the Northern Arctic Ocean from Murmansk to the Behring Sea. The airplanes are being used to connect various isolated points, transport passengers and make aero surveys. In addition to the airplane base on Dixon Island, two new bases have been established on Northern Cape and Cape Chelushkin, each of which will be served by three airplanes. There are also three hydroplanes working independently in the western section of the Arctic Ocean, from Novaya Zemlya to the mouth of the Lena River, and two in the eastern section, from the Behring Straits to the mouth of the Lena.

James Mattern, missing round-the-world flyer, received enthusiastic assistance from Soviet aviators during his flight over the territory of the U.S.S.R. After he was reported lost all Soviet airplanes flying in the region between Khaborovsk and Kamchatka, and especially those in the district of Chukotka, joined in the search.

Soviet Foreign Relations

CHINESE-EASTERN PROBLEM DISCUSSED

ON May 26, Mr. Ota, the Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, delivered the Japanese government's reply to the Soviet government's statement of April 16 on the alarming conditions on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

In the note the Japanese government declares that it has repeatedly declared its intention of respecting the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R. on the Chinese Eastern Railway, but that among the facts mentioned by the Soviet government are some which belong entirely within the jurisdiction of the Manchukuo government and to which the Japanese government has no relation whatever, since, even though Japanese officials and advisors took part in some of these matters, they did so completely under instructions of the Manchukuo government, with whom they took employment under their own initiative.

As regards the seizure by Japanese military officers of the office of the transit wharf at Harbin, the note explains that the commandant of the Japanese wharf had leased this building from a department of the Manchukuo Ministry of Communications, but inasmuch as this wharf was an object of negotiations between the said department and the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Japanese command on leasing the building had agreed to vacate it when the negotiations were completed.

Concerning the negotiations on the question of payment for the transportation of Japanese forces, the note pointed out that an agreement had practically been reached on the application of a 50 per cent rebate, that negotiations are still in process regarding the details of this rebate, that the views of the Kwantung army had been communicated to the Chinese Eastern Railway and the latter's reply was still being awaited, and that this question could be settled in the near future in the spirit of mutual concessions.

The note affirms that while there really were cases this spring of bandits making attacks on the eastern line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, this was merely a temporary situation, the victims of which were not only Soviet citizens but Japanese and Manchurian citizens as well, and that subsequently the bandits were exterminated by the Japanese army and traffic restored on the eastern line.

The note further declares that the Japanese authorities in Manchuria did not participate in the most recent conflicts between Manchukuo and the U.S.S.R., denies the charge that these Japanese authorities have artificially created the question of locomotives and cars located on Soviet territory, says that Rosta has circulated unfounded and slanderous information regarding the actions of the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo and asks that the Soviet government take immediate steps to refute such information. The statement of the Soviet government that cars of the Chinese Eastern Railway are held on Soviet territory because of the bottling up of both terminals of the railroad is rejected since, the note avers, traffic was restored, through measures taken by the Japanese army, in December on the western line, and in January on the eastern line.

The arrest of a large number of Soviet citizens by the Manchukuo authorities, assisted by Japanese gendarmes, is explained as the result of incidents which directly aimed to damage and injure the Japanese army. Torturing of arrested Soviet citizens by Japanese gendarmes is denied.

In conclusion, the note states that settlement of the conflicts which have developed in the oper-

ation of the railroad must depend on negotiations between the proper authorities of the U.S.S.R. and Manchukuo who are responsible for the joint management of the road, that the maintenance of peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and Manchukuo is the most important factor for universal peace in the Far East and that therefore the Japanese government sincerely hopes that a fair and proper settlement will soon be reached.

In reply to this communication, Gregory Sokolnikov, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made the following statement to Ambassador Ota:

STATEMENT OF SOKOLNIKOV

1. The Soviet government notes the confirmation by the Japanese government of its former assurances that it will respect the rights and interests of the U.S.S.R. in Northern Manchuria and will not permit any violation of the interests of the U.S.S.R. on the Chinese Eastern Railway as a result of its actions in Manchuria.

These assurances of the Japanese government, in the view of the Soviet government, preclude the possibility of the Japanese government waiving its responsibility for the well-known facts of the violation of Soviet interests in the present situation in Manchuria by the Manchurian authorities, under the formal pretext that these facts are solely within the jurisdiction of Manchukuo.

The Soviet government hopes that inasmuch as the Japanese government has promised not to violate the interests of the U.S.S.R. in Northern Manchuria and particularly on the Chinese Eastern Railway and to instruct the Japanese command and its officials in Manchuria not to allow any injury to be caused to Soviet interests, it will draw practical conclusions from it.

2. The Soviet government cannot help regretting the fact that the Japanese government in its reply has completely ignored the dispute which has arisen in connection with the unlawful and unfounded claims of the Manchurian authorities concerning the locomotives of the series "E" which belong to the U.S.S.R. This question has been used by the Manchukuo authorities, with the direct aid and encouragement of the Japanese officials and local Japanese authorities, as the main pretext for violent unilateral and unlawful actions causing the greatest injury to the interests of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet government has already supplied exhaustive documentary evidence of the ownership of these locomotives by the U.S.S.R. and incontrovertible proof of the complete invalidity of the claims of the Manchurian authorities.

The Japanese government has not adduced and cannot adduce a single argument in justification of the claims of the Manchurian authorities and their conduct in the dispute over the locomotives. Yet, in the opinion of the Soviet government, a correct explanation of this question to the Manchurian and local Japanese authorities by the Japanese government would have led to the discontinuation of the attempts to injure the indisputable Soviet interests and would have facilitated the establishment of normal conditions on the road.

3. As regards the explanations given in the Japanese government's reply concerning the occupation by Japanese military officers of the transit wharf of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the delay in the payment by the Japanese military command of its indebtedness for the transportation of Japanese forces, the catastrophic situation which has been created owing to the inadequate protection of the eastern line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and also the mass arrests and torture of Soviet citizens, the Soviet government notes that these explanations do not disprove the exact and documentarily substantiated facts described in its statement of April 16.

The Soviet government therefore reaffirms its statement of April 16 and the facts described in it and expresses confidence that the Japanese government will do everything within its power to make a more careful investigation of these facts and effectively stop all action aiming to injure the interests of the U.S.S.R.

The reply of the Japanese government contains a complaint about allegedly slanderous information concerning the actions of the Japanese military command and local authorities circulated by the Rosta Agency. But inasmuch as the reply does not contain any concrete indications, the Soviet government cannot regard this complaint as founded on facts.

4. By its readiness to enter into negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Soviet government has clearly expressed its desire to eliminate the ground for disputes which adversely affect the existing friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan. The desire to consolidate these relations represents one of the elements of the Soviet policy of peace. The Soviet government is entitled to expect that the Japanese government will on its part be firmly guided by the same desire.

The Soviet government has carefully instructed and continues to instruct its representatives on the Chinese Eastern Railway of the need for practical cooperation with the Manchurian authorities on the basis of the Peking and Mukden agreements, including the settlement of disputable questions.

Among these disputable questions is that of the exchange of cars between the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Soviet roads. There can be no doubt that all cars belonging to the U.S.S.R. must be returned to the Soviet roads just as all cars belonging to the Chinese Eastern Railway must be returned.

The Soviet government expects the Japanese government to act in the same direction and to prevent any actions aimed at aggravating the situation on the Chinese Eastern.

The Soviet government expresses its confidence that the Japanese government will take all measures within its power to discontinue and prevent any unilateral and unlawful actions on the part of the Manchurian and local Japanese authorities and to maintain on the Chinese Eastern Railway a situation based upon the exact fulfillment of the Peking and Mukden agreements.

The Soviet government is also confident that with good will on both sides the disputable questions which have arisen on the Chinese Eastern Railway can be fully solved in a friendly spirit in accordance with the concluding statements of the Japanese reply, which the Soviet government fully supports.

May 31, 1933.

SOKOLNIKOV PROTESTS ACTIONS OF MANCHUKUO OFFICIALS

In connection with the illegal acts of the Manchurian government at Pogranichnaya Station, Mr. Sokolnikov transmitted the following statement to Ambassador Ota on June 4:

According to information which we have received and which has been verified on the spot, on May 31, at Pogranichnaya Station, a detachment of Manchurian police, headed by Sato, a Japanese official in the Manchukuo Ministry of Communications, destroyed direct connections that had existed for a number of years on the basis of a special agreement, between the Chinese Eastern and the Ussurisk Railroad.

The chief of Pogranichnaya Station was handed a letter signed by Sato, a Japanese official of Manchukuo, Yang Shi-Yuan, a Manchurian chief of police, and police supervisor Novikov, a Russian White guard, demanding that the movement of freight trains should be stopped immediately and threatening repressive measures in case this was not complied with.

The station master returned the letter as illegal and improperly addressed, and protesting against the violent acts

of the Manchurian authorities, proposed that all questions concerned with the road be referred to the authorities. Ignoring the protest, a detachment of armed guards attacked the station forcibly, took the key to the switch from the station master and placed him under arrest from 11:40 a. m. until 2 o'clock.

The locomotive and car brigades were also arrested. The detachment then forced the workers to place railroad ties across the tracks. In this way five branches were closed on the western and one branch on the eastern side.

In addition a barrier was placed on the main line connecting Progranichnaya Station with the Soviet station Grodekovo, which Sato declared would be raised only for passenger trains. Thus direct communication between the Chinese Eastern and the Ussurisk railroads were illegally broken in violation of existing treaties and the special agreement between the Chinese Eastern and the Ussurisk Railroad.

This fact of flagrant violation of existing agreements carried out under the direction of Sato, a Japanese employee of Manchukuo, are additional confirmations of the correctness and justice of the position of the Soviet government set forth in its statement of May 31.

On May 29 the Soviet government brought to the attention of the Japanese government the information at its disposal regarding the illegal acts, planned at a conference in the Japanese consulate in Changchun. The Soviet government had every reason to expect that the Japanese government would make use of this information to prevent the violation of the legal status of the Chinese Eastern Railway by arbitrary unilateral actions.

I cannot but protest against these unpermissible acts of the local authorities in Manchuria, so clearly carefully prepared and aimed to aggravate relations between our countries. In requesting the Japanese ambassador to bring this protest to the attention of the Japanese government, I permit myself to express the hope that the Japanese government, which has expressed its interest in the preservation of order and peace in Manchuria and has expressed its readiness to act as intermediary in a thorough settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway problem will take the necessary measures for the restoration of order.

NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING SALE OF CHINESE EASTERN

On May 29 Ambassador Ota made a statement to the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) with regard to Litvinov's proposal for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. He said that recently, with the development of other railroad lines in north Manchuria, the economic importance of the Chinese Eastern Railway had diminished, but that since the latter might easily become a source of friction between Japan, Manchukuo and the U.S.S.R. it was important to settle the problem in the interests of peace in the Far East. To this end, the matter had been discussed with the Manchukuo authorities, who had expressed this willingness to purchase the road if satisfactory terms could be reached, to which, he said, the Japanese government had no objection, and was willing to act as an intermediary in the negotiations, which he suggested should take place in Tokio.

On June 3, Gregory Sokolnikov, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, informed Mr. Ota that the Soviet government accepted the proposal of the Japanese government and agreed to name its representatives for the negotiations, which he suggested should commence on June 25. This proposal was transmitted by the Japanese government to Manchukuo and the latter agreed to open the negotiations on the date suggested.

EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS ON FRANCO-SOVIET PACT RATIFICATION

In connection with the unanimous ratification of the Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact by the French Chamber of Deputies, Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, exchanged the following telegrams with M. Paul-Boncour, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Edouard Herriot, former chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, now member of the Chamber of Deputies:

PAUL BONCOUR, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Paris:

The unanimous approval by the Chamber of Deputies of the Franco-Soviet non-Aggression Pact offers me an opportunity, which I wish to take advantage of, to express to you the deep satisfaction with which the Soviet government has received this manifestation of the sentiments of the representatives of France in favor of a Franco-Soviet rapprochement. This manifestation greatly increases the value of the Franco-Soviet Pact, the importance of which has grown, as it is, compared with the time when it was conceived and signed. The whole world should know that this pact is an important factor not only in the relations between our countries, but also in the consolidation and preservation of universal peace. Allow me to congratulate you for having taken such a valuable part in this matter.

LITVINOV.

LITVINOV, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

The cordial message in which you have sought to note the great significance attached by the Soviet government to the unanimous vote which culminated the recent debate in the Chamber of Deputies devoted to the Franco-Soviet non-Aggression Pact, has been received with the warmest satisfaction by the French government which regards your message as a valuable testimonial to the happy results of this agreement in the relations between the two countries.

As you so aptly point out, this pact, and the conciliation convention accompanying it, must become factors of ever-growing importance not only in the serious development of the relations between France and the U.S.S.R., but also in the preservation and consolidation of the world peace to which France remains deeply devoted. Permit me to convey to you, together with my appreciation of your kind reference to my efforts in this direction, an expression of my most cordial sentiments and my sincere congratulations upon the very active part that you, personally, took in these pacts.

PAUL-BONCOUR.

EDOUARD HERRIOT, Chamber of Deputes, Paris:

At the moment when the unanimous vote of the Chamber of Deputies completed the negotiations for the Franco-Soviet non-Aggression Pact, I am especially anxious to tell you that we well remember the valuable part which you personally took in the *pour-parlers* which permitted the successful conclusion of the pact. We do not forget the fact that your signature attaches to this document, the importance of which to the rapprochement of the peoples of both countries and consolidation of world peace, grows and will continue to grow. You thus remain in your tireless struggle for peace an unchanging propo-

nent of the cause which you championed ten years ago. Today my thoughts turn also to our fruitful meetings which have taken place since then and I ask you to accept together with my congratulations an expression of my feelings of deep friendship.

LITVINOV.

LITVINOV, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

I am deeply thankful to you for your cordial telegram. I was happy to see the French Chamber of Deputies sanction, unanimously, and without party distinction, the cause in which I have worked with the profoundest conviction and in which you have given me such powerful assistance. You know that for many years I have devoted myself to the idea of a rapprochement between the peoples of our two countries, which represents an essential factor to the peace of Europe. I firmly hope that we shall succeed in achieving other useful results as well. I ask you to accept this expression of my personal feeling of friendship as well as a warm wish of happiness to the Russian people.

HERRIOT.

TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED BY LITVINOV AND TURKISH MINISTER

The following telegrams have been exchanged between M. M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Tewfik Rushdi-Bey, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs:

GENEVA, MAY 24, 1933.

M. M. LITVINOV, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

I experienced the greatest joy in witnessing today the commendation given at the sitting of the General Commssion to the delegation of the great friendly country from which the definition of the aggressor emanated. This project constitutes the greatest contribution to the cause of world peace and I hastened to give it my support from the very first day.

I am taking advantage of this happy occasion to send you sincere congratulations and a renewed expression of the most cordial friendship.

TEWFIK RUSHDI-BEY.

TEWFIK RUSHDI-BEY, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Geneva:

I am deeply touched by the friendly sentiments expressed in your telegram. In proposing our formula for the definition of the aggressor, we felt sure beforehand that your valuable support would, as always, be assured in the cause of peace.

I cannot but recall again how much the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union has been facilitated by that nation's unshakeable friendship with the great Turkish Republic, a friendship in which your personal activity has played such an important part.

Expressing my appreciation, I wish to assure you of my unwavering friendship.

LITVINOV.

SOVIET-NORWEGIAN TRADE AGREEMENT

On May 29, in Oslo, Mr. Klinger, trade representative of the U.S.S.R. in Oslo, signed a trade agreement with the Norwegian government. This agreement is for the regulation of all questions connected with Soviet-Norwegian trade during 1933.

The agreement provides for a government guarantee and credits for a longer period than was the case last year for Soviet purchases in Norway, in particular for purchases of non-ferrous metals, aluminum, nickel, and also herring. The agreement also guarantees the interests of the Soviet Union with regard to exports of grain, lumber and other goods.

The signing of this agreement marks the continuation of many years of friendly trade relations with Norway.

NEW POLISH-SOVIET CONVENTION

On June 3, Mr. W. W. Krestinsky, acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and the Polish envoy to Moscow, Mr. Lukasevich, signed a convention regarding the order of investigating and settling border incidents and conflicts. This convention has been worked out on the basis of mutual experiences in border matters and repeats the agreement of 1925 now in force.

SOVIET-ITALIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The economic agreements signed on May 6 in Rome between the U.S.S.R. and Italy (the customs convention and credit agreement), mark a new step in the further strengthening of the trade relations between the two countries.

There is no doubt that the Soviet market will be of growing importance to Italy, especially in consideration of the sharp fall in Italian foreign trade in general, and her exports in particular. During the last three years Italy's total exports have fallen off by 56 per cent, while her exports to the U.S.S.R. have increased 3.3 times. During the same period the exports from Italy to the United States declined by 60 per cent, to England by 50 per cent, to Germany by 57 per cent, to France by 56 per cent, etc.

Both sides have taken an important step forward in signing the new economic agreements, which are supplementary to the basic trade treaty of 1924.

Under the old customs convention both countries maintained a strict tariff rate for a limited list of goods, and the most-favored-nation principle was applied only to certain articles.

Under the new customs convention both sides have mutually agreed to do away with the limited list, and have granted each other most-favored-nation privileges for all goods. The government guarantee on Soviet orders placed in Italy is set at 200,000,000 lira for 1933. The average credit period for equipment is established at nineteen and a half months, with a maximum period of twenty-seven months, with provisions permitting a still longer period in certain cases on the basis of special agreements.

RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

On May 26, Gregory Yakovlevich Sokolnikov, formerly Soviet diplomatic representative in England, was appointed Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

SOVIET ENGINEERS TO BUILD TURKISH TEXTILE PLANTS

Part of the eight million dollar credit granted by the Soviet government to Turkey last year is to be used by the latter for the construction of a textile combinat in Turkey by Soviet engineers with Soviet equipment. The Commissariat for Heavy Industry of the U.S.S.R. established a special trust, "Turkstroi," to handle the building and equipment of the factories in Turkey, and the designs were handed over on June 1 to the Turkish State Industrial Commission visiting Moscow.

After a careful examination of the designs by the members of the commission, Reshav Bey, chairman of the Turkish group, expressed his appreciation of the promptness of Turkstroi and of the high quality of the designs. The accuracy and speed with which the plans were drawn up, he said, were yet another proof of the friendly cooperation which the Turkish people and its government receive from the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet government.

The textile combinat will be built in the city of Kaisaira by Turkstroi, under the guidance of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. The combinat's initial equipment will consist of 33,000 spindles and 1,000 automatic weaving machines. Annual output will be more than 30 million meters of finished goods, to be increased later. The project includes the building of an electric power station for the textile mills, using local fuel resources.

LECTURES ON WORK OF THE CEREBRAL HEMISPHERES

Professor I. P. Pavlov's "Lectures on the Work of the Cerebral Hemispheres" have recently been issued in a German translation by the Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga in Moscow. The book contains twenty-three lectures and six indexes, including a list of Prof. Pavlov's works on conditioned reflexes.

THE FLORA OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Botanical Institute of the Academy of Sciences under the direction of V. L. Komarov, the vice chairman of the academy, has finished the 20-volume edition of the "Flora of the U.S.S.R." The books have been compiled on the basis of the richest herbarium of the Botanical Institute, containing over 20,000 species of plants to be found in the U.S.S.R. The first volumes will soon be available.

DOCUMENTS OF ANCIENT BABYLON

Scientific workers of the Book, Document and Letter Institute of the Academy of Sciences have deciphered a number of cuneiform tablets of the epoch of the Babylonian King Hammurabi. The tablets, made 4,000 years ago from baked clay, are in excellent state. The tablets deciphered give an idea of the economic and juridical relations of the epoch. The Institute of the Academy of Sciences is publishing a special book on these tablets.

Recent Magazine Articles on the Soviet Union

A list of the more important articles which have appeared since the April, 1933, issue of the SOVIET UNION REVIEW.

"Newest Schools in Newest Russia," by Lucy L. W. Wilson. School and Society, January 28, 1933.
The principal of the South Philadelphia High School for Girls discusses recent educational decrees and methods.

"Can Russia Change Human Nature?" by Frankwood E. Williams, M. D. Survey Graphic, March, 1933.
The well-known psychiatrist attributes the fall in the rate of incidence of nervous and mental disease in Russia to the fact that mental hygiene is inherent in the social organization of the U.S.S.R.

"Observations on Management in the Soviet Union," by Mary Van Kleeck. Bulletin of the Taylor Society, April, 1933.
A comprehensive paper on Soviet planned economy presented to a meeting of the Taylor Society.

"The Air Code of the U.S.S.R.," by I. S. Preterski. Air Law Review, April, 1933.
An article by a Professor of the Moscow Law Institute supplemented by the complete text of the Soviet Air Codex.

"Soviet Will Maintain Petroleum Exports," by K. S. Riabovol. World Petroleum, April, 1933.
The chief of Soyuzneftexport declares that shipments to outside markets need not be governed by production.

"A Turning Point in Russian Standardization," by I. Gutmann. Industrial Standardization, April, 1933.
The Associate Editor of Engineering Index reviews official documents of the Soviet All-Union Standardization Committee.

"Recognizing Russia." The Business Week, April 19, 1933.
Some speculations on recognition possibilities.

"Who Wants Soviet Recognition?" by Elias Tobenkin. Common Sense, April 27, 1933.
Mutual benefits outlined.

"Food in Russia," by Joshua Kunitz. The New Republic, April 12, 26, May 10, 22.
A series of articles on the food situation written on the basis of an extensive tour of the U.S.S.R.
1. "Food and Politics," April 12.
2. "Feeding the Growing Population of Industrial Workers," April 26.
3. "State and Collective Farms," May 10.
4. "Food Distribution and Labor Discipline," May 24.

"Pudovkin and the Revolutionary Film," by Harry Alan Potamkin. Hound and Horn, April-June, 1933.
A critical appraisal of the director of "Storm Over Asia," "The End of St. Petersburg," and other films.

"Risks of Trade wih Russia," by Vera M. Dean. Current History, May, 1933.
A study of some essential considerations in American-Soviet trade by the research associate of the Foreign Policy Association.

"How to Travel in Soviet Russia," by Amy S. Jennings. The Nation, May 10, 1933.
Good advice to prospective tourists.

"The New Soviet Literature," by Lydia Nadejena. The Saturday Review of Literature, May 13, 1933.
Some manifestations of the new attitude toward literature discussed.

"Soviet Bonds Popular," The Business Week, May 17, 1933.
Paragraphs on the sale of Soviet gold bonds in the United States.

"The Trial of the British Engineers in Moscow," by Anna Louise Strong. Unity, May 22, 1933.

"Soviet Satirists," by Ernestine Evans. Asia, June, 1933.
An excellent selection of Soviet cartoons enlivens this account of satire as used by the artists and writers of the U.S.S.R.

"The Stars and Stripes in Moscow," by William C. White. Vanity Fair, June, 1933.
A discussion of American-Soviet relations.

"A Close-Up of the New Russia," by Irina Skariatina. Good Housekeeping, June, 1933.
The author of "A World Can End" describes a recent visit to her native land.

"The Brake on Soviet Industry," by Louis Fischer. Current History, July, 1933.
How the Soviet Union is handling the problem of training technicians to run its new giant enterprises.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO SOVIET UNION REVIEW FOR JULY-AUGUST, 1933.

Foreign Relations of the U.S.S.R.

DURING the course of the World Economic Conference at London, Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, appreciably improved the structure of non-aggression agreements designed to assure peaceful relations with neighbor countries, especially those contiguous to U.S.S.R. The new treaties signed at London not only renounce aggression as among the signatories, but agree on a definition of aggression based on the inclusive formula offered by the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Arms Conference earlier in the year. One of the new treaties was signed with seven neighboring countries, viz., Afghanistan, Esthonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania and Turkey. A second treaty was signed with the countries of the Little Entente, to which treaty Turkey also was a party. A similar separate pact with Lithuania was also signed.

Previously the U.S.S.R. had made non-aggression agreements as follows: Turkey (1925); Germany, Afghanistan, Lithuania (1926); Persia (1927); Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Poland, France (1932).

CONVENTIONS FOR THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION

On July 3, the convention for the definition of aggression proposed on behalf of the Soviet government by Maxim Litvinov, was signed on the premises of the Soviet embassy in London by representatives of eight nations. The text of the convention follows:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, the President of the Esthonian Republic, the President of the Latvian Republic, His Majesty the Shah of Persia, the President of the Polish Republic, His Majesty the King of Rumania, and the President of the Turkish Republic,

Impelled by the desire to strengthen the peace existing between their countries,

Believing that the Briand-Kellogg Pact to which they are signatories forbids all aggression,

Deeming it necessary in the interests of universal security to define as closely as possible the conception of aggression, in order to eliminate every pretext for its justification,

Declaring that every state has an equal right to independence, security, defence of its territory and free development of its state system,

Inspired by the desire in the interests of universal peace to assure all nations of the inviolability of the territory of their countries,

Considering it useful in the interests of universal peace to put into force as between their countries precise rules for the definition of aggression, pending the universal recognition of these rules,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present convention and have duly accredited: The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the King of Afghanistan—Ali Mohammed Khan, Minister of Education; the President of the Esthonian Republic—Dr. Oscar Kallas, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London; the President of the Latvian Republic—Mr. Waldemaras Salnais, Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the Shah of Persia—Fatolla-Khan Nury Esfendiary, Charge d'Affaires in London; the President of the Polish Republic—M. Edouard Raczinsky, Permanent Polish Representative to the League of Nations and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; His Majesty the King of Rumania—M. Nikolas Titulescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the President of the Turkish Republic, Tewfik Rustu-Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Who have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article I

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to recognize in its relations with each of the other parties, beginning with the day this convention enters into effect, the definition of aggressor outlined in the report of the Security Committee of May 24, 1933 (the Politis Report), at the Disarmament Conference, based upon the proposal of the Soviet delegation.

Article II

In accordance with the above, the aggressor in an international conflict, with due consideration to the agreements existing between the parties involved in the conflict, will be considered the state which will be the first to commit any of the following acts:

1. Declaration of war against another state;
2. Invasion by armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another state;
3. An attack by armed land, naval or air forces, even without a declaration of war, upon the territory, naval vessels or air craft of another state;
4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another state;
5. Aid to armed bands formed on the territory of a state and invading the territory of another state, or refusal, despite demands on the part of the state subjected to attack, to take all possible measures on its own territory to deprive the said bands of any aid and protection.

Article III

No considerations of a political, military, economic or any other nature can serve as an excuse or justification of aggression as specified in Article II (see appendix for example).

Article IV

This convention will be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with the laws of each of them.

Ratification papers will be deposited by each of the high contracting parties with the government of the U.S.S.R.. As soon as ratification papers are deposited by two of the high contracting parties, the present convention enters into force between the said two parties. As each of the other high contracting parties deposits its ratification papers the convention will enter into force for it.

Notice of each deposition of ratification papers will be immediately given to each of the signatories of this convention by the government of the U.S.S.R.

Article V

The present convention has been drawn up in eight copies, one of which is entrusted to each of the contracting parties, in confirmation of which the above mentioned representatives have signed the present convention and affixed their seal thereto.

Done in London, July 3, 1933.

Maxim Litvinov, Ali Mohammed Khan, Oscar Kallas, Waldemaras Salnais, Fatolla-Khan Nury Esfendiary, Edouard Raczinski, Nikolas Titulescu, Tewfik Rustu-Bey.

APPENDIX TO ARTICLE III ON THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION

The high contracting parties which have signed the convention defining aggression, desirous, while retaining the complete inviolability of the absolute meaning of the rule formulated in Article III of the said convention, of giving certain indications permitting the determination of an aggressor, establish that none of the circumstances mentioned below may be used to justify any act of aggression in the sense of Article II of the said convention:

The internal position of any state, as for example: its political, economic or social structure; alleged shortcomings of its administration; disorder following upon strikes, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movements, and civil war;

The international conduct of any state, as, for example: infringement or a threat of infringing the material or moral rights or interests of a foreign state or its citizens; rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; measures of economic or financial boycott; conflicts in the sphere of economic, financial or other obligations in connection with foreign governments; border incidents which do not fall under any of the cases of aggression indicated in Article II.

At the same time the high contracting parties unanimously recognize that the present convention must in no case serve to justify infringements of international law which might fall under the obligations included in the foregoing list.

On July 4, on the premises of the Soviet embassy in London, Mr. Litvinov signed a second convention defining aggression with the representatives of Turkey and the countries of the Little Entente. This convention is identical with the eight power convention of July 3, except for Article IV, which reads as follows:

> The present convention is open for adherence by all other countries. Adherence will carry the same rights and obligations as in the case of the original signatories. Notification of adherence shall be made to the government of the Soviet Union which will immediately notify the other participants.

The convention was signed by the following:

Rumania—Nikolas Titulescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Czechoslovakia — Jan Masaryk, Envoy to London; Turkey — Mehmet Munir-Bey, Ambassador to London; U.S.S.R.—Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Yugoslavia—Georgi Djuritch, Envoy to London.

On July 5, Mr. Litvinov and Mr. Sidzikauskas, Lithuanian ambassador in London, signed a convention on the definition of aggression similar to those concluded on July 3 and 4, with other countries. The introductory part of the Soviet-Lithuanian convention differs from the others in that it contains a reference not only to the Briand-Kellogg Pact, but also to the first Soviet-Lithuanian pact of non-aggression concluded in 1926.

STATEMENT BY LITVINOV

On July 3, Mr. Litvinov made the following statement on the signing of the convention defining aggression to representatives of the press in London:

International life now knows a multitude of acts, and still more resolutions, various proposals and projects relating to the renunciation of war, the obligation not to resort to force, non-aggression, etc. The idea contained in all these acts and proposals is that obligations of non-aggression are undertaken or are to be undertaken by one nation in relation to another.

Although to every ordinary mortal the conception of aggression seems to be very simple and clear, nevertheless international organizations and institutes have discussed for many years the exact definition of aggression without reaching definite conclusions. However, without a generally accepted more or less exact definition of aggression itself, obligations regarding non-aggression are to a large extent valueless, since in the event of violation of the obligations of non-aggression, it will be difficult to establish which side has violated its obligation.

At the present time there are no generally recognized international authorities who could, when necessary, decide such questions. Even if such organizations existed or were created, they could hardly be expected to reach quite impartial and objective conclusions, especially in the absence of any criteria which they could take as a basis for their judgment.

In order to fill this gap, the Soviet delegation at the Disarmament Conference, in connection with the discussion of various plans of security guarantees, about five months ago submitted a detailed draft project defining aggression. This definition enumerated not only those acts which should be regarded as aggressive, but enumerated pretexts in international practice to justify aggression so that such pretexts should in the future be condemned beforehand.

This definition of aggression attracted much attention in Geneva and was regarded by many nations as one of the possible serious means of increasing the security of nations. In accordance with the Geneva procedure, the proposal began to pass through various stages of discussion besides being complicated by many other difficult problems on disarmament.

The Committee on Security considered our proposal and accepted it in principle. However, when the Security Committee made its report to the General Commission of the conference, it became clear that the proposal had little chance of early acceptance. In addition, it seemed that certain nations found our definition of aggression inconvenient and embarrassing, and therefore its general acceptance became very problematical.

In these circumstances we were led to believe it would be expedient to introduce the definition of aggression as a convention first between a limited number of nations, so that other nations might join in, or follow this example. Naturally, our thoughts first turned to our immediate neighbors, whom we accordingly began to sound. This quickly led to practical negotiations with certain of our neighbors, among whom Turkey particularly welcomed our proposal. Tewfik Rustu-Bey, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, actively assisted us in carrying out our aim.

As a result of my departure to Geneva, and later to London, negotiations were temporarily suspended, but were quickly resumed here in London, where we were able to take advantage of the presence of foreign ministers of certain of our neighboring countries.

As a result of the negotiations continued here, a convention has today been signed which contains the signatures of seven of our neighboring countries.

The signing of the convention represents a new link in the chain of measures by the Soviet government systematically directed toward strengthening its peaceful relations with its neighbors. At the same time the convention is an example and stimulus to other nations. It stands to reason that the Soviet Union is willing to sign analagous conventions with any nations irrespective of their geographical position and the relations existing with them.

Such agreements, however, by no means signify the withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference, of our proposal aiming at establishing a universal conception of the definition of aggression. We would be extremely glad if agreement could be reached in Geneva among all nations

and a general convention signed which could then absorb all the others.

We have in this case followed the method which we pursued in the case of the Briand-Kellogg Pact which, in view of the difficulties and slowness with which it was generally carried into force, was put into effect earlier by us and by our neighbors.

In my speech at the Economic Conference, I pointed to the importance of an atmosphere of calm in the political life of nations for the solution of international economic problems. From this point of view, it seems to me that the action accomplished in London, strengthening peace between nations representing more than 265 million people, should without a doubt, contribute to the success of the Economic Conference and therefore should be welcomed by its initiators and signatories. *(Translated from the Moscow Izvestia of July 5.)*

LITVINOV IN FRANCE

Maxim Litvinov arrived in Paris, July 5, and was received by Premier Daladier. Mr. Litvinov and Mr. Dovgalevsky, Soviet diplomatic representative in France, conferred with M. Paul-Boncour, Foreign Minister of France, and as a result of this meeting the following official communiqué was issued:

Both ministers discussed international questions and determined with satisfaction that on certain definite questions the U.S.S.R. and France, since the ratification of the Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact, have taken the same position. M. Paul-Boncour congratulated the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. on the preparation and conclusion of the conventions for the definition of aggression, in which Litvinov played an important part, devoting much effort to this in London after having achieved at Geneva the acceptance of the proposal for a definition of aggression which was given its final form in the Politis report.

SOVIET DRAFT ECONOMIC NON-AGGRESSION PACT

On June 20 the Soviet delegation to the World Economic Conference in London submitted a draft protocol on economic non-aggression. The protocol, which is similar to that presented by Maxim Litvinov to the League of Nations Commission for the Study of European Union at Geneva, May 18, 1931, calls upon the contracting parties to declare that in their economic policy they will adhere to the principle of the coexistence of all countries regardless of their social, political and economic system.

The text of the protocol, as presented by Mr. Litvinov, is as follows:

The governments of the countries listed below, recognizing that the cessation of economic aggression is the most important condition for the peaceful cooperation of all nations in the sphere of economic relations irrespective of their political and economic systems; believing that the cessation of economic non-aggression might help to dispel the present atmosphere of distrust and insecurity; and believing that in order to improve the present grave economic situation, it is necessary that all countries, in addition to refraining from war as a means of settling international conflicts, should completely renounce all open and disguised forms of economic aggression, agree on the following:

(1) The contracting parties declare that they will adhere in their policy to the principle proclaimed by the international economic conference in 1927 and confirmed by a special committee of the commission of inquiry into a Pan-European Union in 1931, of the peaceful coexistence of all nations irrespective of their social-political and economic systems.

(2) The contracting parties will refrain from all forms of discrimination in their mutual relations. In conformity with this the parties will consider incompatible with the principles of the present protocol, the adoption and application in their countries of a special regime directed against any particular country and applying less favorable conditions to trade with that country compared with conditions obtaining for trade with all other countries.

(3) In conformity with the principles set forth in Articles I and II of the present protocol, the parties solemnly renounce the application in the future, under any pretext whatsoever, as an instrument of trade policy, of special discriminatory tariffs, applied to a single country, of general import or export embargoes applied to any single country, or special conditions for such imports and exports, discriminatory levies on mercantile vessels, discriminatory conditions for the admission of economic organizations to national territory, finally, every kind of boycott established against the trade of any country by governmental or administrative measures.

(4) All measures of discrimination operating in countries which sign this protocol are to be revoked from the moment this protocol enters into force for the respective countries.

(5) This protocol is subject to ratification and goes into effect among those countries which announce its ratification.

SOVIET-BRITISH RELATIONS

On the afternoon of July 1st, the British government lifted the embargo which was placed on the import of Soviet goods in April of this year and the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade issued the following order revoking the retaliatory measures taken in answer to the embargo:

Order No. 242, issued by me on the basis of the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of October 20, 1930, regarding the prohibition of placing orders or effecting any purchases in England, the cessation of chartering ships sailing under the British flag, the introduction of restrictive measures for British goods in transit through the U.S.S.R., and the reduction to the utmost of utilization of British ports and bases for transit and re-export operations of the U.S.S.R., is hereby revoked in full.

At an evening meeting on the same date the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. commuted the prison sentence pronounced by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on Macdonald and Thornton to exile from the U.S.S.R., as a measure of amnesty.

Following this action the British government proposed that the negotiations for the conclusion of a trade agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, broken off in March, be resumed.

SOVIET PROTEST TO GERMANY

On July 22 Mr. L. M. Khinchuk, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Germany, visited the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, State

Secretary von Buelow, and handed him a note with the following contents:

The German delegation at the International Economic Conference in London handed a memorandum to the chairman of the economic commission of the conference, in which, among other things, appears the following phrase affecting the U.S.S.R.

"The second measure consists in placing at the disposal of 'a people without land' of new territory, where this energetic race might establish colonies and carry on extensive peaceful activities. We suffer not from over-production, but from enforced under-consumption. War, revolution and international ruin found their point of departure in Russia, in the great regions of the East. That destructive process still continues. The moment has now come to stop it."

In that paragraph is contained a direct challenge on the part of the German delegation to the representatives of other powers to exert their joint efforts to put an end to the "revolution and internal destruction which found their starting point in Russia," that is, a challenge to war against the U.S.S.R.

Furthermore, from the whole context of this paragraph is apparent a demand on the part of Germany that territory belonging to the Soviet Union be given her for colonization.

Inasmuch as such hostile statements are in direct contradiction to the obligations taken upon itself by the German government according to the treaty of friendship and neutrality concluded in Berlin, April 24, 1926, based on the conviction that "the interests of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany require permanent cooperation, based on complete confidence," I do hereby, on the instruction of my government lodge with the German government through you, a decisive protest against this infringement of the treaty obligations between our countries permitted by the German side.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE RESOLUTION

The following statement regarding American-Soviet relations was issued by the Board of Directors of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce at a special meeting held on July 12 at the Bankers' Club, New York City.

A recent canvass of the membership of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce has resulted in an overwhelming expression of opinion in favor of the early assumption of official diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries.

The chamber has not officially declared its position on the question of recognition since 1926, when it voted against it. During the intervening seven years, however, the chamber has continuously and carefully observed the growing importance of the U.S.S.R. as a world power and the trend of Soviet trade in all parts of the world.

The board has decided that the time has arrived for a public pronouncement of the reversal of the chamber's previous attitude toward recognition and to set forth its primary reasons in favor of recognition, as follows:

The Soviet government has demonstrated its stability and has been recognized by every major power except the United States.

European governments in increasing numbers are rapidly concluding trade agreements and non-aggression pacts with the Soviet government, indicating their high estimate of the value of trade with the Soviet Union and that they consider it entirely possible and desirable to maintain amicable relations with the U.S.S.R.

The board believes that if the United States is to enjoy the benefits of any substantial trade with the U.S.S.R., such benefits will be realized only by successfully meeting the active competition of leading European nations engaged in trade with the U.S.S.R.; otherwise the United States will find itself in a relatively insignificant place in what should be for many years to come the world's most attractive new market.

The proceedings of the London Economic Conference, as reported in the press, have further demonstrated the disadvantages of non-recognition. While it is encouraging to note that informal discussions have been carried on between various members of the American and Soviet delegations to the London Conference, it remains true that recognition is a prerequisite to any appreciable benefits from American-Soviet trade relations.

The board believes that the statement made by Foreign Minister M. Litvinov at the London Conference that the Soviet Government is prepared, under suitable trade and financial conditions, to place orders now in foreign markets to the extent of one billion dollars, should receive the most earnest consideration by our government.

The indisputable facts are that the interests of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in world trade are more nearly alike than are those of any other two major nations, and as it is likewise undeniably true that American goods and services have established a definite superiority under severe trial in the Soviet Union, the board believes that a very substantial part of the orders referred to by Mr. Litvinov could be secured for the United States if we act promptly and sensibly in the development of diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries.

The directors believe that early recognition, to be followed by the negotiation of an equitable trade agreement, would make it possible to obtain a very substantial share of these orders for American industry in time to put many thousands of our unemployed back to work before next winter. This much needed employment for our labor cannot presently be obtained, however, except by the extension of reasonable governmental or private credits, or a combination of both.

Such a program would make it possible for American capital, by aiding in developing the tremendous resources of the U.S.S.R., to provide means of payment to American manufacturers and exporters. It is a matter of record that this country's early development was aided materially by European capital to the benefit of both parties.

Practically all of the leading European governments have supplemented recognition by trade agreements and have supported their manufacturers by guaranteeing long term credits to the Soviet government. Already hundreds of millions of dollars of orders have been diverted from the United States, and the board believes that the time has come when the United States government must make a realistic approach to the question of recognition and by actively supporting American industry to an equal opportunity with their European competitors or be reconciled to a very minor position in this trade for an indefinite time in the future with resultant incalculable loss to American business and labor.

The following compose the board of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce: S. R. Bertron, Bertron, Griscom and Co.; George A. Bryant, Jr., Exec. V. P., The Austin Co.; Louis Connick, Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett; Col. Hugh L. Cooper, Pres., Hugh L. Cooper and Co., Inc.; H. H. Dewey, V. P., International General Electric Co.; Wm. C. Dickerman, Pres., American Locomotive Company; John Duffy, V. P., Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.; Charles Edison, Pres., Thos. A. Edison, Inc.; Percival Farquhar; Lamar L. Fleming, Anderson, Clayton and Fleming; Alexander Gumberg; H. Arnold Jackson, Pres., Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.; W. L. Mitchell, Chairman Board, Chrysler Export Corp.; Thos. A. Morgan, Pres., Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.; J. H. Rand, Jr., Chairman Board, Remington Rand, Inc.; R. B. Scandrett, Jr., Swiger, Scandrett, Chambers and Landon; Reeve Schley, V. P. Chase National Bank; H. F. Sheets, V. P., Socony Vacuum Corp.; Frederick P. Small, Pres., American Express Co.; Charles E. Stuart, Pres., Stuart, James and Cooke, Inc.; Alfred H. Swayne, V. P., General Motors Corp.; Philip D. Wagoner, Pres., Underwood Elliott-Fisher Co.; Allen Wardwell, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardner and Reed; H. H. Westinghouse, Chairman Board, Westinghouse Air Brake Co.; W. A. Winterbottom, V. P. and Gen'l Mgr., R. C. A. Communications, Inc.

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

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BALTIC-WHITE SEA CANAL

TRADE UNION TASKS

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

TRAINING OF DOCTORS

SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

PIONEERS OF SIBERIA

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The Baltic-White Sea Canal and Its Builders

THE new Baltic-White Sea Canal, a waterway of great economic importance, and one of the finest engineering feats yet accomplished in the Soviet Union, was officially opened by government decree on August 2nd.

The canal, which connects the White Sea and the Baltic by providing a sea-level waterway from Soroka on the White Sea to Leningrad on the Gulf of Finland, is 227 kilometers long, reaching from Lake Onega to the White Sea. It contains 19 locks, 15 dams, 12 floodgates, 49 dykes, and 33 inner canals. The distance by water from Leningrad to Archangel is now reduced to one-fourth, from 2,840 miles to 674. The canal itself only takes up about twenty per cent of the waterway, the remainder is regulated rivers and lakes.

Instead of circling around three foreign countries, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and hazarding the dangers of Atlantic and Arctic gales, ships may now proceed from Leningrad to Archangel by a safe internal waterway, and the voyage now takes only six or seven days instead of seventeen. In addition to establishing direct water connections between the Baltic Sea and the Soviet North, immediate extensive exploitation of the forest, mineral ore, fish and other resources of the region is now made possible. The coal of Pechora, the apatites of Khibin, the fish and furs of the Northern Region can now be transported easily and cheaply to other parts of the Soviet Union. The lumber industry will receive an additional impetus since the canal is flanked by the great birch and pine forests of Karelia.

Through the Mariinsk system of canals and the Neva and Volga rivers, the canal also links the White Sea with the Caspian.

A vast amount of work was involved in the construction of the canal, under the most difficult geological and hydrological conditions. Twenty-one million cubic meters of earth was excavated, of which 2,000,000 was solid granite, 390,000 meters of concrete was laid, and 921,000 meters of caisson work performed. Two hundred kilometers of modern roads were built in Karelia, and 104 kilometers of the Murmansk Railroad roadbed, which was in danger of flooding, was shifted to an elevated embankment. Islands and rapids were submerged in raising the water level, and rivers so swift they had never frozen were covered with ice for the first time last winter as a result of this engineering achievement.

The canal was constructed entirely of Soviet

materials and machinery and by Soviet citizens. No foreign consultation was employed. Local material was used to a great extent—especially the lumber cut in clearing the way for the canal and the rock from blasting. Wherever possible iron and steel, of which there is a shortage in the U.S.S.R., were replaced by the wood so abundant in that region.

The work was carried out by Bielmorstroy (Baltic-White Sea Construction) under the leadership of the OGPU (United State Political Administration). The work was done entirely by prisoners from the correctional labor camps of the OGPU, most of whom were either freed entirely or given reduced sentences as a result of their work. The canal was started at the end of November, 1931, and completed on June 20 of this year, in less than twenty months, a record of hydrotechnical construction. The first ship went through on June 25. It is of interest to note that the Panama Canal, which is only 81.3 kilometers long, took eleven years to build, and the Suez Canal, 164 kilometers long, took ten years.

In the progress of the work a tremendous amount of educational work was carried on among the prisoners, who acquired labor discipline and industrial skill, and made an excellent showing. The highest honors which the Soviet government can bestow were awarded to the engineers and leaders in the building operations. Eight persons were awarded the Order of Lenin, and fifteen were awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. Of the latter group nine had been condemned for wrecking activities, but released in 1932, before the expiration of their sentences, the remainder had been tried for theft, speculation, and other crimes. These released prisoners had all preferred to remain and see the work through to completion rather than take advantage of the opportunity to go elsewhere.

The most widespread amnesty ever granted in the Soviet Union was also proclaimed in connection with the completion of the canal. During the building of the canal the OGPU completely exempted 12,484 persons from the remainder of their sentences as having completely reformed and having proved themselves no longer socially dangerous, but, rather, useful Soviet citizens. The terms were reduced in the case of 59,516 persons condemned to various terms of imprisonment who had shown themselves energetic workers. The conviction was completely erased and civil rights restored to 500 persons for especially self-sacrificing work in the building of the canal. In the case of those of the former criminals who displayed the greatest skill and promise in the performance of their work, arrangements were made for further training and for stipends to be paid to them in educational institutions.

No job has yet been done in the Soviet Union with such dispatch, skill and efficient organization. In November, 1931, Mr. Yagoda, assistant chairman of the OGPU, who was put in charge of the project, called a group of his co-workers to him and announced that the government had commissioned the OGPU with the task of building the canal. He said it was to be started at once and ready for navigation in 1933. He said it must be built economically, strongly, quickly. He asked them to call the engineers under the OGPU's care together to make the plans, and to be ready to leave for the place of construction by the end of the month.

In record time the engineers, some of them serving sentences for damaging activities, drew up the plans, and on November, 1931, the first group of prisoners—thieves, pickpockets, embezzlers, wreckers, bandits—some of them with many convictions to their records, arrived with their axes and crowbars among the snowdrifts of Karelia. When they got there they looked around and saw no fences, no bars, no guards. More, some of them were given arms to guard valuable stores. They hewed down trees and built barracks. Soon the workers were spread along the whole line from Povenetz to Soroka. The wild beasts ran deeper into the woods, and the woods gave way before the people. Soon they had cut through a solid swathe of 85,000 hectares from Lake Onega to Soroka, and the digging of the canal, hand-digging, blasting, building of dykes and dams and sluices began.

In the beginning there were plenty of cases of refusal to work and of sabotage. Many of these people had never before held a pick and shovel, and the work—in sticky clay, in solid rock, in peat bogs—was exceedingly difficult. But through strict warnings in the more serious cases and intelligent and considerate direction on the part of the OGPU leaders, these difficult moments were weathered. The workers were not made to feel that they were a "faceless" mass, of whom physical effort only was required. They were given full freedom in their leisure hours. A cultural and recreational department was organized immediately, with prisoners themselves in positions of leadership. A large number of courses were organized, which thousands of the workers took, without interrupting their work, and through which they became skilled workmen in whatever aspect of the work they chose to specialize. As a result many of them on release have immediately obtained excellent positions as mechanics, electricians, tractor drivers, bookkeepers, and so on. Socialist competition was inaugurated at the start and many of these former criminals became *udarniki* (shock troop workers) and foremen of important sections of the work. It frequently happened that the more desperate the record of criminality, the greater the degree of efficiency and enthusiasm displayed in the work on the canal. The Soviet press has been full of astonishing tales of scores of the most hardened criminals of various types who became exemplary *udarniki*, heads of bri-

gades, many of whom refused to leave when given their freedom or asked to be transferred to equally hard jobs. Thus the building of the canal was a real work of regeneration, not only of nature but of human beings.

In one of the hundreds of barracks there were forty-one women convicts who are returning to freedom with useful professions and prepared to lead the life of builders of the new society. Two as telephone girls, two Diesel engine operators, six radio operators, eleven nurses, one telegraph operator, two barbers, six cooks, seven brigadiers, one assistant foreman, and only two unskilled shovel hands—jobs they all held in camp.

Here is a statement from Kovalyev, who took charge of the concrete work on one of the sections of the canal, with 560 people under him, and carried on shock work, which won him not only the title of *udarnik*, but an official release by the OGPU long before his sentence expired:

"I—Soloviev, Grachev, Tkachev, Petrov—a man with five names and six escapes from jail to my record—I have built a dam, and it is finished, my dam. I, a recidivist, a thief of twenty years' standing, have become a concrete worker, even a laboratory worker. How it happened it is hard for me to understand myself. Believe it or not—but when they said to me, 'Comrade Kovalyev, you are free,' it even seemed a little funny to me. I felt no difference between that day and the day before. And there was a time when I was ready to grind the bars with my teeth. I trekked 800 versts on foot to get away from the last prison.

"How it happened it is hard for me to understand myself. Probably I was stunned by the confidence placed in me. Several thousand 'hot fellows' like myself were brought here and set down without any guards, without any bars. . . . And for thieves, such trust is stronger than any bars. There was a case when one of us, who was an artist, planned to run away. He made all his plans and chose the time. Just then our club was putting on the opera 'Eugene Onyegin' and asked him to paint the scenery. He called the art circle together and said 'just let me do the second act, comrades, let me off for the rest.' He started on the second act, and then when the day for his escape came he was so interested that he gave up the whole idea of running away. And it was that way with many others. . . ."

Then there was sixty-year-old Ananiev, an engineer of the old regime convicted of wrecking activities. In his time he assisted in the construction of the Troitsk bridge across the Neva, and had a hand in building the Briansk railroad. But he took an active part in plots to overthrow the Soviet government and was eventually sent to work on the Baltic-White Sea canal.

"I have worked on many big jobs in my life," he writes, "but only now, in the forests and swamps of Karelia, have I realized what it means to be an engineer, full of perseverance and energy, and to work with masses of people who realize the significance of what they are doing. . . .

"The pace at which we worked was unprecedented even in the Soviet Union. In my own section we built 2.5 kilometers of road a day. We worked with people who could never have been made to work by force, but who, fascinated by the immensity of the project, did two or three times as much as was expected of them. . . . For the first time in my 34 years of experience I have seen good labor organization. On what other construction job is the accounting so well conducted that at the end of each day one could obtain an exact picture of how much had been done?

"It is claimed that the whole canal was built to the tune of 'Dubinushka,' an old Russian working song, that it was all done by the sheer force of man power. . That is not so. In the northern section where I worked we had forty trucks, two locomotives, a 300 h. p. electrical station, mechanical workshops, three derricks, fifteen punch-hole hammers, and four concrete mixers, and at night the whole ground was illuminated by electricity. . . ."

And the notorious woman bandit Pavlova writes of how the thieves that used to foregather at her father's house took her horsebacking, and how she enjoyed the jolly life they led. At ten her instruction in thieving began, and she was taught how to "work" in stores and trolley cars. She took part later in many bold hold-ups, for which she served terms in reformatories and prisons. Only when she began to work on the Baltic-White Sea Canal did she begin to draw away from her former mode of life. "In everything," she writes, "except cursing and behaving roughly in the barracks." But her comrades appealed to her to take herself in hand and at last she too became an *udarnik*, her brigade won a Red banner, she got her name in the paper. When they offered her her freedom she waved away the opportunity "with both hands," and refused to leave until a ship could go through the canal. And she asked that then she should be sent to learn to be a surgeon.

In the second five-year plan it is proposed to establish twenty-nine large industrial enterprises in the region of the canal. Sawmills, paper and cellulose factories, woodworking, mining, chemical, metallurgical and shipbuilding plants. Already model workers' villages are under construction, wharves and ports are being built.

The economic effect of the canal will be immediate. It is estimated that this year one million tons of cargo will be shipped on it. By the end of the second five-year plan traffic is expected to reach ten million tons a year. In the future it is planned to build a number of hydro-electric stations at various points along the canal to provide cheap power to the industries of the region.

Notes on the Economic Situation

ALL reports confirm early indications of an exceptionally good harvest throughout the Soviet Union this year, especially in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, where there was a severe shortage last season. Early threshing shows that the yield is far above the average in many places—ranging from 12 to 25 and more centners a hectare, from fields which last year yielded only six or seven centners.

The final report on the spring sowing campaign as of July 10 showed that the state farms had surpassed the seeding program by 9.6 per cent, and the collectives by 2 per cent. Only the individual peasants lagged somewhat behind, so that the program as a whole was fulfilled by 98 per cent. Total spring sowings amounted to 93,-108,600 hectares. Total spring sowings last year were 96,676,000 hectares, or 94.5 per cent of the plan. The slight decrease in area this year is due to the fact that attention has been centered during 1933 on increasing crop yields rather than on extending the sown area. The establishment of political departments in the machine and tractor stations, and the sending out of thousands of trained workers to assist in the organization of agricultural work, careful planning of the sowing campaign, the greater use of cleaned and selected seed, the doubling of the amount of fertilizer over the amount used last year, efforts to keep the fields free of weeds, and greatly increased mechanical power—these were the factors that have contributed to the expected bumper crop, in addition to the favorable weather conditions.

The country entered upon the harvest campaign with far better equipment and preparation than was the case last year. Over 20,000 combines and over 200,000 tractors were available for harvest work as well as other types of harvesting machinery.

Results of the First Half-Year in Industry

Industrial production, while still somewhat behind the schedules of the plan, shows increases all along the line for the first six months of 1933 as compared with the first six months of 1932.

The production of state industry as a whole, in comparison with the corresponding months of 1932, was up 5.9 per cent in May and 10.1 per cent in June.

Heavy industry lagged behind schedules for the first months of the year, but showed an improvement in the second quarter. Whereas last year the output of heavy industry was increased only 2.5 per cent in the second quarter over the first, the increase this year was 9.7 per cent. In all branches of heavy industry production was increased in recent months over that of the corresponding months of last year as follows: March, 4.7 per cent; April, 7.2 per cent; May, 11.3 per cent; June, 15 per cent. The increase for the whole half-year in heavy industry was 7.4 per cent over the first half of last year. Manufacture of the means of production rose 10.6 per cent in May of this year over May, 1932, and 13.4 per cent in June over June, 1932. In June the output of electrical energy rose 23.4 per cent, the output of coal 18.4 per cent, pig iron 23.2 per cent, steel 18.7 per cent, rolled steel 25.9 per cent over that of June, 1932.

The output of electrical power for the first half year showed an increase of 21 per cent over the first half year of 1932.

The production of pig iron, steel and rolled steel was still behind schedule at the end of the six-months period, although due to a pick-up in the second quarter, these industries show an increase for the whole period over the corresponding period of last year.

The average daily production of pig iron in January, 1933, was 15,000 tons as against 15,900 tons last year. By June the average daily production had reached 21,300 tons as against 17,300

Soyuzphoto.

Harvesting the new crop in a collective of the Central Black Earth Region

tons in June of last year. The average daily production of steel in January, 1933, was 15,300 tons, against 17,300 in January of last year, but by June it had increased to 19,100 tons against 16,100 last year. For the whole half-year period the production of pig iron was 7.3 per cent higher than for the same period in 1932. For the first half-year pig iron was 13.6 per cent behind planned schedules, steel 16.2 per cent behind, rolled steel, 13.9 per cent behind. Improved conditions in the last part of the period reduced the lag in June to 6.2 per cent in pig iron and 9.6 per cent in rolled steel, while steel was still about 17 per cent behind.

The coal industry was in rather bad shape for the first quarter of the year, but considerable improvement was made in the second quarter, when it exceeded by 12 per cent the production for the same period last year. For the whole half-year coal output was 3.9 per cent more than for the first half of 1932. At the end of the first half-year coal had reached 43.2 per cent of the production program for the year, but in the second quarter 93.3 per cent of the program for the quarter was reached. Oil production also lagged during the first quarter, but rallied in the second quarter due to the striking of new oil in Lok Batan, near Baku. For the half-year oil reached 43.2 per cent of the year's program, but fulfilled the plan for the second quarter by 99.3 per cent.

Soyuzphoto.

Oil in the new Lok Batan field

Important advances were made in the machine construction industry. For the first six months of the year 16.4 per cent more machinery was manufactured than in the same period last year. In January the output was 12.9 per cent greater than in January a year ago, and in June the output of machinery was 26.6 per cent greater than in June, 1932. The output of tractors for the first half of 1933 increased by 61 per cent over the corresponding period last year; automobiles by 131.9 per cent; cutting machines by 67.6 per cent; transformators by 49.2 per cent; direct and alternating current machinery by 39.5 per cent; Diesel engines by 98.7 per cent.

The increase of production in the new enterprises of the automotive industry is especially noteworthy. The output of trucks by the Stalin factory in Moscow (formerly the Amo factory), increased by 79.7 per cent in the first quarter and 76 per cent in the second quarter over the corresponding periods of last year. The Molotov automobile factory at Gorky (Nizhni Novgorod) increased its output of trucks in the second quarter by 224.7 per cent over the same month last year. The Saratov combine factory increased production during the half-year period by 162.6 per cent and the Kharkov tractor factory by 95.9 per cent over the first half of 1932. In the tractor industry, as a whole, production increased by 57.1 per cent over the same period in 1932. Requirements of the plan were met 102.1 per cent in the first quarter and 101.6 per cent in the second quarter in the automobile industry and 94.7 per cent in the first quarter and 105 per cent in the second in the tractor industry.

As a result of advances in machine construction the country has received for the half year 35,352 new tractors, 18,501 new trucks, 6,756 combines, 9,300 reapers and binders, 1,590 cutting machines, 970 direct and alternating current machines, 38,980 Diesel engines and 72,759 steam boilers.

Light industry came within two per cent of fulfilling the plan for the first half year. Consumers' goods were 6 per cent below schedule, food about 10 per cent and lumber 1 per cent. In all these branches, however, production exceeded that of last year. Consumers' goods in June showed an increase of 5.8 per cent over June of last year, and the food industries an increase of 13.7 per cent. The improved organization of Soviet trade has resulted in increased retail trade during the past few months. The retail turnover of state and cooperative trade for the first half of 1933 reached 17,274,000,000 rubles, an increase of 25.4 per cent over the corresponding period of last year.

Transport is still in a weak condition, but the recent drastic reorganization of the railroad apparatus should soon begin to bear fruit.

The decision made at the beginning of the year to slow up the rate of industrial development and to concentrate on "mastery of technique," improved quality of output and better care of machinery has already borne results that do not show in production figures alone. The productivity of labor has greatly increased over last year. The average daily output per worker in April was 14.9 per cent in heavy industry and 10.5 per cent in light industry over the corresponding months of last year. In May it was up 18.6 per cent in heavy industry and 9.3 per cent in light industry, and in June 21.5 per cent in heavy and 12 per cent in light industry. In the first quarter daily production per worker in heavy industry was 8.5 per cent higher than the same period last year and 5.8 per cent in light industry. In the second quarter the corresponding increases were 13.9 per cent and 7.9 per cent.

A number of new industrial enterprises have started operations during the first half of the year, most important of which are the Cheliabinsk tractor plant and the Ural machine construction works in Sverdlovsk. New blast furnaces started operations at the Magnitogorsk, Voroshilov and Stalinsk plants. Four open-hearth furnaces, three rolling-mills, two blooming-mills and a number of enterprises in the chemical and food industries started operations during this period. The end of the first half-year also marked the completion of the Baltic-White Sea Canal, described elsewhere in this issue, one of the outstanding engineering projects yet achieved in the U.S.S.R.

In June an all-Union competition was started in the coal and metallurgical industries for the best mine, the best blast furnace, the best steel-rolling department, and as a result considerable increase over the output of last year was achieved in July—the mines produced 30.8 per cent more coal, the metallurgical plants 29.1 per cent more pig iron and 28.7 per cent more steel than in the same month last year. Due to seasonal factors there was a slight decline from the June level in coal, iron-ore and oil output, but not nearly as great a decline as occurred last July.

Machine construction continued to forge ahead in July. For the first seven months of this year 21,961 trucks and 39,958 tractors were manufactured in Soviet plants, as against 9,890 trucks and 24,724 tractors in the first seven months of 1932.

Pioneers of Siberia

By VLADIMIR YUREZANSKY
Translated from the Moscow "Izvestia" of April 29.

STALINSK lies in a huge valley, surrounded on all sides by bare mountain peaks. The train approaches the gigantic construction works late at night. In the gloom toward the mountains sparkle the numberless yellow, white and red lights of unseen dwellings. These lights gleam and twinkle for a whole kilometer, like a fairy illumination. In the center of the valley smoke rises in a fiery glow from the tall chimneys of the metallurgical plant. The wind breaks the tall columns and carries the smoke off into the night. From time to time smoky flames flare up suddenly from the gas chimneys of the blast furnaces. Then the whole valley is filled with sound, rolling up, rolling away again, like the roar of breakers.

In the morning, in the green-blue haze of the frosty dawn, the ring of broad-browed, rocky mountains surrounding the plant is revealed. The gigantic funnel of the central electrical station is singing and the mountains resound with the crescendo of its high tenor notes. Thousands of mud huts are scattered over the slopes of the mountains, almost to the very summit. Like the Crimean *saklia* they cling closely together, forming confused narrow streets and lanes of human nests. Above them, on one side of the construction area, the long rows of two-storied log cabins of the Upper Colony are built in a series of terraces. On the other side, on the slope behind the blast-furnace, open-hearth furnace and foundry section, spreads the wooden encampment of the Lower Colony, with its countless barracks, dormitories, cottages, and standard shingle houses. All this bazaar of modern structures is like the campaign encampment of some mighty army.

Beyond the river Ob the four-story brick apartment houses of the new socialist city glow ruddily through the blue frost. Above are the station barracks and beyond, on the slope of the Purgin ridge, like dark bee-hives, cluster another group of mud huts.

People of twenty-three nationalities are working at Kuznetsk. From all over they have come—Russians, Ukrainians, Kazaks, Shortsi, Tartars, White Russians, Americans, Germans, Buryats, English, Esthonians, Greeks, Letts, Teluets, Georgians, Jews, Tadzhiks, Chuvashi, Armenians, Italians, Gypsies, Chinese. Different cultures, different customs and training, have all been harnessed to the great task of constructing the largest and most modern metallurgical plant on the Asiastic continent.

Distinguished engineers, highly skilled technicians from all parts of the world and Shortsi

from the taiga (dense Siberian forests), hunters, almost aboriginal, who have never before seen a railroad, meet here.

II.

Someone has brought the dress of a Khakassian *svakha* (match-maker) and the barbaric costume of a Teluet *shaman* (medicine man) to an American engineer of the Upper Colony, a big specialist in steel smelting. The Teluet abandons his incredible clothing with outspread palms. On it the dried head of a yellow-beaked owl gleams ominously between bright shining ribbons. The American buys both outfits as a reminder of the not far distant past of this extraordinary region, the whole aspect of which is undergoing such swift transformation.

The American is tall and alert. He does not know fatigue, but dashes around the open-hearth furnaces from morning until night.

Kuznetskstroy represents a new world to this engineer. The American says:

"The youth of the country, the youth of the people, the movement of history which you feel in your nerves, in your brain, in your whole being—that is what delights me so here. Everywhere courage, tenacity, burning eagerness, confidence. I sometimes feel envious. Sometimes I would like to become a real Soviet citizen in order to feel organically in myself the strength with which the best workers of Kuznetskstroy are filled. Our firm has built plants in Canada, in Africa, in England—the well-known Ford plant near London. But of them all Kuznetskstroy is the most American in the sense of extent and of new technical achievements. It is a real Yankee factory. To build such a plant in the wild mountains of Asia, among Mongolian tribes only recently nomads and aboriginal hunters is a titantic job!

"I shall never forget the starting up of the first blast-furnace. An enormous crowd of people gathered, swarmed like ants into the place around the blast-furnace, from which the debris had not yet been cleared, from which the impatient buzzing of their voices arose. It was spring, it was muddy, a cold north wind was blowing, the blue mountain ridges grew dark against the close horizon. Miners, drivers, stone-masons, carpenters—they came by hundreds and thousands. The whole area around the blast-furnace was filled with a crowd of many races. Somewhere the rumor arose that the first smelting would take place at night. The people waited eagerly, and stood there the whole night through. It was useless to tell them to disperse, the words had no effect. Whole centuries seemed to have passed. The twelfth century of Jenghis Khan mingled with ours. The noisy horsemen in their winged fur caps had left their battle horses somewhere beyond the blue mountains of the past, and in a perplexed, stunned, almost frightened ring they have surrounded the giant furnace created by the Bolsheviki. The engineers and furnace specialists, Russian and American, are in a state of great excitement. They are all eager for success, for faultless operation of the furnace, they are all afraid that some defect will unexpectedly appear. The thousands of spectators increase the excitement. They make the blast-furnace workers tense and nervous, surrounded by this large and unexpected audience. The smelting did not take place until the following night after all. The crowd lit bonfires, warmed themselves at the smoky flames, and stood in an expectant crowd until the pouring of the first iron. That night was the beginning of a new world, a new epoch, a new frontier not only in the personal lives of the builders, but of the whole Soviet Union. America and Europe have never experienced anything like this. I felt as though I were on another planet."

III.

The mountains around the Kuznetskstroy valley were once named for their owners, the rich Old-Believers, fur and grain merchants, heavy-built kulaks, holding many settlements and villages in their fists. The lofty rocky mountain to the west was named Startsev. Startsev had a large apiary on the mountain from which great vats of honey were gathered and poods of beeswax. The long ridge to the northeast was known as the Purgin Crest. It was adjoined on the east by Sapozhnikov Crest, and the perpendicular mass to the south bore the name of Mt. Sokolov.

The Kerzhaki lived behind thick enclosures, bristling with nails, with solid iron bolts. In the courtyards the thick-wooled, ferocious hunting dogs were kept in chains, and prowled back and forth among the sheds with raucous barks, rattling their chains fiercely. These were strongholds of greed and ignorance.

When the first news went forth of the construction of the new *combinat*, alarm spread among the Kerzhaki. They were seized with the convulsive, wild, really mad idea of resisting the advent of the industrial giant, of fighting it back, of defending their property and their interests. They carried on a frenzied agitation, invoked the Old Testament, spread wild rumors of fearful prophesies of the Apocalypse and the biblical prophets. Devotees of biblical lore prowled around the villages, trying to call meetings, urging the peasants to pass resolutions, to make a stubborn stand against having any factory here, against giving up any land for the plant.

But the malicious resolutions planned by the kulaks came to nothing. The peasants would not accept them or sign them. The building of the plant was started, and in less than three years its first section was completed. Now the factory is producing not only iron and steel, but rails, it is

already paying back the country for the investment that went into its construction.

The peasants come in from the villages just to have a look at this miracle growing up among the mountains of the Kerzhaki. On the resounding metal platform before the blooming-mill stands a fifty-year old collective member from Togul. His eyes, full of perplexity and rapture, watch how easily, smoothly and swiftly the mill rolls out its fiery four-hundred pood mould. The blinding, incandescent steel pours out like treacle, and the Siberian, with his thick overgrown beard, cannot admire enough the skill of this powerful mill. They explain to him that all the powerful mechanism of the mill is set in motion by electricity, and that the electric power is governed by two men who move the controlling switches back and forth. And when the collectivist from Togul catches sight of the black pointed handles of these levers through the window with his own eyes, and the two young workers intently bent over them, he is thunder-struck with astonishment.

"And they call it Kuznetsk-stroy. . . . Well, not bad, not bad!" And he rapturously slaps his hand against his peasant's overcoat, unable to find words to express his feelings, and again he greedily feasts his eyes on the blazing orange steel, pouring into the rolling cylinder.

IV.

At Kuznetskstroy there are few skilled workers, and not nearly enough highly skilled engineers. The fine equipment requires the most skillful possible handling. To master the processes of production, to operate the series of aggregates to full capacity, is far more difficult than to set up and mount the most complete factory mechanicism. The majority of the blast-furnace, open-hearth furnace and rolling-mill workers are but recently from the collectives. They began as ditch-diggers, loaders, bricklayers, carters of clay, wood, sand, bricks, iron—the most primitive kind of muscular work, and only gradually did they become masons, carpenters, electricians, concrete workers, assemblers, machine operatives. Their metallurgical experience has been a matter of months. In Europe and America it takes decades to train men to perform the most highly skilled and delicate of these operations. The American engineer, Brown, working in the rolling department, is a calibrater of the fourth generation. His father, grandfather and great grandfather before him were past masters of calibration in Scotland and across the ocean. The House of Brown has lived in traditions of metallurgy for a hundred and ten years. Conversations about the rolling of iron and steel, about the proper construction of cylinders, about the conduct and caprices of metal, have had an inalienable place in the daily life of the Brown family since the beginning of the last century. The brains of the future calibraters were imperceptibly nourished with professional knowledge and terms from childhood.

Our specialists have had no such forbears. They must master everything in world technique by their own efforts, their own intelligence, their own devotion to the building of socialism alone. While Brown, a well-fed, well-dressed boy, studied in college, our rolling-mill worker and calibrater, Dmitri Andreyevich Popov, was wandering over the countryside under the Stolypin regime, a pauper boy, with a sack on his back. The art of rolling was incomparably more difficult for Popov to learn than for Brown. But he went at the task so doggedly, so eagerly carried each experiment further, recorded so exactly the reason for every success he achieved, that he finally acquired real mastery. Such people as Popov feel an entirely exceptional attachment to the results of their labor, to everything created with their own toil-hardened hands, with their own will, thoughts and overtaxed nerves. They carry in themselves a feeling of the closest, most indissoluble kinship with the factory to the end of their lives.

I saw an unforgettable picture at Kuznetskstroy. It was a dazzling frosty evening, windless and motionless, such as occur only in the Alatai mountains. From the stacks of the open-hearth furnaces and the central electrical station, like a huge fortress, from the gigantic blast-furnaces and coking-ovens, straight, unwavering columns of smoke rose upward for a whole kilometer. These incredibly high shafts of smoke reached cyclopean dimensions. They glowed in the frosty winter sunset, orange-gold, lilac and blue in the strong heavy atmosphere. Suddenly, beyond the hills of clay, beyond the ditches and excavations, beyond the precipices of the deep foundation trenches and craters, on an embankment of earth, appeared a dark crowd of people, motionless in the center, moving at the edges as new people arrived. In a moment the brass voice of the funeral orchestra rang out with bitter tenderness on the frosty air. It was unearthly, unexpected, overwhelming. There, lining on both sides the brink of the dug-out chasm of a future tunnel uniting the Upper Colony with the Lower, stood the crowd, pressed closely together—on excavated slopes, in ravines, on logs, on mats of straw and kamysh prepared for casing. Over the numerous human figures on the opposite mound a derrick, covered with soot, with its tall steel arm, loomed heavily. The arm of the derrick began to turn toward the crowd, directed toward the tunnel. And then it became evident that a coffin covered with red bunting was attached to the arm of the derrick by a fine cable. The derrick smoothly and solemnly lifted the coffin over the pit. Slowly turning, the coffin hung over the abyss—an extraordinary, remarkable, moving sight. All around the smoke glowed fantastically in the sunset, and on the brink of the

tunnel stood the workers—Russians, Kazaks, Teleuts, Shortsi. Raised by a pulley almost to the top of the arm, the coffin hesitated for a few seconds—light, weightless, poised, like a ship ready to set sail in the sky—and then, to the strains of the great funeral anthem, it was slowly lowered. It seemed to descend not on the cables, but on the waves of music, bearing it lower and lower. From the unseen depths of the tunnel, the far sound of a woman's weeping is heard, as the red-bunting wrapped coffin neared the crowd wails of grief arose. The coffin descended smoothly into the chasm, like a polished memorial stone placed in the foundations of some great building. Then it was hidden by the crowd. It was lowered into a grave dug deep in the yellow clay bottom of the chasm. The assistant construction chief made a speech. And again the trumpets sounded forth the deep throbbing strains of the funeral anthem—full of grief and exultation.

So they buried Zayev, construction chief of the tunnel. Two weeks before he had become ill, and was taken to the hospital. Sickness enveloped him like a fire. At first Zayev struggled against it, tried to beat off the stupefying temperature, to get well, to return to work. Burning delirium, like a whirling torrent, carried him along impetuously, confused and piled up before him a jumble of armature fittings, scaffolding, concrete blocks. Zayev rushed about excitedly giving orders, asking questions, explaining, exhorting. But one day at dawn he came to himself and with sudden overwhelming clarity understood that he was through, that he would not get up again, that he would not complete the tunnel—that it would be done without him and forever dissociated from his name and his highest aspirations. And to avoid being separated forever from his tunnel, and leaving no traces behind him, he called his comrades in, and feverishly choosing the most cogent words, begged them, as the highest reward they could bestow on him, to bury him not in the cemetery, but in the place where he had worked, in the very spot where he had been in charge of operations.

Over the grave of Zayev they poured smooth river gravel. At night they placed four great cauldrons full of coke over the damp gravel to prevent it from freezing. In the morning concrete was poured over the grave, turning it into an indestructible monolith. Over this they will place one of the columns of the tunnel, and to it will be attached an iron plaque bearing Zayev's name.

After the funeral the American said, softly and wonderingly: "All this is extraordinary. Rome never stirred its founders and builders like this!"

The Tasks of the Trade Unions

The People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R. was abolished and all its functions turned over to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, according to a government decree issued on June 23. Mr. N. M. Shvernik, Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, made a speech at a plenary session of the latter on June 29, devoted to problems connected with the carrying out of the decree, extracts from which are given below.

THE fusion of the Narkomtrud (People's Commissariat for Labor), with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the transfer of the functions of the organs of the Narkomtrud to the Trade Unions, is a measure of colossal importance to the whole working class. The chief significance of this decision lies in the fact that in their efforts to increase the material well-being of the workers, our party and our government are turning over all questions of social insurance, labor protection and labor legislation directly to the trade unions, which are more completely mass organizations than any other body in our country.

The role and significance of the trade unions in socialist construction has grown considerably in the course of the first five-year plan. The trade unions mobilized the strength and energy of millions of workers to create and strengthen socialist enterprises, to create a new technique and to guarantee the building of the foundations of a socialist economy in the first five-year plan. An important role in strengthening the connections between the trade unions and the masses was played by the fifth plenum of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, at which the question of breaking up the unions into smaller units was taken up. This policy, carried out on the initiative of the central committee of the party, made it possible to reconstruct the trade unions so that they could take over direct leadership of the productive activities of the workers in the different branches of industries, so that the trade unions should understand more completely the specific conditions of the work in these branches and on this basis better serve the material and cultural requests and needs of the workers.

We had formerly 23 trade unions. There are now 47.

The fifth plenum adopted important decisions

Soyuzphoto.

An "udarnik" miner of the Donbas

on the radical reorganization of social insurance. The plenum decided on "a radical improvement of the work of the whole system of social insurance from top to bottom, a reconstruction of its methods, bringing it closer to factories, shops and large sovhozes, an improvement in the staffs of workers in the social insurance departments, complete elimination of bureaucracy in the organs of social insurance."

On the basis of these instructions social insurance disbursement stations were established directly at industrial and transport enterprises and at the large new construction projects. This method has fully justified itself. We already have 3,500 disbursement stations at enterprises, factories, machine and tractor stations and sovhozes throughout the Soviet Union.

The work of these disbursement stations has been carried on under the supervision and control of the factory and shop committees which have created committees of active workers in connection with these stations and have thus drawn the workers themselves into control over social insurance.

But the reorganization of social insurance has not been limited to this. The fifth plenum decided to create eleven branch offices of social insurance in the leading branches of industry. These offices which have already been working for almost two-and-a-half years have also completely justified themselves. These branch offices have made it possible for the central committee of the unions, the regional committees and the factory and shop committees to have direct contact with the social insurance work. All this means that the trade unions have already stored up considerable experience in social insurance, that they are no longer novices in this field.

The fifth plenum also emphasized the necessity of the election by the trade unions of the organs of social insurance and the ratification of the social insurance budget by the trade union organizations. The trade unions thus take direct part in the distribution of social insurance funds and the decision as to where these funds go. This has helped the trade unions draw the workers into control over the daily work of the organs of the Narkomtrud and of social insurance and to eliminate bureaucratic methods which appeared in the practical work of these organs.

The fifth plenum also passed a very important decision in the sphere of labor protection. This measure took the same direction as that of the decision on social insurance. That is to say, the greatest possible participation of the workers themselves in the control over measures for the protection of labor. The plenum decided to create the institution of social inspectors of labor protection in the departments and of the enterprises. We already have 40,000 working men and women actively serving in this capacity.

The ninth congress of trade unions still more firmly emphasized the tasks of the unions in serving the material and cultural needs and requirements of the workers. In his speech at the congress Mr. Kaganovich said: "The trade union workers should achieve a situation in which the workers will come, first of all, directly to their union with their needs and questions. This can be carried out not by decrees and resolutions, but by practical work, so that the workers may actually see in practice that the unions are attentive to their needs and will respond to all justifiable requests."

Kaganovich emphasized "that the task of the trade unions is to bind the concrete needs of the workers with the interests of socialist industry."

Since the time of the ninth congress the work of the trade unions in all around service to the workers, particularly in the field of social insurance and labor protection, has appreciably increased.

We have 50,000 insurance delegates in the enterprises, working directly under trade union leadership. These delegates in the enterprises, departments and mines, carry out the decision of the fifth plenum congress on improving social insurance and drawing the masses of workers themselves into this field.

Reasons for Fusion of Narkomtrud and Trade Unions

In order to understand the necessity and the importance of the fusion of the Narkomtrud with

the trade unions, it is necessary to sketch briefly here how the functions of the Narkomtrud have changed in connection with the growth of socialist economy, and the trade unions.

The growth of the national economy leading to the end of unemployment, has changed the whole question of the selection of labor forces. "The situation," said Stalin in his historical speech on six conditions, "has now fundamentally changed. From this it follows that we cannot further count on the natural flow of the labor forces. That means that from a policy of natural flow we must now change to a policy of organized selection of workers for industry." This means that the functions of the Narkomtrud in the regulation of the labor market and the distribution of labor power have diminished. This is understandable in so far as the basic question with which in its time the Narkomtrud and its local branches were occupied was the question of the struggle against unemployment and finding positions for the unemployed. But just as soon as unemployment was liquidated the whole situation was radically changed. The work of the organized selection of labor forces became more and more directly the work of the economic organizations who chose their own labor forces, concluded contracts with the collectives for workers and so on.

If we take the sphere of wages we shall see that here also a radical change has taken place which has affected the work of the organs of the Narkomtrud. The immense growth in the scale of production and the new technical equipment which has become extremely complicated have brought to the fore the question of labor turnover and the necessity of attaching workers more closely to the enterprises where they work. To this end it was first of all necessary to do away with the old wage system, to liquidate the tendency to equalization in payment for labor and to create a stimulus for workers to increase their qualifications. And all this, as experience has shown, could be carried out, not by organs of the Narkomtrud, but by the economic organizations with the active participation of the trade unions.

The growth of the national economy and the growth of the working class have led to a colossal increase in social insurance funds and have required a thorough reconstruction of the whole business of social insurance in order to bring it closer to production. This has made it necessary to consider the special characteristics of different branches of industry and enterprises, the conditions of labor of separate groups of workers and even of separate trades.

Thus, the transfer of social insurance to the trade unions is merely the finishing touch to the reorganization of social insurance already begun by the trade unions.

Only due to the fact that the trade unions have carried out the line of the party and have kept close to the masses have they been able to develop into powerful organizations numbering today 17,260,000 workers and employees, or almost the entire working class of our country.

The transfer of social insurance to the trade unions means the transfer to them not merely of functions of greatest political importance touching the deepest interests of the working masses, but also the transfer of tremendous funds. The social insurance budget for 1933 amounted to 4,431,000,000 rubles.

The trade unions have become the real managers of social insurance and that carries with it important duties and responsibilities. Let us just consider how this 4,431,000,000 rubles is distributed in the different forms of serving the workers.

Payments for temporary loss of capacity to work and supplementary forms of insurance amount in the social insurance budget for 1933 to 814,000,000 rubles; expenditures for pensions and rehabilitation, 532,000,000 rubles; treatment in sanitaria and resorts (including rest homes, physical culture and other forms of preventive work), 203,000,000 rubles; dietary measures, 35,000,000 rubles; medical aid and hospital construction, 920,000,000 rubles; construction and support of children's institutions, 189,000,000 rubles; workers' housing, 600,000,000 rubles.

Under the control of the social insurance organs there are 311 rest homes with beds for 73,000; 98 sanitaria with 19,925 beds. The cost of these rest homes and sanitaria, including their equipment, is over 150,000,000 rubles. The capacity of the rest homes is 1,140,000 persons for two-week periods. The capacity of the sanitaria is 141,330 persons for periods of one month. Transferred to our control also are the new construction projects. Fifty rest homes with a capacity of 16,745, and 29 sanitaria with a capacity of 10,925, are under construction. The capital investment in these new enterprises is 158,000,000 rubles. As you see, the enterprises coming under our management are very large and complicated and require the most painstaking and careful work on the part of the trade unions. And in addition connected with the rest homes and sanitaria there are large subsidiary enterprises. There is a seeded area to be cared for of over 41,000 hectares. There are over 5,000 head of milk cows, over 10,000 pigs, and several tens of thousands of head of poultry.

In 1933, 81,000,000 rubles has been allotted for the support of day nurseries which are supposed to care for over 366,100 children. Forty-eight million rubles is being spent for the support of kindergartens, which take care of half a million children. For the feeding of school children, 25,000,000 rubles has been spent; 3,000,000 rubles for health measures for pre-school children and pioneers; 4,500,000 rubles for milk kitchens, and 5,196,000 rubles additional has been allotted for day nurseries during the harvest campaign.

I have quoted these figures in order to show up particularly this sphere which was not sufficiently developed by the social insurance organs. Concern for children is now of enormous importance, with the growing number of women industry. The role of the working woman in industry grows from year to year. The trade unions must create conditions where the working woman who is a mother can feel confident while she is on her job that her children are being well cared for, so that she may give all her strength to her work and to those problems which come before her as a worker. This is a tremendous problem which we must grapple with seriously. The working women themselves must have an important role in this. We must select working women from the masses who will be able to devote themselves to this work and help place on a high level the whole problem of the care of children, beginning with the moment of birth to the time when finally they become workers themselves.

All this must be done by the trade unions. We must turn to no one else. We, the working class, the trade unions, must do these things ourselves.

We must transform social insurance into a real and powerful lever for improving the material conditions of the workers and raising the productivity of labor. We must display creative initiative. It is one thing to exercise control, but quite another matter to be ourselves the masters of the whole affair.

We must root out every vestige of bureaucracy and equalization in social insurance. We must reexamine the whole practice of social insurance from the viewpoint of favoring the *udarniki* (shock troop workers) and those workers who have been longest on the job. The struggle with labor turnover must take first place.

The same approach is necessary in estimating the amount of pension to be paid. Formerly great significance was attached to working for a long time and receiving a pension. It may be asked, is it not also an honor for a worker under the proletarian government to earn a pension? Therefore we, the trade unions, must devote serious attention to the matter of establishing pensions that will have a direct relation to the length of the period spent in one enterprise. We must put an end to rapid labor turnover, we must create a stimulus to the workers to remain steadily at one enterprise.

With the aim of improving methods of labor protection and more complete leadership in this respect it is necessary that we transfer all inspection work in labor protection to the central committee of the trade unions and locally to the factory and shop committees.

The trade unions must take over entire direction of the business of labor protection and also work out general regulations for such things as special working clothes and footwear, special dietary feeding, rules governing working time and recreation periods, and so on.

The basic organizational measure which results from the transfer of social insurance to the trade unions is the reconstruction of social insurance according to the production principle. First of all we must liquidate territorial, regional and district insurance offices and turn over their functions directly to the trade unions. Territorial offices or branches have already served their period. Now we need only social insurance branches directly connected with production, directly serving a specific group of workers.

Further, it is necessary to do away with the All-Union Central Council of Social Insurance and give its functions to the trade unions. All sanitaria and rest homes of the social insurance organizations, of local significance, together with their subsidiary enterprises, are to be turned over to the regional and local trade union organizations. Resorts, sanitaria and rest homes of all-union importance must be under control of the All-Union Central Council Trade Unions.

The decision to unite the Narkomtrud and the trade unions and to transfer the functions of the former to the latter is thus a powerful weapon in the hands of the trade unions with which to struggle for improvement in the material and living conditions of the workers and for raising the productivity of labor. At the same time the responsibility of the trade unions is greatly in-

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Forge press department of the new Cheliabinsk tractor works

creased. There can be no rights without obligations. These rights which we have earned bring also great responsibilities to us. From today on social insurance is wholly in our hands and we are responsible for it. We are responsible before the government and before the workers.

In order to carry out this decision we must completely reconstruct the work of the trade union organizations. I have in view not only a reconstruction of the apparatus, but also a tremendous strengthening of our entire trade union work. We must attract greater numbers of the working masses into active work in the trade union organizations. The apparatus of the trade union organizations must be supplemented by a large group of volunteer workers closely bound to us in day to day work. All our work must be constructed on the basis of the closest possible attention to the needs and requests of the workers. Every worker in the trade unions must understand that only on these conditions can the trade unions take advantage of all the rich possibilities accruing from the transfer to them of the functions of the Narkomtrud in order to increase still more material, social, and cultural services to the workers.

Advanced Training for Soviet Doctors

From a statement published in the Moscow "Izvestia" of July 18, 1933, signed by Professors Luria, Pletnev, Rozanov, Sysin, Gorphin, Talalayev, and Auerbach.

THE maintenance of the health of the workers is a real problem in the U.S.S.R., closely connected with the socialist construction program. The growth of giant industrial centers, such as Magnitogorsk, Dnieprogres and the rest, along with the creation of a large-scale socialist agriculture, have naturally been accompanied by a growth of the cultural and social requirements of the working class, and among them, first of all, the need to live under healthful conditions.

After the October revolution an extensive system of new hospitals, dispensaries, factory health stations, sanatoria, resorts, rest homes, creches, and numerous other prophylactic and therapeutic institutions of the most various types were opened up. Medical service became easily obtainable for the wide masses of the workers. Within the next few years there will be built on the territory of the U.S.S.R. 350 new hospitals, ambulatoria and dispensaries in the large industrial cities. Splendidly equipped hospitals have already been built in the far north where formerly there was no medical service whatever for the population. Furthermore, the standards of medical service are much higher than they were formerly.

The new socialized restaurants and new housing projects are being established under the supervision of the health authorities. Conditions of labor and of the actual production processes in the factories and shops are under the constant surveillance of the sanitary inspectors and the factory doctors. The latter take a very active part in creating proper sanitary and hygienic conditions with the aim of preventing sickness and increasing labor productivity. It is their duty to report the very first sign of illness in a worker, and to take the necessary steps to prevent its further development.

An extensive new network of scientific research institutions has been created in order that the latest achievements of medical science can be used in laying a firm foundation for the health of the workers, and to discover new methods of the prevention and cure of disease.

All of these problems make it essential that the Soviet doctor shall have sound technical training, extensive practical experience and knowledge of the technique of modern medical science. For it is quite obvious that however extensive the army of medical and sanitary personnel may be, however great the number of new hospitals, dispensaries, and so on, in the final analysis the value of our medical service depends primarily on the qualifications of the doctors. That is the reason that in addition to the new methods we are put-

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State Medical Institute at Saratov

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A new kitchen factory at Leningrad

ting into effect for training doctors in the medical schools, we are also giving special attention to the problem of improving the qualifications of practicing physicians, of keeping them abreast of all the latest achievements in the prevention and cure of disease. This can be done only in a planned and scientific program of training.

The matter of re-training physicians became a state problem immediately after the revolution, and became an integral part of our health system. Before the revolution there was one institution for graduate work for doctors, the Leningrad Institute, a semi-state, semi-charitable institution which trained from 200 to 250 physicians a year. During the World War even that institution was practically closed down. After the revolution the re-training of physicians underwent a radical change. The Leningrad Institute for the training of doctors was reconstructed and greatly extended. In 1920, in honor of Lenin's fiftieth birthday, the Narkomzdrav (People's Commissariat for Health) of the R.S.F.S.R. opened the Lenin Institute of Advanced Training for Doctors in Kazan. This institute was of enormous importance in raising the qualifications of doctors not merely of the Volga and Ural regions, but throughout the whole country, and it played a significant part in raising the quality of medical service in the Tartar Republic and among the neighboring national minority groups. Subsequently a number of similar institutes were opened in different parts of the Soviet Union.

Practically all the doctors who have been sent under the regular plan of the Health Commissariats and other medical organizations to institutes to perfect their training, have received wages in full during the period of study, and their railroad fares and board and living expenses are usually taken care of by the organizations for which they work.

Moscow occupies a unique place in advanced study for physicians. The necessity of a planned program of training specialists in Moscow, of creating a central base for working out methods of training physicians, for increasing the qualifications of already trained specialists, and of opening up opportunities for doctors not merely from the Moscow region but from the whole Union to fill out their knowledge in the center of scientific thought of the U.S.S.R., led, early in 1931, to the idea of organizing in Moscow a central institute for the advanced study for doctors under the Narkomzdrav and the Moscow city and regional public health departments. The new institute was faced with the difficult problem of coordinating the work of the numerous scientific institutes, and the sanitary and therapeutic institutes of Moscow in the field of perfecting the training of doctors. The leading hospitals of Moscow—the Botkin hospital, the Moscow Region Clinical Institute, the Helmholtz Institute, the Rusakov Hospital, and many others—almost all the Moscow institutes of the Narkomzdrav and the Moscow Health Department and the Narkomtrud (Commissariat for Labor) opened their doors wide to the doctors from the provinces sent to Moscow to supplement their knowledge. The best medical forces of Moscow expressed the desire to help in raising the qualifications of the provincial doctors in order to raise to a higher level the medical service for workers and collective members.

During the short period of its existence—twenty-eight months—about 5,000 doctors from the provinces and 1,000 from Moscow have completed courses organized by the Institute. Most of them have continued to practice during their courses. From 2,500 to 3,000 doctors a year have passed through the Central Institute; 2,184 through the Leningrad Institute; 960 through the Kazan Institute; 168 through Novosibirsk. The Narkomzdrav is organizing a whole network of advanced doctor-training courses in the provincial university centers, which will follow the methods of the Central Institute.

Doctors come from the most remote regions and autonomous republics of the R.S.F.S.R.—the Far East, Yakutia, the Buryat Mongolian Republic, the Northern Region, Sakhalin, as well as from the Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbaidzhan, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan—and thus the Moscow Institute has become an all-Union center for supplementary doctor training.

The institute has organized work for increasing the knowledge and skill of doctors in fifty branches of medicine, and has a special plan and program for each one. Some of the foremost specialists in Moscow helped in the preparation of these courses. The institute organized traveling courses in Ivanov and in Tula, Kalinin, Podolsk and a number of other centers of Moscow Province. Professors from the institute went to these places to give lectures and to work with the local doctors who could thus become acquainted

with the latest achievements in their special branches while continuing their work. All this, of course, is only a beginning, but on this basis a planned and perfected system of advanced education for doctors can be worked out.

In addition to the courses for the regular doctors, courses were organized at the institute for other health workers; for instance, the district health inspectors, who come from all parts of the R.S.F.S.R. to attend the courses. Such workers, with their many years of practical activity in health work, were delighted at this opportunity to fill in some of the theoretical gaps in their training.

The Moscow Central Institute has also done a lot of work in correspondence courses, and in short term courses of a fortnight or so on specific problems, or to acquaint specialists with some outstanding new achievement in their field. A center for working out the methodology of doctor training throughout the whole country has been established at the institute, where curricula are worked out for courses to be held in the provinces. Doctors from the provincial institutes come here for consultation and sometimes the professors of the institute go out to the provinces to give courses. A large amount of valuable scientific research work is carried on at the institute, and it has published a great deal of work having both scientific and practical value.

The work of the institute has undoubtedly improved the quality of medical service and served as a stimulus even to the older specialists to keep in constant touch with the newest methods and discoveries. A plan has been worked out providing opportunities for doctors working in remote parts of the country to come to Moscow or some nearer institute every three years, on government "commandeerovka," to bring their knowledge up to date.

Cultural Work in the Red Army

THE Red Army occupies an important place in the large-scale program of cultural construction now being carried on in the Soviet Union. The workers and peasants entering the Red Army are actually enrolled in a school with an extensive and varied curriculum. The army has developed all kinds of educational institutions which constantly carry on intensive activities for raising the cultural level and the political consciousness of both rank and file Red Army men and officers. Of these institutions perhaps the most important are the army clubs and the so-called "Red Corners" at the various barracks. There are now over 1,000 Red Army clubs throughout the U.S.S.R., and several thousand Red Corners. In these cultural centers all kinds of activities are carried on—political and scientific lectures, plays, concerts, cinema. There are numerous circles and courses organized around them, devoted to political, educational, technical, musical or artistic activities.

The "Red Army Houses," of which there are 134 in different parts of the country, play an important role in the social and cultural life of the Red Army. These are equipped with scientific laboratories, auditoriums, study rooms, museums, and exhibition halls.

The libraries of the Red Army play a particularly important part in its educational work. There are over 2,000 of them, containing altogether 13,000,000 volumes. In addition to the regular reading carried on by the individual Red Army members, there is a great deal of reading aloud to groups, special evenings are devoted to book discussion, and competitions are held for the best librarians. The Red Army also acts as a carrier of books to the countryside, and members are encouraged to write about books to their friends and relatives in their home town or village. The demand for books among the Red Army men grows constantly, and in the past few years their interest has grown in books on social and economic questions, on questions of technique and science, while *belles lettres* are by no means neglected.

The Red Army press is another indicator of the cultural awakening in the army. In the Tsarist Army there was only one paper published, "Russky Invalid," while today there are over 10,000 papers published by different sections of the army in all parts of the country. Over 100,000 military correspondents contribute to these papers, sending regular items about the life and activities in the army. There is no unit of the Red Army which does not issue regularly its own wall-newspaper, written, illustrated, edited and made up by the Red Army men themselves. These are a very effective means of stimulating the interest of the members of the Red Army whose military or educational work is below standard.

The cinema is used extensively in the cultural work of the army. It has at its disposal ninety stationary sound film projectors and sixteen traveling sound projectors, while it has over 1,400 stationary silent film apparatuses and a large number of traveling ones. The Red Army

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At a Red Army celebration

has its own supply of films, and has itself produced a large number of military and scientific films, which are a valuable addition to direct instruction.

Dramatic work in the Red Army is on a high level. There are sixteen stationary Red Army theaters, and a large number of amateur dramatic groups. The regular state theaters of the U.S.S.R. assist the Red Army to a very large extent in its dramatic work. Groups of actors from the larger cities go out regularly to the Red Army camps during the summer months, and not only put on professional performances, but also help the army men in their own dramatic work.

Music is also very popular in the Red Army. Concerts are given frequently by professional outside groups, and thousands of the Red Army men themselves participate in quartets, bands, orchestras, and choral groups.

The radio is naturally one of the most potent means of education for the Red Army. The army has broadcasting stations of its own and thousands of loud speakers. Many courses for the Red soldiers are carried on by radio.

The cultural influence of the Red Army makes itself felt through the Red Army "graduates" who later take posts in the state industrial or agricultural enterprises, in the cooperatives, courts, or other state or social work. They are always among the most active and enlightened workers, usually develop into the best "udarniki" (shock troop workers), and frequently become leaders in whatever type of work they undertake. Every year the Red Army trains large numbers of tractorists, mechanics, cinema operators, librarians for the village reading rooms, and workers for the village Soviets.

Recent Government Decrees

PLANNING OF SOCIALIST CITIES

Provisions for improving and coordinating the planning of new socialist cities and settlements and the reconstruction of existing ones so that such planning will be in accord with the plan for the population area in which such cities are situated, are outlined in a government decree issued on June 27.

In districts where already existing or projected groups of independent or combined enterprises and the workers' towns or settlements serving them, are joined by a single system of transport, a common power or raw material base, and served by a common system of public utilities and social and cultural institutions, any new construction of whatever type must be in accordance with a basic district plan.

All district plans are subject to ratification by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of recommendations of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. and the All-Union Council of Communal Economy. Plans for population points are to be ratified by the corresponding local government, planning and communal bodies.

When locations for the construction of new industrial and transport organizations or for the extension of existing ones are chosen, the locations of the towns and settlements to be connected with them must be selected at the same time, and these locations must be coordinated with the general plan for the development of the district.

Plans for the population centers must satisfy the following requirements:

a. Guarantee the possibility of further development and growth in line with the general economic development of the U.S.S.R.

b. Guarantee the most favorable possible conditions for the development of new and the extension of existing industrial and transport enterprises.

c. Guarantee the most favorable possible conditions of life and labor for the population.

d. Provide for the construction of institutions serving the cultural, social and daily needs of the population on the basis of a planned reconstruction of life on a socialist basis in accord with the general course of development of the national economy.

e. Contain instructions on the architectural

and artistic mounting both of the population center as a whole, and of its separate parts—sections, streets, squares, etc.

f. Provide for a connected system of "green planted areas"—parks of culture and rest, boulevards, squares, etc.—both within the limits of the populated area and around the outskirts, and also for protected zones.

g. Provide for a suburban argricultural zone directly connected with the populated center.

h. Guarantee the necessary measures for fire protection.

The general direction of the planning and socialist reconstruction of cities and other populated points throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. and also the working out of the basic norms and standards of planning for cities and other populated centers is the job of the All-Union Council of Communal Economy.

DECREE ON FORMER RUSSIAN CITIZENS

On May 27 a decree was issued by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. stating that former Russian citizens who went abroad previous to October 25, 1917, and who have become citizens of another country or who have made application for citizenship in another country, are not considered citizens of the Soviet Union.

This decree is supplementary to the decree of the R.S.F.S.R. of December 15, 1921 (Collected Laws of the R.S.F.S.R., 1922, No. 1, Article 11) the text of which follows:

Decree on depriving certain categories of persons now abroad, of the rights of citizenship.

Persons of the following categories remaining abroad after the publication of the present decree, are deprived of the right of Russian citizenship:

(a) Persons who have been abroad constantly for over five years, and have not received from Soviet representatives foreign passports or corresponding certificates previous to June 1, 1922.

Note: This period is not applied to countries where there is no Representative of the R.S.F.S.R., in which countries the period may be established after the establishment of a plenipotentiary mission.

(b) Persons who left Russia after November 7, 1917 without permission of the Soviet Government.

(c) Persons who voluntarily served in the armies which fought against the Soviet power or participated in any way whatsoever in counter-revolutionary organizations.

(d) Persons having the right of option regarding Russian citizenship who have not taken advantage of that right up to the expiration of the period of the option.

(e) Persons not coming under point "a" of the present article, who are abroad and who have not registered with the foreign representatives of the R.S.F.S.R., referred to in paragraph "a," within the period therein provided.

2. Persons mentioned in paragraphs "b" and "c" of Article I may, up to June 1, 1922, make application for the restoration of their rights to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, through the nearest plenipotentiary mission.

(Signed) M. KALININ,
President All-Russian Central Executive Committee.
V. ULIANOV (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.
A. ENUKIDZE,
Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

December 15, 1921.

TEXT OF THE NEW DECREE

From Collected Laws and Regulations of the U.S.S.R., Section I, No. 34, June 9, 1933, Article 200.

Regarding former Russian subjects who left Russia previous to October 25, 1917, and who have become citizens of another country or who have made application for citizenship in another country.

In pursuance of the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R. of December 15, 1921, on depriving certain categories of persons, now abroad, of the rights of citizenship, (Collected Laws of the R.S.F.S.R., 1922, No. I, article 11), and the corresponding laws of the other Union Republics, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., decree:

Former Russian subjects who left Russia previous to October 25, 1917, and who have become citizens of another country or who have made application for citizenship in another country—are not considered citizens of the U.S.S.R.

(Signed) M. KALININ,
President of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.
V. MOLOTOV (Skriabin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.
A. ENUKIDZE,
Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow, Kremlin, May 27, 1933.

LABOR COMMISSARIAT FUNCTIONS TRANSFERRED TO TRADE UNIONS

The People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R. was abolished and all its functions turned over to the All-Union Commissariat of Trade Unions, according to a government decree issued on June 23. The text of the decree follows:

On combining the People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R. with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

In compliance with proposals made by trade union workers' organizations and with the aim of improving the execution of the duties laid on the People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R., the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions hereby decree:

1. To combine the People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R. and all its local organs, including the organs of social insurance, with the apparatus of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and its local organs, charging the latter with the fulfillment of the duties of the People's Commissariat for Labor and its organs.

2. To instruct the All-Union Council of Trade Unions to present to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. within a month, a draft of the concrete measures to be taken in execution of the present decree.

M. KALININ,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.
V. MOLOTOV,
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.
N. SHVERNIK,
Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The Kremlin, Moscow, June 23, 1933.

REORGANIZATION OF RAILROADS

Important measures have been taken in recent months to improve railroad service in the Soviet Union which has not been able to meet adequately the increased demand put upon it by the rapid economic expansion of the country.

On July 4 a decree was issued jointly by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party pointing out general defects in management and operation, the persistently bureaucratic methods of administration, the faulty wage scales, overstaffing of offices, etc. The decree called for drastic reorganization of the railroad apparatus all along the line, the increasing of individual responsibility, the transfer of a large number of the engineers and technicians employed at desk jobs to practical work in connection with the operation of the roads, and increases in the wages of all categories of railroad workers except office workers.

This was followed by a decree on July 8, signed by Viacheslav Molotov and Joseph Stalin, outlining in detail the various subdivisions and departments to be eliminated and other details of reorganization. A third decree gave the new and higher wage scales for different categories of work. On July 10 political departments similar to those which have functioned so effectively in the Red Army and in the machine and tractor stations and state farms were established for the railroads. In connection with the railroad reorganization program the entire staff of vice chairmen of the All-Union Railroad Commissariat was removed and new officials appointed in their stead.

In a speech made on August 14 to active railroad workers in Kiev, Andrey Andreyev, People's Commissar for Railroads of the U.S.S.R., said that some progress had already been made in carrying out the program, but that it was uneven and much greater efforts would have to be made before the condition of the railroads could be considered satisfactory. He reported that about 1,800 engineers and 2,300 technicians had been transferred from work in the railroad offices to practical jobs in connection with the railroads, railroad shops and stations.

OFFICE OF U.S.S.R. PUBLIC PROSECUTOR ESTABLISHED

On June 20 the office of Public Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. was established by a decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. This office formerly existed only for the separate republics. The text of the decree follows:

With the aim of strengthening socialist laws and the necessary protection of social property throughout the U.S.S.R. from attack by anti-social elements, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. hereby decree:

1. To establish a public prosecutor of the U.S.S.R.

2. The duties of the public prosecutor shall be:

(a) Supervision over the decrees and ordinances of the separate departments of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics and the local organs of government to the end that they shall be in accord with the Constitution and decrees of the government of the U.S.S.R.

(b) Surveillance over the correct and consistent application of the laws by the courts of the Union Republics with the right of demanding to review any case at any stage, protesting sentences and decisions to the higher courts and staying their execution.

(c) Prosecuting cases and supporting charges in all courts on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

(d) Supervision, on the basis of a special decree, over the legality and propriety of the actions of the OGPU, the militia, criminal intelligence service and corrective labor institutions.

(e) General direction of the activities of the public prosecutors of the Union Republics.

On June 21, Mr. Ivan A. Akulov was appointed to the office of public prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Andrey Y. Vyshinsky, formerly public prosecutor of the R.S.F.S.R., was appointed assistant public prosecutor for the U.S.S.R.

Soviet Foreign Relations

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SPAIN ESTABLISHED

On July 28, diplomatic relations were established between the U.S.S.R. and Spain by the simultaneous exchange of identical telegrams. Ambassadors are to be exchanged and a commercial treaty is to be negotiated immediately.

The Spanish note read as follows:

Mr. Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

I have the honor to inform you that the government of the Spanish Republic, impelled by a desire for consolidating the general peace and re-establishing friendly relations between the peoples of Spain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, recognizes *de facto* and *de jure* the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as its only legal and sovereign government.

On the basis of the above the Spanish government considers it necessary to re-establish diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries and is ready to proceed with an immediate exchange of Ambassadors and to begin negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty which would serve as a basis for the development of trade relations between Spain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The text of the Soviet telegram to Spain, dispatched at the same time and signed by Mr. Krestinsky, was identical.

SOVIET-URUGUAYAN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS

Diplomatic relations betyeen the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay, which were established by exchange of telegrams between the two countries in 1926, were further strengthened by a telegram from Uruguay received on August 12, at the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The text of the telegram, sent from Montevideo August 11, follows:

To the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow:

I am glad to inform you that in view of the increasing scope of trade relations between Uruguay and the U.S.S.R., my government has decided to establish a permanent diplomatic representation in the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the telegrams of August 21 and 22, 1926. At the same time my government proposes to the U.S.S.R. that a trade treaty be concluded between the two countries and trusts that this will receive a favorable response on the part of your government.

ALBERT MANET,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay.

On August 13 the Soviet government sent the following answer to Uruguay:

Mr. Albert Manet, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay:

In answer to your telegram of August 11, I am glad to inform you that the government of the U.S.S.R. has taken due note of the decision of the Uruguayan government to establish a permanent diplomatic representation in the U.S.S.R., and that the U.S.S.R. will, in turn, appoint a diplomatic representative to Montevideo. In addition I am glad to inform you that the Soviet government accepts the proposal of the government of Uruguay to enter into negotiations for the purpose of concluding a trade treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay.

N. KRESTINSKY,
Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

LITVINOV ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

After leaving the London Economic Conference Mr. Maxim Litvinov visted Paris, where he met the leaders of French foreign policy.

In an interview with press correspondents in Paris on July 7, Mr. Litvinov made the following statement with regard to Soviet foreign policy in general and the relationship of the U.S.S.R. and France in particular:

In order to understand the foreign policy of the Soviet Union it is necessary to know that her prime motive is and always has been peace.

Having no imperialist aims, having definitely no desires for new territory beyond her fixed boundaries, considering it undesirable and against her basic principles to bring other peoples under her sway, and firmly standing on the ground of their full independence, the Soviet Union has nothing to gain from war, and this in itself is sufficient for her to avoid war. To this should be added that the greatest victims of war are the toilers, and that in safeguarding peace the Soviet Union is protecting the interests of all toilers.

There can hardly be any doubt that in existing international relations no war, on whatever continent it may break out, can be localized, and that there is hardly any nation which can rest assured that it will not be drawn into a war which it has not begun. The Soviet Union is therefore interested not only in preserving its own peaceful relations with other nations, but in preserving universal peace. To those who understand these basic conditions of Soviet policy, there should therefore not be anything surprising and unexpected in any diplomatic steps taken by the Soviet government which are prompted by these conditions.

We have always welcomed and supported any initiative by other nations coinciding with the aspirations of the Soviet Union for peace. Further, we considered the international situation in recent years so complicated, confused, and fraught with dangers, that when such initiative has been taken we have been guided by the principle "what you do, do quickly." Thus, at the time, we not only immediately adhered to the Briand-Kellogg Pact, but we put it

into effect as applied to ourselves and our nearest neighbors long before it was enforced by other states. In the same way, convinced of the tedious and difficult process through which our proposal defining aggression must pass in Geneva, we hastened to make this definition the subject of agreement between ourselves and those nations who desire it. We are counting on other nations joining in the conventions concluded by us.

We are glad to state that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is finding greater and greater understanding in France. The outward expression of this understanding is shown in the signing, and later the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. We are also glad to note that the success attained in our further steps to strengthen peace between the U.S.S.R. and her neighboring countries finds sympathy with the French government and political circles, as they will probably find sympathy with all advocates of peace. This will advance the further growth of mutual understanding between our nations.

From these active or half-moribund international conferences, there can apparently be expected only problematic results. The less we can hope from them, the more efforts should be made for intercourse among nations interested in preserving peace and political tranquility and in avoiding international adventures.

We are not advocates of political groupings in the sense of confronting the aggressiveness of one group by the aggressiveness of another. We desire to maintain the best relations with all nations which have no designs against the interests of our state, and whose peaceful policy coincides with our own policy.

Neither our political nor our economic interests conflict with the interests of France at any point of the globe. There is not, therefore, in our opinion, any obstacle to further closer relations between us, both politically and economically.

I was glad to be given the opportunity once more to express these opinions to the leaders of French foreign policy, whom I have had the satisfaction of meeting earlier. It has given me the greatest satisfaction to visit France, the country which my comrades in emigration and I always recall with greatest love and sympathy.

FINLAND JOINS PACT DEFINING AGGRESSION

On July 22 the Finnish envoy in Moscow, Baron Ire Koskiinen, delivered a declaration of Finland's adherence to the pact defining aggression signed in London on July 3 by Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and the U.S.S.R., to Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs, N. N. Krestinsky, on behalf of the Finnish government.

CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN SERVICE

On July 1, Mr. Mikhail V. Kobetzky, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R., in Denmark was relieved of his post to be transferred to other work. Mr. Feodor F. Raskolnikov was appointed to replace Mr. Kobetzky in Denmark, and relieved of his post as diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Esthonia for this purpose.

On June 5, Mr. S. S. Alexandrovsky was appointed diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, to replace Mr. A. Y. Arosiev, who was relieved of the post on the same date to be transferred to other work.

Miscellaneous News

GROWTH OF CIVIL AVIATION

The growth of airlines in the U.S.S.R. has increased as follows during the past few years: In 1930, their length was 26,487 kilometers, in 1931, 27,746; 1932, 30,273, and with the addition of new lines during the present year it is estimated that the total length will reach 35,933 kilometers.

Last year there was air communication only with the chief regional centers. This year there is direct air communication with district centers and in some cases with the machine and tractor stations, collectives and state farms. The regional centers are now directly linked by air with the coal basins, metallurgical plants, and so on. Aviation is becoming used more and more for passenger and mail service, for communication with remote sections, for aerial sowing, for photography, for extinguishing fires, for exploration, and serving all branches of the national economy.

In 1928, airplanes were used to destroy agricultural pests over an area of 33,600 hectares. In 1932, 450,000 hectares were cleared of pests by airplane. In addition 65,000 hectares were seeded, and chemicals used to destroy the malarial mosquito over an area of 590,000 hectares. In 1933, 68,000 hectares of land were sown from the air and harmful insects destroyed on an area of 266,000 hectares.

In 1930 the number of passengers carried over the main airlines was 12,000, in 1931—19,000, in 1932—27,226, and in the first six months of 1933 over 14,000 passengers used the air service. Practically all the airplanes, including the motors, now in use on Soviet lines are exclusively of Soviet construction. There is both night and day service on many of the lines.

PREPARATIONS FOR STRATOSPHERE FLIGHT

Preparations are being completed for the stratosphere ascent which is scheduled to take place from Moscow sometime in September.

The crew of three chosen to make the ascent have been undergoing constant training and sci-

Soyuzphoto.
Engineer K. E. Chertovsky, in charge of construction of the stratostat

entific tests. Psychotecnical tests, lasting over two hours, recently carried out with them, have proven extremely satisfactory.

The scientific instruments which will be used to register conditions in the stratosphere, have been undergoing tests.

Of the 34 instruments, 27 have been manufactured expressively for the purpose of the ascent.

The instruments include an electrometer for study of the cosmic rays, special cameras, with appliances attached for registering the height of the stratosphere, a spectrograph and a photometer designed for the study of the manner in which the surface of the earth reflects light. To register air pressure in the stratosphere, a special barometer has been manufactured which measures pressure with the exactitude of a tenth part of a milligram.

In addition the balloon will be equipped with special navigation instruments, including an altimeter, capable of registering up to 26,000 meters. There will also be a special radio station, of which the transmitter will work on a 100 meter wave length. The receiver is adapted for receipt of messages of from 200 to 1,600 meters.

Since the place of descent cannot be known, the crew of the stratostat will take with them a supply of compressed air, food, parachutes, lanterns, skis, hunting guns and a first aid kit.

Professor Piccard's experiences have been taken into consideration in the construction of the craft. When in 1931 he made his first ascent from Germany his gondola was painted black and he suffered from heat. For his second flight, from Switzerland in 1932, it was painted white and he almost froze. The Leningrad Chemical Technological Institute has prepared a special paint, which it is thought will prevent the gondola from both overheating and cooling.

GROWTH OF SPORT AND RECREATION

Sport, recreation and travel have been developing very extensively in the Soviet Union during the past few years. In 1928, for example, there were only two or three "Parks of Culture and Rest" in the Soviet Union. At the present time there are sixty such parks. In 1928, there were altogether 2,400 sport grounds and stadiums in the country, now there are over 4,000; there were only 311 public gymnasiums, now there are 2,000. Water sport stations have increased during this period from 81 to 250; skiing stations from 75 to 300; "Houses of Physical Culture," from 41 to 59; local stadiums, from 15 to 32.

The amount of sport equipment issued amounted to 40,000,000 rubles in 1929, 60,000,000 rubles in 1930, and 90,000,000 rubles in 1932.

Before the five-year plan there were no regular tourist bases. Now there are hundreds of them, 195 central ones. In 1928, 437,000 persons, 70 per cent of them workers, visited the Social Insurance rest homes (in addition to the regular sanatoria and health resorts). In 1932, 1,345,000 of whom 90 per cent were workers.

In 1930, there were 169,500 members of the Proletarian Tourist and Excursion Society, 83,000 of them workers, 44,000 students. Now there are over a million members, 700,000 of them workers and students. In 1929, there were 729,000 members of the physical culture society—now there are 4,700,000.

Hundreds of thousands of young Pioneers and school children have spent the summer in Pioneer camps this year.

ALL-UNION COLONIZATION COMMITTEE ORGANIZED

The opening up to colonization of some of the fertile but little populated sections of the U.S.S.R. is seen in the organization, announced on August 16, of an All-Union Colonization Committee under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., with Alexander Muralov as chairman.

The step was taken in answer to many requests that have been received from collectives and collective members for government aid in reestablishing themselves in other districts.

Among the functions of the newly organized committee will be to work out a definite plan of colonization, including selection of the places where it would be most advantageous to have the population somewhat thinned out, selection of the

groups to be transferred and of the places to be colonized.

The transfer of the colonists and service to them en route will be in charge of the committee as well as direct aid in getting established in the new districts, preliminary land surveys and clearing, the organization of collectives, and machine and tractor stations.

IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS FOR SOVIET SCIENTISTS AND WRITERS

A number of measures have been taken recently by the Soviet government aimed to improve conditions of working and living for scientific workers and writers in the Soviet Union.

On March 27 a decree was passed by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars making special provision for additional living quarters to be provided for scientific workers, wherever possible a separate room for their scientific work, or additional living space of an area not under twenty square meters.

In case scientific workers are sent away on official trips, this space is to be saved for them.

A similar decree has been issued recently guaranteeing extra quarters to writers for their literary activities. Writers who are members of the Union of Soviet Writers are granted the same special housing privileges as were granted scientific workers according to the decree mentioned above.

A COW FOR EVERY COLLECTIVE FAMILY

A recent decree of very practical use to collective members outlines measures to insure that every collective family shall have a cow for its personal use.

The right of each collective family to own its own cow, small animals and poultry has been firmly established, and a system of state live-stock farms has been replenishing the cattle supply. The decree of August 14 provides that a million calves from the state farms be distributed immediately among the collective peasants on easy credit terms, as well as further measures which will insure a cow to every collective family.

Calves are to be purchased from collective dairy farms and other collectives with large herds of cattle, and from members of collective farms and individual peasants. Collectives are expected to supply 228,000 calves and individual kolhozniks and other peasants 772,000 calves, all of them eight months old.

LATINIZED CHINESE ALPHABET

A recent dispatch from Vladivostok tells of extensive study by the Chinese who are working there in various industrial enterprises of the new Latinized Chinese alphabet that has been introduced there. Thirty study points have been established where the new alphabet is being taught, and 1,500 persons have already taken the courses.

The Chinese workers learn to read and write in the new alphabet in these classes in the course of three months, whereas it takes years to master the old Chinese alphabet. Two schools have been opened for those who have taken the preliminary courses. A number of primers have been issued in the new alphabet, and a number of pamphlets.

ARCTIC VOYAGE OF THE "CHELIUSKIN"

The Arctic trip of the "semi-icebreaker" Cheliuskin, which left Leningrad on July 12 to begin its trip through the Northeast Passage to the Pacific Ocean, is being watched with great interest in the Soviet Union, since this is the first attempt on the part of a freighter to make the difficult trip to Vladivostok in one season, successfully navigated last year by the ice-breaker "Sibiriakov."

After stopping for coal and provisions, the ship left Murmansk for the next stage of the journey on August 9.

The aim of the trip is to take provisions and supplies to Wrangel Island where there is a Soviet colony consisting of Esquimaux hunters and the personnel of the radio station. For three years heavy ice has prevented any ship from reaching the island from the Vladivostok side. Last year the steamer "Soviet" approached the island near enough to see it, but was unable to make a landing.

The "Cheliuskin" was built in Denmark and is especially intended for annual trips to Wrangel Island and the mouth of the Kolyma, from the Vladivostok side. After stopping at Wrangel Island it will go on to Vladivostok.

In addition to taking supplies to Wrangel Island, the "Cheliuskin" will have the important task of testing out to what extent the Arctic Ocean is navigable for the non-icebreaker type of ships. Since the "Cheliuskin" has the advantage of last year's experience of the "Sibiriakov" it is expected that its attempt will be successful.

The engine of the "Cheliuskin" is 2,500 h. p., about double the power of the ordinary freighter of the same capacity (about 4,000 tons), which should make it possible for the "Cheliuskin" to force its way through all but the heaviest ice. The "Cheliuskin" will be aided by ice observations of airplanes stationed at various points along the shore and carries a small scouting plane itself. If it is impossible to find sufficient broken ice to get through the ice-breaker "Krassin," operating in that region, will be called upon to help.

BOOKS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

(*Continued from page 196*)

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"An American Looks at Russia," by George A. Burrell. The Stratford Co., Boston, 1932. $2.50.

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"Present Day Russia," by Ivy Lee. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

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"Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution," by Maurice Dobb. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1928.

"Guide Book to the Soviet Union." International Publishers, New York, 1928.

"American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917," by Dr. Fred L. Schuman. International Publishers, New York, 1928.

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VOL. XI OCTOBER, 1933 NO. 10

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THE NEW CROP COMES IN

THE SCHOOL YEAR BEGINS

A CITY ON THE ICE

AT THE MOSCOW THEATERS

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

SOVIET AVIATION PROGRESS

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Progress of Soviet Aviation

"AVIATION DAY" was celebrated for the first time in the Soviet Union on August 18. This date marked the tenth anniversary of the founding of Osoaviakhim, the chief Soviet popular organization for the promotion of all phases of aviation. The day was marked by air demonstrations in the chief centers of the country, by the announcement of numerous awards to the aviation plants with the best records, as well as to individual aviation engineers and workers, by special editions of newspapers devoted to the present status of aviation in the Soviet Union.

Facts brought out in the press indicate that in the last few years the Soviet Union has made great progress in the development of its civil air fleet and in putting aviation to the most diverse uses in various branches of economic and cultural construction.

At the present time the Soviet Union is traversed by three main air-lines—from the Western border to the Pacific Ocean, from Leningrad to Afghanistan and Western China and from the Arctic Ocean to the Turkish and Persian borders. The most remote places in the Soviet Union—for example, Yakutia and Sakhalin, are now connected with the center by air. Soviet air-lines cross the frozen plains and deep forests of the Far North and Siberia, the hot sands of Middle Asia, and the high peaks of the Caucasus Mountains. Air connections have been established between the regional and county centers, between district centers and large metallurgical plants, coal fields, state farms and collectives. Scouting work is constantly going on in preparation for new lines.

During the past three years the Soviet government has spent an average of from 150,000,000 to 170,000,000 rubles annually on the development of a civil air fleet. In 1923, the first year civil aviation was developed in the U.S.S.R., the length of the air-lines was 1,600 kilometers, in 1928, 11,500 kilometers, and this year the total length has reached 51,285 kilometers.

The civil air-fleet now represents an exceedingly complex economic organization due to the many uses to which airplanes are put today.

Transport Aviation

The transport by air of passengers, freight and mail has advanced considerably in recent years. In 1930, 729,100 ton kilometers of freight were transported by air, in 1931, 1,290,000 ton kilometers, and in 1932, 1,575,600 ton kilometers. As a result of the advances in Soviet aviation in

Soyuzphoto.
A crack woman pilot of the U.S.S.R. civil air-fleet.

1932, it moved to third place in the world, its aviation service being surpassed only by that of the United States and of Germany.

Transport aviation naturally takes on a special significance in the more remote regions of the U.S.S.R. where at present other means of locomotion are lacking. In certain sections of Central Asia, Kazakstan, Eastern Siberia and the Far East, aviation cannot be replaced by any other form of transport.

The importance of air mail in the U.S.S.R. can hardly be overemphasized. In such a vast country as the Soviet Union even the transport by air of passengers and freight cannot have as much importance as the carriage of mail, which plays such an important role in keeping the outlying districts in close touch with the center. In 1930, 116.6 tons of mail were carried by air, in 1931, 322.4 tons were carried, and in 1932, 429.7 tons. The Soviet Union is surpassed only by the United States in the amount of air mail carried.

A third particularly important economic task of transport aviation is the transport of especially valuable types of freight, for instance, the transport of furs from the regions where they are obtained to the center of the country. According to reports of Soyuzpushnin (the All-Union Fur Company) several tens of thousands of valuable skins were transported during the spring and summer of this year from the shores of the Ob, Yenisei and Lena rivers.

Even in the more developed sections of the U.S.S.R. where there is extensive railroad and motor transport, the airplane plays an important role. The number of passengers using the airlines increases constantly. In 1923, 2,923 passengers were carried by air, in 1932, 27,200, and in the first half of the present year, over 14,000.

Agricultural Aviation

In the past few years aviation has been used more extensively in agriculture and forestry in the U.S.S.R. than in any other country. After a modest beginning in fighting pests from the air over an area of some two thousand hectares in 1925, this method had developed to the point where an area of 429,000 hectares of crop and forest land was cleared of injurious pests by airplane dusting in 1932. In the same year an area of 586,000 hectares infested with the larvae of malarial mosquitoes was cleared by airplanes in the battle to eliminate sources of malaria, and 9,000,000 hectares was patrolled in combatting forest fires.

Agricultural aviation has already gone beyond the bounds of experimental work. It has become more and more the prevailing method in the fight against pests of all kinds in field and forest, to eliminate sources of malaria and to prevent and extinguish forest fires.

Sowing from the air should be especially noted in the work of agricultural aviation. Experiments in seeding from the air first began last year. Last spring over 70,000 hectares were seeded from the air and about 150,000 hectares are to be air-sown this fall. These first experiments of seeding by airplane have been especially interesting because they open up the possibility of seeding in the earliest period of spring when seeding by hand is the only other method possible. Sowing in the mud has produced excellent results.

Soyuzphoto.
Soviet gliders lined up for the meet at Koktebel, Crimea.

Experiments in aerial sowing have been made with twenty different crops, including rice, mustard, oats, castor-oil and various grass crops. The first experiments in scattering mineral fertilizers from airplanes were made last spring and it is proposed to sow 150,000 hectares that way in the coming autumn. Airplanes have also been used effectively in fighting early frosts by spreading smoke clouds over planted fields, particularly over orchards and vegetable gardens. Melting of snow by airplane has also been tried.

Closely related to agricultural aviation is aerial photography, that is, the study and observation of the Soviet land by air. Land methods of topographical photography are too expensive and, what is more important, too incomplete. They do not give sufficient data for the precise measurement of the area under observation. In 1932, 180,000 square kilometers were photographed from the air.

The use of aviation beyond the Arctic Circle has been of the utmost importance. For several years airplanes have assisted in every hunting expedition to the White Sea. Hunting for polar bears, seals, walruses and other Arctic animals would take an enormous amount of time and money if preliminary scouting were not done by airplanes and the hunting and fishing ships supplied with the necessary information by radio.

In addition, airplanes do a lot of scouting work for ships in the Arctic, informing them of conditions of weather and ice. The work of the pilots Chukhnovsky, Levanovsky and other well known Polar aviators is carried on every year in the North through the whole navigation season. Aviation has been especially valuable in the Kara Sea and other Arctic expeditions.

Soviet Aviation Industry

In the first years of its development Soviet aviation depended largely on foreign airplanes and foreign motors. Only four or five years ago did the first planes constructed by Soviet engineers make their appearance, and at the present time all planes used on the Soviet airlines are of Soviet construction. All types of modern planes for civil and defensive uses are now being manufactured in the Soviet Union, but the chief emphasis is on planes for constructive purposes. Airplane motors are being manufactured on a large scale in the U.S.S.R. Among the Soviet-built planes should be especially noted those designed by the Ukrainian engineer, Kalinin, the four-passenger K-4 and the eight-passenger K-5, and the eleven-passenger, tri-motor, all-metal, ANT-9, designed by Tupolev. These planes have gradually replaced foreign types in the U.S.S.R. air service. Still further progress has been marked by the construction of the five-motor, 36-passenger, ANT-14, an all-metal monoplane type. Stal-2 and Stal-3, all-steel Soviet-built planes, of which all the parts are electrically welded, have been a very satisfactory type of plane. The K-7, a huge airplane which will accommodate sixteen passenger cabins with four sleeping berths in each, or 120 passenger seats in addition to the crew, has recently been completed by the Kharkov aircraft building plant, of which Kalinin is the head, and has undergone test flights successfully. Cargo is to be carried in the wings of this plane. A Soviet auto-gyro, a tailless plane, an amphibian and a number of types of small rapid planes are being produced by Soviet factories.

Some very interesting experiments have been made with gliders and a large variety of gliders have been manufactured in Soviet factories. An All-Union glider contest recently was held at Koktebel.

There are a number of aviation institutes in the U.S.S.R. where important research and experimentation in airplane construction is carried on. The foremost of these is the Central Aero-Dynamics Institute in Moscow. There are fifteen aviation training schools in the U.S.S.R. where skilled airmen are prepared for the civil air fleet service. A large number of women take a lively interest in aviation, and numerous women pilots have been graduated from the aviation schools.

Soyuzphoto.

Another Soviet Amelia Earhart—Sonya Nurieva, a Turkish girl who has recently finished her pilot's examinations in Baku.

Notes on the Economic Situation

Progress of Harvest and Grain Deliveries

AN excellent record has been made so far in the gathering of this year's bumper crop. According to official reports the grain had been harvested on August 31 from an area of 70,251,000 hectares, or 83.8 per cent of the entire area seeded to grain. This area exceeds by 5,500,000 hectares the area harvested by this same date a year ago. The collectives were the first to bring in their harvests this year. By August 31 they had harvested 54,449,000 hectares or 87.8 per cent of the entire kolhoz area, 9,000,000 hectares more than had been harvested by the collectives at the same time last year. The most successful harvesting was done by those collectives which are served by the MTS (Machine and Tractor Stations). These collectives had harvested 91 per cent of their entire area on August 31. The threshing campaign is also going more rapidly than last year. According to data on hand August 31, grain had been threshed from 26,412,000 hectares as against 19,431,000 hectares the year before.

It is interesting to note the extent to which different sections of the country fulfilled their harvesting program by August 31: The Tartar Republic, 100 per cent; Central Black Earth District, 96.6 per cent; Ukraine, 96.5 per cent; North Caucasus, 95.4 per cent; Lower Volga Region, 94.7 per cent; Gorky Region, 91.7 per cent.

The plan for grain deliveries to the government has not only been fulfilled, but even exceeded in many cases. This year's system of a fixed grain tax which the collectives knew in advance and which could not be changed so that the more successful collectives would have to deliver larger amounts to make up for the shortcomings of others, has worked most satisfactorily. According to data for September 1 three times more grain had been delivered to government warehouses throughout the country than on the same date last year. In particular the Ukraine delivered 437 per cent of the amount delivered on September 1, 1932, the Tartar Republic—404 per cent, Western Siberia—620 per cent, and the North Caucasus twice as much as on this date a year ago. On September 1 much more grain had already been delivered than during the entire grain delivery campaign of last year.

Growth of Kolhoz Incomes

The concrete data already at hand from a large number of collectives indicates the great progress made by the collectives in the past year in the sphere of organization and management, in the growth of their income and the general increase in the material well-being of the collective members.

The collectives of Dnepropetrovsk District, which gathered a crop this year two-and-a-half times as large as last year, are now paying from five to fifteen kilograms to their members per working-day.* The average payment per working-day for the whole area is about 9 kilograms and in addition 2 rubles in cash. The collective "Chervonnie Skotar" now pays 10 kilograms of grain and 2 rubles 97 kopeks per working-day as against 1.7 kilograms and 81 kopeks paid in 1931. This collective, which is no exception, achieved a yield this year of 14.5 centners per hectare of winter wheat, 14 centners for spring wheat, 12 centners for barley, 27 centners for corn. Such a harvest has never been known before in this district either by the peasants who in pre-revolutionary times had neither adequate equipment nor good seed, or even by the landlords who in their best years gathered only 11 or 12 centners per hectare. This year the "Chervonnie Skotar" completed its harvesting in ten days as against 25 days last year. The collective now has 101 horses as against 58 in 1931. It has a dairy farm with 82 cows and 148 hogs. Of the 106 peasant households making up the collective, 100 already have their own cows. It is not surprising therefore that the members of this collective are already becoming well-to-do farmers. Take for instance the former agricultural laborer, Sereda: for the 320 working-days credited to him this year he has received 200 poods (a pood equals 36 lbs.) of grain and about 1,000 rubles. He owns a cow, a hog and twenty chickens. Another member of the same kolhoz, a former poor peasant, Likholat, has received for his work during the first half of the year, 500 poods of grain and 2,300 rubles. He too now owns a cow, calves, pigs and chickens.

The neighboring kolhoz Chubaria had a yield of an average 14.5 centners per hectare for all its grain crops as against 8.6 centners last year and gathered its harvest in 12 days, just half the time it took last year. It has made its full payments to the MTS, completed all deliveries to the government and set aside grain for all the various collective funds. It pays per working-day 11 kilograms of grain plus 2 rubles in cash as against 1.5 kilograms and 95 kopeks last year.

The collectives of the Middle Volga Region have had a much larger harvest this year than last. It may be said without exaggeration that hundreds of collectives in this region, especially those on the right bank, are on the road to material well-being. For example, the collectives served by the Ishutin MTS receive on an average

*Collective members are credited with "one working day" for specific amounts of work performed, and may actually accomplish more than a "working-day" in one day's work.

from 10 to 20 kilograms of grain per working-day, which means that an individual worker receives from 150 to 200 poods of wheat and rye for the season's work, and most of the collective households receive from 300 to 350 poods. In many collectives in Ulianov District, the workers receive from 70 to 100 poods of wheat and rye, and 100 to 200 poods of potatoes.

Among the collectives of Azerbaidzhan there are many where the payment per working-day is even higher than in those mentioned above. For instance in the collective "Mubariz," which last year paid 1.75 kilograms of grain and 1 ruble 92 kopeks in cash, they are paying this year 18 kilograms of grain per working-day. In the collective "Baksoviet" the collective members receive 16 kilograms of grain per working-day and 3 rubles 50 kopeks in cash as against 2.5 kilograms and 1.65 rubles last year. In the collective Maxim Gorky, 17 kilograms of grain and 4 rubles in cash are paid per working-day.

Fall Sowing

Along with the harvesting work the fall sowing campaign has been going forward successfully throughout the country. According to reports received on August 31, 11,764,000 hectares of winter grain had been sown by that date, an increase of more than 75 per cent over fall sowings at the same time last year. The collectives are ahead of both the state farm and the individual peasants in their fall sowing.

The Tartar republic which led other districts during the spring sowings and harvesting, is also leading in the fall sowings. By August 31 it had completed the sowing of 1,250,000 hectares, its entire fall area, whereas this time last year it had sown only 580,000 hectares. In Leningrad region 497,000 hectares was sown as against 363,000 hectares last year. In Gorky Region 2,184,000 hectares as against 1,171,000 hectares last year. Other districts show equally good records.

Heavy Industry in 1933

Preliminary reports on the work of heavy industry for the first eight months of the present year give evidence of further progress in the most important branches of Soviet industry. This refers chiefly to coal, metallurgy and machine construction. The special feature in the work of the key industries this year is that there has not been the seasonal decline during the summer months that has taken place every other year.

This summer for the first time the output of coal has not only decreased in comparison with the spring months, but on the contrary has shown a steady upward movement. The average daily output for July was 101.7 per cent in comparison with the preceding month. In August there was an increase of 1 per cent over July. In comparison with last year the greatest increase in the output of coal took place in August when 40.6 per cent more coal was mined than in the same month last year. The average daily output of coal in August exceeded 200,000 tons. As a result of the work during the summer months the percentage of increase in the output over last year has gone up considerably. Thus, for the first half of the present year the output of coal was 105 per cent in comparison with the first half of last year; for the first seven months it was 108.5 per cent in comparison with the same period in 1932; and for the first eight months of this year, 111.8 per cent. The year's plan for coal mining for the first two-thirds of the present year was fulfilled by 59.2 per cent, while last year the year's plan was accomplished only by 50.3 per cent in this same period.

Metallurgy presents a similar picture. In August of the present year the output of pig iron exceeded that of last August by 28.2 per cent. The average daily output of pig iron for August exceeded 20,000 tons. For the eight-month period of the present year the output of pig iron increased by 12.4 per cent over the same period of last year. The increase for the first half-year was 7.3 per cent.

A still further advance is shown in the steel industry which increased its output in August over 40 per cent in comparison with that of August, 1932. For August as a whole, the average daily output of steel amounted to 19,749 tons against 13,982 tons in August, 1932.

Among other branches of heavy industry the greatest advances have been made by the automobile and tractor plants. During August 3,605 trucks were produced at Soviet plants against 3,460 in July. This was 65 more trucks than provided for by the plan. In addition 1,200 light automobiles were produced in August, 50 more than the July output. In comparison with August of last year the output of trucks increased by 60.7 per cent. During the first two-thirds of the present year Soviet factories manufactured altogether 25,566 trucks, double the quantity produced in the same period of 1932. The number of light automobiles produced for the eight month period this year was 4,870 as against 4,750 required by the plan.

Similar successes were achieved in the tractor plants. The three tractor plants—Stalingrad, Kharkov and Cheliabinsk—put out 7,308 tractors in August as against 6,927 in July. In comparison with August of last year the output of tractors increased by 81 per cent. For the entire eight months of the present year Soviet factories produced 47,266 tractors, or almost 60 per cent more than for the same period last year.

In addition to these quantitative achievements considerable progress has also been made in the quality of heavy industry. In particular the results of the eight month period have shown noticeable advances in increasing the productivity of labor and lowering production costs.

The New School Year Begins

THE new school year started on September 1, with the schools in better condition than at any other time since the Soviet government has been in existence. Hundreds of new school buildings have been constructed, thousands of old buildings have been repaired. For the R.S.F.S.R. (Soviet Russia proper) alone, 45,000,000 new text-books have been published in readiness for the new season. Fuel supplies have been laid in well ahead of time. Large quantities of school supplies and equipment of all kinds have been manufactured and trading organizations have been instructed by the government to make sure that school children are provided with the necessary food and clothing and supplies.

With the development of the polytechnical education program the schools have become an integral part of the life of the people. All the schools are closely connected with some productive unit—factory, mill, or collective farm, where the pupils receive practical instruction in labor processes along with their regular school work.

The program of the Soviet schools has been summed up recently in an article by S. Gaissovich, Assistant Director of the Scientific Research Institute of Polytechnical Education in the following words:

> The Soviet polytechnical school provides: (a) general education for the pupils, including the mastery of the fundamentals of physics, mathematics, language, social science, chemistry, history, natural science, etc.; (b) polytechnical education, which means theoretical study of the scientific principles of production, and the acquiring of skill in handling tools used in essential production processes; (c) linking up study with productive labor in industry and agriculture; (d) physical education.

A great deal of progress has been made in realizing this program. At the present time an interesting experiment is afoot to find the golden mean between the old type of formal education with its regular class recitations, grades and examinations and the advanced methods tried out in the past few years which have left so much to the initiative of the children themselves that the result has been sad gaps in some of the necessary fundamentals of education. Therefore some of the methods of the old educational system, though not its content, have been brought back, and according to the decree issued in August, 1932, a greater degree of discipline has been introduced in the application of the new educatinal methods. Modern educators will find much that is interesting and instructive in Soviet experiments along these lines.

This year finds universal compulsory primary education in force in every section of the Soviet Union, even among the most remote nationalities. In many of the larger centers universal seven-year education has already been introduced and steps are being taken to extend it through another three years. In 1932, 67.3 per cent of the children of intermediate age were accommodated in the seven-year schools.

On September 1, 200,000 schools in the U.S.S.R. opened their doors to 25,000,000 children in the primary and intermediate grades — 2,000,000 more than were accommodated last year, and about three times as many as attended these grades in Tsarist Russia. Thousands of newly trained teachers are starting work this year.

Especially noteworthy is the educational progress that has been made in the national districts of the Soviet Union. In Kazakstan, for example, there were altogether 89,500 pupils in the primary schools in 1915, of whom 13,000 were Kazak children. There were no intermediate schools. Only one or two per cent of the entire population was literate. In Kara-Kalpak, before the revolution there were three primary schools attended by 300 pupils—not one of them a native Kara-Kalpak child. In Kazakstan, on January 1, 1933, there were 720,000 children in primary and intermediate schools, in Kara-Kalpak, over 300,000, in the Tartar Republic, about 400,000, and so on. In all the autonomous republics and regions of the

Soyuzphoto.

In a kolhoz school-room.

R.S.F.S.R. there were on January 1, 1933, over 3,000,000 children studying in their native language in the primary and intermediate schools.

The Schools of Moscow

On the opening day of the new school season the head of the Moscow educational department submitted a report on the status of the schools of Moscow indicating the progress made in enlarging and improving school facilities for the Muscovite children.

This year 403,500 children will be accommodated in the Moscow schools, of whom 78,700 are newly enrolled. (The population of Moscow is now a little over 3,000,000.)

A great deal of school construction work has been going on during the past year. Six large new modern schools, superior in design and construction to any previously built in the U.S.S.R. or old Russia, have been completed and are opening their doors. Large extensions have been built on seven other schools. Two more new schools will be ready for use in the near future and construction of three others has commenced.

Altogether since the revolution forty-six new school buildings have been built in Moscow, and the new schools now cover 43.6 per cent of the entire area of the Moscow schools. During the past summer twenty-three former school buildings with facilities for 16,684 pupils, buildings which have been used for other purposes during recent years due to the crowded condition of Moscow, have been renovated and turned back to the school system. As a result of the new school building and the release for use of former school premises, and in some cases the breaking up of over-large schools into smaller units, Moscow enters upon the new school year with a system embracing 336 schools as against 294 at the beginning of last year.

A sum of three million rubles has been spent on repairs to school buildings in preparation for the new year. Two-thirds of this amount was donated by enterprises which have assumed patronage over special schools and from public organizations. Repairs were made on 319 schools as against 293 designated for repair in the plan.

Plans for repairs of school restaurants were carried out in full. A sum of 706,000 rubles was spent for the repair of 201 school restaurants and kitchens. Seventy new school dining-rooms have been opened. Hot lunches are guaranteed for all Moscow school children, beginning with the first day of the school year.

All the necessary repairs have been made in school furniture and equipment, and over 11,000 sets of new furniture have been installed. Fuel supplies for the winter are on hand for all the schools. The text-book program was carried out and 1,716,000 copies of new text-books representing a sum of 2,045,310 rubles were delivered at the schools ahead of time. Supplies of new polytechnical equipment and graphic educational material amounting to a sum of 1,915,935 rubles have been purchased. The schools are fully equipped with notebooks, pencils, penholders, chalk, inkwells, etc. About 200 schools in Moscow are equipped with cinema apparatus which is to be used systematically this year in chemistry, biology, geology and literature courses.

The number of teachers has increased since last year from 12,470 to 13,565. The Moscow Normal School has reopened with accommodations for 300 students. The evening pedagogical courses for supplementary teacher training embrace 4,277 teachers.

In August a six-day conference for teachers was held, at which concrete instructions were given to all school workers on carrying out the new program, and on questions of the organization and content of school work for the year. There were also special twelve-day courses for teachers of social science and labor courses.

The opening of the new school year was celebrated on August 30 by a Youth Holiday, in which hundreds of thousands of children took part in parades and demonstrations. Over 150,000 Moscow children spent the summer in children's camps and so are beginning the year in excellent physical condition.

Growth of Technical Education

At the beginning of the present school year there are, under the Commissariat for Heavy Industry alone, 116 higher technical schools, in which there are 130,000 pupils and 291 technicums (technical high schools) with about 120,000 students. In Tsarist Russia there were altogether in 1914-15 only twelve higher technical institutions, with 19,148 pupils, and 102 technicums, with 14,745 pupils.

In all the higher educational institutions of Tsarist Russia there were, in 1914, 124,700 students. In 1932 there were 501,300 students in the higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union.

The number of students who had completed intermediate and higher technical training courses in the U.S.S.R. increased from 493,000 in 1928 to 973,200 by the end of 1932. In that same period the number of specialists employed in the national economy—in industry, agriculture and transport—increased more than two-and-a-half times, from 146,000 at the end of 1928 to 375,000 at the end of 1932. In industry, the number of specialists increased in that period from 24,200 to 119,500; in railroad transport from 15,300 to 32,300; and in agriculture, from 17,800 to 70,000.

The Theatrical Season Opens

MOST of the Moscow Theaters had returned from their summer tours by September first, and the new theatrical season is under way in the Soviet capital, with several new plays promised in the repertoire of every theater. The new plays offer a most varied range of genre, themes and dramatic method.

This year the First Moscow Art Theater expects to produce seven new plays. The first production will be "Talents and Their Admirers," next the new Gorky play, "Egor Bulychev," Bulgakov's "Escape," and finally "Moliere," also by Bulgakov. Other plays on the repertoire of the First Art Theater at the beginning of the season are Afinogenov's "The Lie," and "Fear," Tolstoy's "Resurrection," and Chekhov's "Cherry Orchard." There will also be a revival of Gribodeyev's "Sorrow from Wisdom." Maeterlinck's "Bluebird" returns to the stage of the First Art Theater this year after an absence of five years, and will be played at special matinee performances for children. These will be presented at the main theater. At the affiliated First Art Theater will be shown "Among the People"—a production made up of dramatized selections from the works of Gorky, "The Ivanov Family," by Afinogenov and "Mr. Pickwick," a play based on the novel by Charles Dickens.

Plays by Soviet dramatists, classical productions, and translations of modern plays of other countries are all included in the season's repertoire. During the first half of the season the classical plays will predominate. Last year Ostrovsky was the chief representative of the classical drama on the Moscow stage and the provincial stage as well. This year Ostrovsky will be represented by three plays in Moscow: "Talents and Their Admirers," at the First Moscow Art Theater, "The Final Sacrifice," at the Second Moscow Art Theater, and "Wolves and Sheep," at the Zavadsky Theater.

Six Shakespeare plays are to be presented this season. This is partly the result of the recent publication of the writings of Marx on the influence of Shakespeare. But the Soviet theater has always had a strong interest in Shakespeare, and Shakespearian productions on the Soviet stage have always been on a very high level.

"Romeo and Juliet" is being produced by the Theater of the Revolution this season, "King Lear," by the State Jewish Theater, "Twelfth Night," by the Second Moscow Art Theater, and "All's Well That Ends Well" will be revived by the New Theater. The Kamerny Theater will put on a composite production combining Shakespeare's "Anthony and Cleopatra," Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra," and Pushkin's poem, "Egyptian Nights."

Gorky occupies an especially important place in this season's repertoire. The two Gorky plays produced last season—"Egor Bulychev," at the Vakhtangov Theater, and "Mother," at the Krasnye Presni Theater, will be continued, and in addition there will be a second production of "Egor Bulychev" at the Art Theater. "Among the People" will be given by the affiliated Art Theater, "Dostigayev and Others" (sequel to "Egor Bulychev") by the Little Theater, and "Enemies," by the Moscow Trade Union Theater.

Other names to be found in this year's classical repertoire are Balzac, Dickens, Saltykov-Schedrin, Pushkin, and Chekhov. The Elizabethan dramatist Fletcher, who has not heretofore been very popular with Soviet audiences, will be represented by "The Spanish Priest" at the Second Moscow Art Theater. "Uriel Akosta," by Gutzkov, who has not appeared on the Soviet programs for many years, will be seen at the New Theater, and "Camille," by Dumas *fils* will be produced by the Meyerhold Theater.

Soyuzphoto.

Scene from "The Death of Ivan the Terrible" at the First Moscow Art Theater.

Soyuzphoto.

Scene from "Tempo" at the Vakhtangov Theater.

In addition to the classics, a number of modern western dramas will be represented on the Soviet stage this year. Among them will be Romain Rolland's new play, "The Hour Has Struck," to be shown at the Zavadsky Theater, Hauptmann's "Before Sunset" at the Little Theater, "Sublime Folly," by Brecht and Tretyakov, at the Krasnye Presni Theater, Sophie Treadwell's "Machinal" at the Simonov Studio.

Fifteen or twenty plays by Soviet authors are included in the plans for the season. This list does not include any of the plays written for the All-Union dramatic competition in which the foremost Soviet playwrights are participating. The final list of Soviet plays will not be ready until the competition ends on November first, when the best of the plays offered will be selected for production.

Among the new plays by Soviet authors already on the repertoire are Afinogenov's "The Ivanov Family," which will be shown in three Moscow Theaters, Konstantin Finn's "Stuff and Nonsense," to be shown at the All-Union and Moscow Trade Union Theaters, Romashev's "The Fighters," at the Little Theater and the Red Army Theater, Trenev's "The Experiment," at the Zavadsky Theater, Vishnevsky's "An Optimistic Tragedy," at the Kamerny Theater, Furmansky's "Manchuria-Riga," at the New Theater, and others. Pogodin is completing a play for the Theater of the Revolution, and Slavin one for the Vakhtangov Theater.

The first of the new productions of the season will be "Manchuria-Riga," at the New Theater. The events of the play take place in a single railroad car, during the eight-day journey of the Soviet express from the Eastern border to Moscow. The travelers include Soviet technicians and industrial managers from Kamchatka, from "The Golden River," from far corners of Siberia, and foreigners—German, French, and American. The interests of the various travelers come into dramatic conflict in the course of the journey, the insurmountable contradictions between the representatives of two systems of politics, culture and morals are revealed. Following the premiere of "Manchuria-Riga" at the New Theater, it will be shown at the First and Second Art Theaters.

Among the other new plays to be offered by the New Theater is "Champion of the World," based on the workers' international sport movement and the forthcoming workers' Olympiad. The actors have gone through a long period of training and this will probably be more in the nature of a physical culture demonstration with a musical accompaniment than an ordinary play. The New Theater will also produce the comedy "The Other Side of the Heart," by the Ukrainian playwright, Smolitch, with music by the Ukrainian composer, Meitus. In addition to the plays in its main theater, the New Theater has a second company which produces plays in outlying districts, a practice followed by several of the Moscow theaters.

Some of the plays given during the first week of the season by the theaters which opened their doors on September first, are given below:

The Little Theater offered "Gogol's "Inspector General," Tolstoy's "Fruits of Enlightenment," Schiller's "Don Carlos," Romashev's "Bridge of Fire," Ternyev's "Liubov Yarovaya," Von Wiesin's "The Simpleton," Scribe's "A Glass of Water," and Norokov's "Rasteryaeva Street."

The plays shown by the Affiliated Little Theater were Ostrovsky's "Wild Money," "Simplicity Among the Wise," "The Marriage of Belugin," "The Forest," "Poverty No Crime," "Prutt's "Mstislav the Brave," O'Neill's "Anna Christie" and Schiller's "The Robbers."

At the first Art Theater Afinogenov's "Fear," Kirshon's "Bread," and Gorky's "Lower Depths" were shown the opening week; at the Affiliated First Art Theater, Bulgakov's "In the Days of the Turbins," Goldoni's "Mistress of the Hotel," Hamsun's "At the Gates of the Kingdom," and "The Battle of Life."

The Second Art Theater showed Kirshon's "The Trial," "The Cricket on the Hearth," adapted from Dickens, Dostoyevsky's "The Insulted and Injured," Alexey Tolstoy's "Peter the First," and Zamyatin's "The Flea."

The Vakhtangov Theater presented Slavin's "Intervention," Gorky's "Egor Bulychev," Schiller's "Love and Intrigue," and Gozzi's "Princess Turandot."

The opera season at the Bolshoy Theater opened the first week in September with the Tchaikowsky operas "The Queen of Spades" and "Eugene Onyegin," "Carmen," "Lohengrin," and Moussorgsky's "Boris Godunov," also the ballets "Red Poppy," by Gliere, and Tchaikowsky's "Swan Lake." The Affiliated Bolshoy Theater opened with Rimski-Korsakov's "Daughter of Pskov," "Traviata," "Rigoletto," "La Boheme," and Wolf-Ferrari's "The Four Despots." The Stanislavsky Opera Theater presented Rimsky Korsakov's "The Tsar's Bride," "A Night in May" and "Coq D'Or," also "Boris Godunov," "Eugene Onyegin" and "The Queen of Spades."

In the spring the new opera by the Soviet composer Shostakovich, "Lady Macbeth from Metsenski District," will be produced at the Bolshoy Theater.

The completion of the first Soviet comic opera, a joint venture by Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrov, authors of "The Little Golden Calf," and Valentine Katayev, author of "The Embezzlers," has been announced. The music is by the composer Kriukov. The operetta has been tentatively named "Under the Church Domes," and it will be produced during the current season.

A New Deal in the Collectives

Adapted from an article by S. Abolnikov in the magazine "Ogoniok," No. 19, 1933. This article is published by the Soviet Union Review to give its readers a picture of the way in which the recently organized political departments are helping the collectives to increase production.

THE Korablinsky politotdel (political department) serves thirty-eight collectives. During the four months of its existence it has made a vigorous effort to strengthen these collectives economically and politically.

The chief of the politotdel, Levin, a former bezprizorni (homeless waif) and his assistant, plunged into kolhoz life with irrepressible energy. Each failure (and there were plenty of them) only aroused further persistence and determination. The political members were to be seen everywhere: in the collective brigades, in the fields, in the stables, in the cottages of the collective members and individual peasants.

The politotdel directed its first main efforts toward exposing the kulak machinations and smashing the damaging elements. It aroused among the collective members a great wave of creative activity and initiative, instilled a real concern for the welfare of the kolhoz in the rank and file collective members, and organized a large group of real shock-troop workers.

The chief characteristic of the Korablinsky politotdel is its tactful and responsive attitude to the collective members. The kolhoz members come to the politotdel with all matters that concern them about the work of the collective, even bringing their family problems. The collective members see that the politotdel carries on a real struggle against those who interfere with honest work, who block progress toward a well-to-do life, who like to sponge on other people.

Soyuzphoto.

The first sheaf of the new crop.

The Threshing Begins

Today the threshing of the new harvest begins. The kolhoz has made strenuous preparations for this day. The large wooden threshing machine stands in readiness next to the great stacks of rye. But something has gone wrong with the tractor. The motor is missing, the valves and spark plugs are out of order. For three hours the bronzed tractorist, now all bespattered with oil, has not been able to get it to work properly.

The enforced idleness disturbs the waiting kolhoz members.

"Comrade Sorokin! When is that tractor going to work?"

"Soon, don't get excited comrades."

Sorokin walks up to the tractorist.

"Perhaps you need some help? Or shall I send to the MTS (machine and tractor station) for a mechanic? I am afraid the workers are getting impatient—" The last he added in a low voice, not wishing to show his own impatience. The first load of grain must be sent off today without fail!

Sorokin had been elected president of the administration of the Demianovsky kolhoz just three months before.

Levin, chief of the politotdel, had become acquainted with Sorokin in the village of Neznamovo, and after a talk with him had decided that he was the person to put at the head of the administration of the Demianovsky kolhoz. The secretary and president of the *yacheika* (communist cell) had protested. They insisted that he was a shirker and would disorganize the work. They talked and argued for a long time about Sorokin, but finally decided to test him out on this new work.

Levin summoned Sorokin to the politotdel office and said to him, in front of everyone:

"The party has called you to important, complicated and difficult work, it wants you to be the president of the administration of the Demianovsky kolhoz. For two years now you have been a candidate for the party, but you have never shown us what you could do—and you are a strong young fellow—what do you say?"

Sorokin did not at first understand what it was

all about. No one had ever talked to him like that before. For a moment he and Levin looked quietly at one another. The question required a clear and definite answer.

"Comrade Sorokin, you must prove that you deserve to be a Bolshevik," said Levin after the moment of silence.

"But will I be able to handle the job?" asked Sorokin hesitatingly.

"At first we shall help you. I believe you can manage it."

"But perhaps——" Sorokin did not finish the sentence. "Very well—I agree."

"Do a good job, Sorokin, the politotdel is responsible for you."

The choice of the politotdel was successful. Sorokin proved to be an energetic and tireless president of the administration. Under the direction of the politotdel he was able within a short time to lead his kolhoz into the front rank of the collectives of the Korablinsky zone MTS. During the sowing, he was the best plowman; during the harvest, the best cutter. Now it was his dream to be the first to deliver the grain quota to the government.

Dmitri Eroshin

Towards evening when the rays of the setting sun gilded the waving field of oats, and the sheaves of rye, the *starosta* (overseer) Dmitri Leontevich Eroshin, came to the field. The harvesting of the rye was over.

Eroshin was a real old-time muzhik. He had already passed his seventy-third year. Before the revolution, in those unhappy, far-off years he had labored from dawn until deep night, not knowing why he dragged on his miserable existence. The long dreary years stretched out like an endless dusty road before him. Now it is different. He knows what he is working for, he is proud that the politotdel entrusts him, a seventy-three-year old man, with the job of overseer, responsible for the quality of the seeding and the harvest work.

The year before, when Eroshin had attempted to point out to the kolhoz administration that the seeding was being badly done, that the potatoes were frozen, they called him a "damager." The word was unknown to him, but he understood that this was a serious accusation, and he resolved never to meddle in collective affairs again, or the devil knew what new name they might think up for him. But Eroshin did not stick to his resolve.

Before the beginning of the sowing the next year, Levin, with the help of the other collective members, was able to expose and to drive out the real damagers from the administration of the Demianovsky kolhoz. Then a new life started. Eroshin was made *starosta*.

Eroshin could not remember ever having seen his neighbors work in the fields with such joy and enthusiasm in all his long life. Two hundred and eight hectares of rye were cut in four days.

Eroshin quickened his footsteps. He wanted to be on hand for the first threshing of the new harvest. His eye fell on some stalks of rye that had rolled on to the road. Carefully he gathered them up and carried them to the threshing machine. Kolhoz property must not be lost.

The First Rye is Delivered

Time went on, and still the tractor was not in working order. Sorokin did not know what to do. His agitation increased. Ordinarily in cases when he could not manage alone, he called up Levin. Just as he was about to do this, Levin himself suddenly appeared on horseback. At the same moment the tractor started, the drive belt spun around, the threshing machine went into action. Sorokin helped to feed the sheaves to the thresher. He wanted to take part himself in the threshing of the first rye.

"We must send that load off today!"

He handled the sheaves with quick movements.

Levin checked the quality of the threshing.

"The grain goes through badly—mostly of the third quality—the machine isn't adjusted properly."

Some adjustments were made, the machine started up again.

"Now how is it, Comrade Levin—is it good rye?" asked Sorokin.

"Yes," Levin smilingly answered. "It's dry, good quality—first-grade rye is beginning to come through now."

"Comrade Shuvayev, is the transportation ready?"

"Ready."

"And how many sacks have you?"

"Fifty."

"Not enough. Go to the Neretinsky collective and borrow twenty-five sacks from them. Tell them the politotdel asks for them."

"Comrade chief, the sacks are large and heavy," someone complains.

"Well, let's see about that"—Levin quickly raises one of the sacks to his back and carries it into the warehouse.

The work went rapidly, as if by belt system.

Evening approached. A fresh breeze from the nearby river blew over the field. It was decided to thresh all night, until dawn. The whole collective of thirty people, from the chief of the politotdel Levin to the young fellows who hauled the straw away, was welded into one joyous and friendly family.

By two o'clock at night the Demianovsky kolhoz sent the first lot of six tons of high-grade grain from that area to the delivery point.

Yakimov's Brigade

The working day of Yakimov, the head of the first brigade, began while the village of Prianovo was still sunk deeply in sleep.

Yakimov went slowly, making his way along the little used road of his section of land to see that everything was in readiness for the harvest. It was his dream to be the first to finish the harvest and that the work should be of high quality. One thing disturbed him. Suppose it should rain, and interfere with the harvesting?

Ahead of him, in the impenetrable darkness, he heard a low voice. Yakimov pricked up his ears. Suppose it should be thieves? And he was quite unarmed.

Yakimov moved forward cautiously. Unexpectedly a young voice ran out in the quiet night:

"Stop! Who goes there?"

"A friend—Yakimov."

It was Klochkov, chief of the Comsomol militia for guarding the kolhoz harvest and secretary of the Comsomol *yacheika*.

"And why are you so early in the fields, Comrade Yakimov? You went home only a little while ago," asked Klochkov.

"I couldn't sleep, Comrade Klochkov. I want to finish the harvest today without fail. But I'm afraid it's going to rain."

"There won't be any rain! The sky is quite clear."

"Comrade Klochkov—please send the newspaper 'For Collectivization' out to the fields today. We'll read it during the lunch period."

"All right, I'll send them out with the cultural-organizer."

Going on to his own section, Yakimov measured the amount of rye still uncut, prepared a chart with the names of those who were to do the harvesting and the amounts they were to cut. Two collective members were designated to see that during the carrying and binding of the sheaves no grain should be lost.

Night began to give way. The moon grew pale. The sky reddened in the east. Morning came. At four o'clock in the morning the first rays of the sun began to warm the dew-covered steppe. The brigade was already out in full force. Each one knew his task for the day. They began to challenge each other to socialist competition —to cut cleanly, to bind carefully and tightly— in carrying the sheaves, not to drag them along the ground, not to lose a single head.

Step by step, hour by hour, Yakimov's brigade steadily moved forward. The cut grain fell on the field with chess-board evenness. The sheaves were piled carefully, so that neither wind nor rain would damage them.

Korablinsky Collectives in the Front Ranks

In the deep, quiet July night a lone horseman slowly rode through the fields. He was circling the fields of the Pekhletsky collective, checking up how the first day of the harvest had passed. In his conversations with the collective members he had learned that the harvest was going sluggishly, that hardly anyone was working according to normal.

"This won't do at all," he muttered, conscience-stricken, feeling himself more responsible than anyone else for the poor results of the day's work.

In spite of the late hour, he went to the politotdel office and called on the telephone the president of the Red Banner Neznamovsky kolhoz, Vanin.

"Levin speaking. Comrade Vanin, I have just been inspecting the fields of the Pekhletsky kolhoz. Something is going wrong with the harvest here. It seems to me it would be a good thing if at the beginning of the work tomorrow morning you would send your best harvest worker here and let him show them how the grain should be reaped."

"Right, Comrade Levin, Tomorrow I'll send Tuzhakov."

"And how is your harvest going?"

"All right—brigade fifteen is best of all."

"How much are they cutting?"

".85 instead of .60."

"Fine—see that you don't lose your banner— you have some serious rivals!"

"We won't give it up!"

At the rally of kolhoz-udarniki called by the Korablinsky politotdel, the shock troop workers undertook to bring their collectives into the front ranks, and to make the Korablinsky MTS the model for the whole Moscow region.

The work in the harvest campaign showed that the members were taking this resolve seriously.

On August 11 the collectives of the Korablinsky MTS had completely fulfilled their year's quota of rye to the government. They delivered 10,340 centners. The Korablinsky collectives were the first to start the autumn sowing.

Soyuzphoto.

Preparing a wall-newspaper in the kolhoz fields

Along the Lower Yenisei

By A. KOZHEVNIKOV.

Translated from the magazine "The Soviet North," No. 6, 1932

ONCE I witnessed a scene of extraordinary human happiness in a smoky and crowded peasant *isba* (hut). The first electric bulb was lighted and what rejoicing there was among that peasant family, great and small! The children seized each other's hands and began to jump and shout "It burns! It burns!" The father touched the bulb over and over with his hand, his face beaming, and said: "It's warm. And it doesn't even flicker. It's magic, it's bewitched!" His wife could not take her eyes from the yellow, gleaming bulb. Her silent rapture knew no bounds.

The deep significance of that scene came back to me many years later, in the spring of this year, when the powerful hydroplane Dornier-Val carried us—(eight members of a geological survey group) from Krasnoyarsk to Podkammenaya Tungus in four and a half hours.

In the morning, a noisy city with a large and busy railroad station, with many trains going eastward and westward, a city closely in touch with news of the outside world. And within four hours a small town in the depth of the *taiga* (dense Siberian forest), where two mighty rivers come together—the Yenisei and the Podkammenaya Tungus, bearing little evidence of human habitation. Nine hundred kilometers of all but impassible *taiga* separated us from Krasnoyarsk. Some twenty years ago, when there was no navigation on the Lower Yenisei, the pioneer settlers took months, even years, to traverse this distance. And we covered it in four hours.

It is difficult to describe the feelings that overcame us when we landed at Podkammenoye and the whole population of the village ran out to meet us, dressed in coats and hats such as might have been worn in the seventeenth century. We were struck with bewilderment, surprise, instinctive fear—was this an apparition or a dream? But the chief feeling drowning all the others, was the joy of conquerors of space, the pride of people who have accomplished some mighty technical achievement. It was a flight not only in space but in time, a flight from one epoch to another. In the morning we were surrounded by a world of iron and steel, electricity, combines and giant elevators. Podkammenoye was the antipodes of this. The land yielded nothing but potatoes. Along the Yenisei the hollow boats of the Ostiaks skimmed restlessly, as the river was the chief source of food for the natives. The Russian population spoke in the language of pre-Peter times.

Turukhan

Three hours more of flying and the Dornier-Val landed at Turukhan. The zone of the ordinary division of the day into morning, afternoon and night was left behind. We were already in the Polar region where summer is marked by excessive sunshine, and winter by constant darkness.

It was one o'clock at night. The globe of the sun glowed whitely on the horizon in the North. A milky light lay over the tiny city, where the one-story houses stood in disorderly formation. Near the houses, on the shore of the Yenisei, a knot of people stood talking loudly at the entrance of the club. There were swings on one of the green squares, where a group of seven and eight-year old children were swinging and laughing excitedly.

Only yesterday Turukhan was a fearful place of exile—the end of the earth. And today the Dornier-Val flies to Turukhan and back in fifteen hours. Beyond Turukhan is Igarka, and beyond that, Dudinka and Taimyr—a vast, only partly explored land. In five or ten years Taimyr will be an open book—just as Turukhan has become near instead of unattainably distant.

Soyuzphoto.

The original fishing settlement founded by the Samoyed Egorka.

Part of the port of Igarka as it looks today.

Igarka—a City on Ice

Igarka is a city where the smells of pine, swamp, and rotting mushrooms mingle into one acrid odor. Four years ago on the site of the present Igarka, in which there are now about 13,000 inhabitants, three saw-mills and hundreds of houses, there was just an impassable swamp, out of which grew a few sparse and stunted polar shrubs. On the opposite shore of the Yenisei stood the few lonely houses of the Igarkino settlement, which developed out of the Egorkino winter station, renamed Igorkino by the natives.

Igarka is undoubtedly the most original city in the U.S.S.R. It would be difficult to find a metaphor that would convey its unique and utterly individual aspect. One of the travelers compared it to a candle. "Put a match to it and it will burn down to the end like a candle."

The Dornier-Val landed near the lumber-yards for export timber. In order to get to the city, it was necessary for us to pass through these yards. A smooth road, six or seven meters wide, made of boards, ran before us to a group of high wooden buildings. On both sides rose the sun-yellow piles of planks and beams. We went along the main street, named the native equivalent for "Port Street." Right and left of Port Street ran intersecting avenues, each with a whole system of side streets and alleys.

A noisy and varied life went on in the lumber-yards. There was a constant rumbling of trucks and two-wheel and four-wheel wagons over the boards as new masses of timber were brought in and piled up by cranes.

The timber was carefully divided according to length, width and apparently even according to color. We hunted carefully for flaws, but found none—not a "blue spot," not a fissure, not a hole.

Port Street led us to saw-mill No. 2, the largest in Igarka, equipped with modern Swedish machinery. The entire process of working up the wood is done by mechanical power, there are very few workers in comparison with the amount of the output. It takes altogether only a few minutes to transform the logs into wood dressed for export. The mill is operated by steam, and the waste material of the mill-slabs, lath, shreds, so-called "macaroni," is used as fuel. It is put through an automatic wood-cutter which feeds it directly into the furnace.

Next to the lumber-yards the city itself begins. It stretches out in several long streets for about a kilometer along the Yenisei River. It is built entirely of wood. The oldest house in the town was finished by its builders only three years ago. There is not a single dingy or rickety house to be seen, and this gives to Igarka an exceedingly attractive and cheerful appearance. Most of the houses are one-story structures, but along with them one sees oftener and oftener buildings of two, three and even four stories. Last summer especially (1932) there was a marked increase in building larger houses. Of these the club and the house of the I. T. R. (Engineers and Technical Workers) should be especially mentioned—these fine wooden buildings are the pride of Igarka.

One wonders why all the buildings are of wood and not of more durable material, such as concrete or brick. Is Igarka, which has grown up so rapidly in the past three years, already preparing to die? Why are the streets, especially the main streets, covered with wooden pavement and not with, at least, cobblestones? Why is nothing done to drain the swamps? All Igarka stands in a swamp, it oozes up around the buildings, under the wooden paving covering the streets.

Igarka lives and grows on the eternal ice and from that fact all its peculiarities arise. At the hottest time of the year the upper layer thaws to a depth of one meter. Under that is the layer that has been forever frozen. One might suppose that the eternal ice represented a dead and unchanging zone. As a matter of fact it is quite otherwise. It lives at times a very intensive life which constantly threatens the human surround-

The engineers' and technicians' club at Igarka.

ings. In Transibaikal, where there is a frozen region, the railroads and the highways suddenly become alive and begin to move about, and telegraph poles suddenly and unexpectedly dip this way and that. Buildings are very unstable in this frozen region. They frequently sway on their foundations, which often means cracking stoves and doors and windows, and sometimes the ruin of the whole building. Imagine what would happen to stone houses when the frozen area started to travel!

The eternal ice is an ideal water-tight level—it does not permit a single drop of water to get through. That is why our entire North, beginning with Turukhan, is under a solid cover of swamp. To drain even such a small section as Igarka, even if it were possible, would be so difficult that for the time it is preferable to use other means to resist it, such as new types of foundations for buildings, and so on. There is in Igarka a station for the study of the everlasting ice where one may learn many interesting things.

In conclusion, a few words on the importance of Igarka to the whole Soviet Union. The development of this city beyond the Arctic Circle is an important step in the long struggle of man for the so-called Great Northern Sea Way—the route from Western Europe to Northern Siberia through the Asiatic Ocean and the Kara Sea. Attempts to conquer this route began as far back as the Middle Ages, but were successfully completed only in recent years.

In earlier times trade with Siberia was not the dominating motive. The enterprising navigators of that time were driven by the idea of finding the shortest route to India and China, then an interest in Siberian furs developed, and finally, Siberian timber became the impelling motive. Through the technique of modern navigation and hydro-aviation the formerly impassible ice-bound Kara Sea has become navigable. The Yenisei has proved an excellent entrance to the heart of Siberia. Near Igarka it has formed a natural and extensive harbor for ocean-going ships, and the Great Northern sea route has become a reality.

The turning point came in the year 1921 when the ice-breaker "Lenin" led a flotilla of five boats by the Northern Sea Way. Since that time the number of boats which have taken that route has increased rapidly, and Igarka is developing into a port of importance. In the 1932 navigation season over thirty foreign ships entered the Igarka harbor, bringing equipment for the gigantic socialist industry of Siberia, and carrying away timber. The Yenisei, which was entirely empty of traffic not so very long ago, is fast becoming one of the routes for our international trade connections. I visited Igarka twice, in June and in September. In June it had the appearance of one great saw-mill and lumber-yard. By September it had become a real seaport. Dozens of ocean steamers tossed about on the stormy waters of the Yenisei. Loading went on day and night. The loaded ships moved slowly away from the hospitable shores. Flags of all designs and colors fluttered over the ships. All the peoples of Western Europe were to be met on the shore. Out of Igarka flowed the timber with which it was glutted in June. Out of the warehouses where it was stocked so carefully, as if to stay there for centuries, the wood poured in a tempestuous stream to the Yenisei and disappeared in the great bellies of the ships. At night a milky way of electric lights gleamed over Igarka.

Dudinka—Capital of the Taimyr Region

The settlement of Dudinka, the administrative center of Taimyr National okrug, is 290 kilometers north of Igarka. Our arrival there was almost unnoticed. On that day the capital was otherwise occupied. The whole population was out to meet the first ship to come through from Krasnoyarsk, after eight months of existence entirely cut off from the rest of the world. Near the rocky right bank of the Yenisei stood a blackened tug, with a long flotilla of barges behind it (it had brought the fishing artels and collectives to the mouth of the Yenisei) and blew its alarm signal with a note of respair. The Yenisei grew more turbulent, and the tug hastened to put off. The Yenisei is seven kilometers wide at Dudinka and has been known when rough to hurl ships on shore at this point.

The arrival of a ship, especially the first one of the season, is a great event for Dudinka. It brings letters, papers and books, which come only by chance in the winter months, since there is no regular postal service between Dudinka and Igarka. It brings new people to replace those who have served their time, it brings news, rumors, anecdotes and finally—the smell of the real and vital outside world.

The new arrivals look around with perplexed and alarmed curiosity at the empty, frozen shores, the small, disorderly, scattered settlement, the midnight sun. Obviously, someone has told them that it would be different from this, or they themselves have phantasied something quite else and now they are surprised that the reality is not like the dream.

The old inhabitants study the newcomers patronizingly, with, at the same time, an expression of ill-concealed envy. Soon these people, at first strangers to one another, like representatives of different worlds, find a common language.

"Tell us, how is it here? Isn't it very dull? Can one survive for two years here? We supposed that——"

"And how is it there—is everything quiet? Is there a war? For eight months we haven't seen a letter or a paper!"

A few more questions and these people from

different worlds understand each other, become friends. The North brings people close together. New faces, news from the outside world are so rare here that it would be difficult to pass through unnoticed and unquestioned. There are no chance meetings here. Here everything, from the very first word, becomes joyous and long awaited news to everyone.

Dudinka is being built up—not so fast, to be sure, as Igarka—but still it is growing. Every fortnight the white spots of new roofs appear. The Okrug Executive Committee, the Educational Department, the All-Union Gold Company, the Taimyr Labor Unions—all these are building their headquarters here.

The importance of Dudinka has no such clear and concrete expression as Igarka. Dudinka produces nothing, has no shops, no factories, no industries, which makes it seem quiet and dead by comparison.

But Dudinka was brought to life by real economic needs. In the past it was the central trading point of Taimyr, where the native hunters exchanged their fur for bread, weapons, gunpowder, nets, and so on. In our time it has not lost its original economic importance and has taken on, in addition, the function of the Soviet organizational center for Taimyr, the center of the cultural revolution and the economic regeneration of that remote region. In a few years it will, no doubt, be as flourishing a town as Igarka.

National Income of the U.S.S.R.

THE reconstruction of industry, transport and agriculture has naturally been reflected in the growth of the national income of the U.S.S.R. and its distribution in the different branches of the national economy and among the different classes of the population. The income level of 1926, the year of transition from restoration to reconstruction work, has been left far behind. The following table gives a picture of the increase in the national income:

Growth of the National Income

(In unchanging prices of 1926-27.)

	Rubles
1913	21,500,000,000
1926	22,900,000,000
1932	45,500,000,000
1933 (plan)	51,100,000,000

Thus, at the end of the restoration period, in 1926, the national income had reached 106.8 per cent in comparison with the pre-war income. By 1932 it had doubled, reaching 211.6 per cent of the 1913 income.

The results of the five-year plan bring out clearly the progress that has been made in the direction of transforming the U.S.S.R. from a predominantly agrarian into a predominantly industrial country. In 1913 the entire industry and construction work of the country represented 36.6 per cent of the national income of Russia. In 1932 the share of these sectors had increased to 52 per cent, exceeding the schedules of the five-year plan, which had provided that the share be increased to 50.2 per cent.

Increased Share of Socialized Sector

Another important result of the five-year plan has been the increasing share of the socialized sector in the national income.

By the end of the restoration period the share of the socialized sector in the national income had reached only 40 per cent (in unchanging prices of 1926-27) and the private sector still predominated, occupying 60 per cent of the national income. During the five-year plan this relation changed in favor of the socialized sector, which became predominant in both the national economy and the national income. The following table shows the change in the relation of the socialized and private elements:

Percentage of National Income

(In unchanging prices of 1926-27.)

	Socialized Sector	*Private Sector*
1928	49.7	50.3
1929	59.2	40.8
1930	73.6	26.4
1931	83.6	16.4
1932	87.0	12.9

Originally the five-year plan provided that the share of the socialized sector wolld be 67.3 per cent by 1932. Its increase to 87 per cent was due to the unexpected strength of the collectivization movement.

Increase in Productive Workers

During the five-year plan the entire population increased by 11,500,000, and those of working age alone increased by 6,900,000. At the beginning of the five-year plan it was estimated that the surplus population of the villages amounted to between eight and nine million persons, and the city unemployed to over a million. Since unemployment has now been completely wiped out it may be asserted that during the five-year plan 17,000,000 persons of working age have been assimilated into production processes.

If we consider further that during the five-year plan tremendous technical advances have taken place in production, that a large amount of rationalization and reconstruction has been accomplished, and extensive mechanization introduced in both industry and agriculture, all of which was inevitably accompanied in many cases by a reduction of the need for labor (which has meant not an increase of unemployment, but a planned distribution of the surplus labor in other branches of industry), then it becomes clear that the actual number of workers drawn into production has been much larger even than 17,000,000.

In drawing up the plan for agriculture alone it was estimated that the introduction into agricultural production of 1,600,000 new harvesters, 492,000 threshing machines and 159,000 tractors would mean an economy of 693,000,000 man-days, or 2,500,000 workers a year. The mechanization of agriculture during the first five-year plan was carried immeasurably further than envisaged by the plan, so the importance of this factor was even greater than it was estimated to be. It is thus fair to assume that instead of 17,000,000 persons, at least 20,000,000 persons of working age were given the opportunity to apply their labor power productively, thus increasing the growth of the national income. While at the beginning of the five-year plan only 21.8 per cent of the entire population was included in the socialized sector, it embraced 72.5 per cent at the end of the five-year plan.

Class Distribution of the National Income

In capitalist Russia the share of the proletariat in the national income amounted to about twenty per cent. Since the revolution the distribution of the national income among the classes has changed sharply in favor of the workers and peasants. The working class of the U.S.S.R. shares in the national income not merely through wages, but through so-called "socialized wages," additional social insurance funds, which make up about 35 per cent of the entire wage fund of the workers. In addition, the working class shares in the distribution of the national income through that part of the income of enterprises in the socialized sector spent for social purposes in which all the workers of the given enterprise share—such as housing enterprises, clubs, parks, and so on—a category of income which Stalin has called "The common income of the workers."

By the end of the restoration period, in 1926, the share of the proletariat in the national income of the U.S.S.R. was 36.2 per cent, the share of the working peasants was 45.7 per cent and of the capitalist elements, 9.8 per cent. The rapid growth of the socialized sector of industry and of collectivization of agriculture have led both to the absolute and relative decrease of the role of the peasant sector. The income of capitalist elements was reduced to 1 per cent of the national income in 1932. The remaining 99 per cent goes to the working elements of the population of whom 87 per cent are directly engaged in socialized forms of labor.

Radio in the Soviet Union

DURING the first five-year plan the entire radio system of the Soviet Union was thoroughly reconstructed and extended. The following table shows the number of stations, their power and also the number of receiving points in the U.S.S.R.:

	1928	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*1932*
Number of stations	23	41	53	57	66
Power of the stations (kilowatts)	126	218	395	902	1,702
Number of receiving points	350,000	555,000	1,200,000	2,000,000	2,800,000

In the last five years the number of radio stations has increased almost three times, their power thirteen and a half times and the number of receiving points eight times. This has caused a considerable increase in the number of radio listeners, which, in 1932, was estimated to be between ten and twelve million. This figure is based on the fact that usually every receiving point is used by a family of several persons and that many sets are collectively used in workers' clubs, village reading-rooms, army barracks and communal living quarters.

Every nationality in the Soviet Union may have programs broadcast in its own language. Fifty different languages are used in broadcasting.

The system of local broadcasting points, organized in large industrial enterprises and many sovhozes and kolhozes is widely developed. These points function almost entirely independently, organizing radio-newspapers and concerts. These local stations also frequently relay the programs of the central stations, or send their programs through them. On October 1, 1928, there were 27 local stations, on January 1, 1931, there were 962, and at the end of 1932 approximately 3,000.

The special radio broadcasting of correspondence school courses has also developed to a large degree. During the first five-year plan 125,000 radio study points were formed, making it possible for many thousand workers and collective members to take correspondence work by radio.

The ultra high-frequency system has also highly developed, increasing some twenty times and allowing for sending and receiving programs from the district, regional and republic centers of the most outlying spots in the Urals, Yakutia, Kazakstan and other distant places. The rayon county receiving system has grown from 150 to 2,500 units, facilitating transmission to the rayons.

Ten large radio telegraph centers have been

organized in Moscow, Tashkent, Alma Ata, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Leningrad, Tiflis and Baku. All these centers are connected with Moscow and their own rayons.

Eighty-three new transmitters of 372 kilowatt power, 350 short wave transmitters for outside rayon connection, and 250,000 new radio points are planned. Sport arenas are having radio connections installed. The plan for 1933 foresees the receiving of Moscow programs by all regional, district and republican centers and the sending of their own local programs by these centers to the rayons.

Decree Outlining New Trade Union Functions

In further development of the decree of June 23, 1933, turning over the functions of the People's Commissariat for Labor of the U.S.S.R. to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTZSPS), a decree was issued on September 10 outlining the details in accordance with which the merger of the two organizations is to be effected.

The provisions of the new decree, which is issued jointly by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central All-Union Council of Trade Unions, are as follows:

1. To transfer, beginning with September 15, 1933, to the All-Union Central Council, and the Central Committee of Trade Unions:

(a) All funds of the social insurance organizations (amounting to 4,500,000,000 rubles for 1933).

(b) All sanatoria, rest homes, scientific institutes and other institutions, and also all buildings and property which have been in the possession of the People's Commissariat for Labor and its organs.

(c) Employees of the organs of labor and of social insurance.

2. To organize the work of social insurance according to the various branches of industry, concentrating the practical direction of social insurance in the central committees of the trade unions and their republic, regional and local organs. For this purpose branch offices of social insurance are to be created in the central committees of the trade unions and in the republic, regional and local departments of the trade unions, and disbursement points of the factory and shop committees on social insurance are to be created at the factories and plants.

The direct control of the insurance offices in the central committees of the unions is in the hands of the chairman of the central committee.

3. To make the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions responsible for the general direction of the whole matter of social insurance, the control and instructing of the trade unions in all questions of social insurance and the presentation of an estimate for the social insurance budget and the rate of social insurance dues.

The direct management of all social insurance work is to be in the hands of the first secretary of the VTZSPS, for which purpose the latter is to establish a small and highly qualified staff.

The VTZSPS is to create a "Khozraschet" (economic accounting) organization for the administration of the sanatoria and rest homes.

In the trade union councils the direction of social insurance matters is to rest directly on the chairmen.

4. To establish that all payments for social insurance are to be paid to the account of the corresponding union in the State Bank.

5. To maintain for the trade union organizations all the rights, exemptions and privileges which were enjoyed by the organs of social insurance previous to the merging of the People's Commissariat for Labor with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

6. Labor inspection is to be organized on the basis of the different branches of industry under all the central union committees and their branch organs by special decision of the VTZSPS.

The right of imposing fines for violation of labor laws is reserved for the labor inspection.

The general direction of labor inspection is to be in the hands of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and its local councils.

7. Rules and norms in the technique of labor protection and industrial hygiene are to be established by the central committees of the trade unions concerned, by agreement with the interested organizations.

8. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the local trade union councils are to be in charge of the registration of collective agreements and of the revocation of the agreements which are contrary to law.

9. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions will present to the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) of the U.S.S.R. its conclusions on the plan for labor (number of workers, wage fund, productivity of labor) presented by Gosplan for ratification by the Sovnarkom.

10. The expenses of the VTZSPS and the trade unions, incurred in the execution of their new functions (social insurance, labor protection, etc.) are to be charged for 1933 against the funds assigned by budget for the support of the People's Commissariat for Labor (the Social Insurance Company and their local unions.)

The People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the U.S.S.R., the People's Commissariat for Finance and the VTZSPS are commissioned to work out within a month the amount of funds that will be necessary for 1933, based on an appreciable reduction of the funds necessary for the support of the apparatus.

In the future the VTZSPS will draw up and submit for ratification by the government of the U.S.S.R. an estimate of the necessary administrative expenses for social insurance and labor protection.

A section of the Lugansky Locomotive plant.

Soviet Foreign Relations

Soyuzphoto.

Maxim Gorky entertains M. Herriot.

In the picture, left to right, are M. Alphand, French ambassador to Moscow, Mr. Litvinov, M. Herriot, Mr. Gorky and the French journalist, Marcel Ray.

HERRIOT VISITS THE SOVIET UNION

M. Edouard Herriot, former Premier of France, now chairman of the French Radical Socialist Party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies, arrived in Odessa with a group of leading Frenchmen for a visit to the Soviet Union on August 26.

Much prominence was given by the Soviet press to the arrival and journey of M. Herriot and his friends, and on the day of his arrival the Moscow *Izvestia* published the following statement about his visit:

"The Soviet public will certainly welcome sincerely the visit to the Soviet Union of M. Herriot, one of the leading statesmen of France. The name of M. Herriot is well known in the Soviet Union. As far back as 1920, directly after the failure of intervention, Herriot understood that the October revolution represented an important historical event, creating an entirely new situation which must be soberly reckoned with. In 1922 M. Herriot visited the U.S.S.R., became more closely acquainted with the country and came out for rapprochement between France and the Soviet Republics. In 1924, in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers, Herriot brought up the question of the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by France and carried it through. At a later stage, in 1931, Herriot displayed great interest in the idea of a non-aggression pact between France and the U.S.S.R. and was very active in furthering that. M. Herriot has thus played an outstanding role in the history of Franco-Soviet relations. . . . On his arrival on the territory of the Soviet Union Herriot expressed the hope that this trip to the U.S.S.R. would serve the interests of peace. The Soviet public wholeheartedly shares this hope with Herriot, along with his hope of strengthening the relations between France and the U.S.S.R.

After visiting the main cities of the Ukraine as well as industrial projects, and state and collective farms, M. Herriot and his party arrived in Moscow as the guests of the Soviet government. The French visitors were met at the station by Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, by Assistant Commissars N. M. Krestinsky and L. M. Karakhan and other Soviet leaders.

At a reception given to M. Herriot by the Moscow Soviet before his departure on September 9, M. Herriot answered the speeches made in his honor in part as follows:

"As you know, I first visited the Soviet Union eleven years ago, when you had hardly recovered from the civil war, when you had barely started on your program of economic construction, when you were not yet as strong as you are today, when Dnieprogres did not yet exist. I was one of the first Frenchmen to advocate rapprochement and friendship with the Soviet Union. . . .

"I have just seen in the U.S.S.R. cities and villages, factories and collectives . . . and I wish here publicly and in everyone's hearing to congratulate warmly the workers and peasants, the people of Moscow and the people of the whole Soviet Union on the great successes they have achieved. When I return to France I shall tell the French people both of these successes and of the cordial welcome which has been given me and

my friends in the U.S.S.R. The French people will be deeply touched and in their name I accept your expressions of friendship and assure you of their friendship in turn.

"Permit me here, in the presence of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Litvinov, with whom I hope to cooperate still further in the future, to say the following: I have seen in the Soviet Union large cities, large enterprises, and many young children. They have reminded me of the children of my native city of Lyons. And this is our duty—to so use our efforts toward peace that these children of Moscow and Lyons, of France and the U.S.S.R. will be saved from the heavy trials, suffering and terrors of war that their fathers went through. I shall be happy if my work in the direction of peace, if my trip to the Soviet Union, will bring us nearer to that end. I ask you to accept my deep thanks and the greetings of an old French Republican to the workers, peasants and Red Army men of the Moscow region and to the people of the whole Soviet Union."

FRENCH AIR MINISTER FLIES TO MOSCOW

Following the visit of M. Herriot, the French Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot, accompanied by a group of high French aviation officials, flew from Paris to Moscow. The three planes making the flight landed at the Central Airdome in Moscow on the afternon of September 15.

The French air squadron, with an escort of Soviet planes, was met at the airport by officials of the Soviet Foreign Office and Air Fleet, the French ambassador, M. Alphand and his staff, members of the press and a large crowd of Soviet citizens.

After a flight to Kiev and Kharkov, where they visited aviation and other instituitons, the French visitors returned to Moscow on September 16, where they paid a visit to the Central Aero-Dynamics Institute, and expressed great interest in the new airplane models under construction. Following that they went on a tour of inspection of Moscow, and in the evening were given a dinner by the chief of the aviation corps of the Red Army, attended by Soviet foreign and aviation officials.

Commenting on the visit of M. Cot, the Moscow *Izvestia* of September 15 said in part as follows:

"There is every reason to believe that the arrival in the U.S.S.R. of the French Minister for Aviation and his distinguished colleagues will aid in the creation of favorable conditions for a more complete and regular exchange of technical experience between Soviet and French aviation circles. There is no doubt that this kind of cooperation in such an important branch of technique can be extraordinarily useful for both countries. Our aviators and engineers follow with great interest the important achievements in French aviation technique, and our French guests, on the other hand, will have every opportunity to see at first hand that the U.S.S.R. has also made not a little technical progress in the past few years. The extension and strengthening of the connections between Soviet and French aviation will also aid in the development and strengthening of relations between the two countries in other spheres. It will assist the strengthening of normal political relations based on mutual confidence."

SOVIET-ITALIAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT

A Soviet-Italian treaty of friendship, non-aggression and neutrality was signed in Rome by Benito Mussolini, head of the Italian government and Vladimir Potemkin, Soviet diplomatic representative in Italy, on September 2. The text of the treaty follows:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and His Majesty the King of Italy, animated by the desire to aid with all their strength in the maintenance of universal peace, considering the uninterrupted friendly relations uniting the two countries, and determined to continue in the future the policy of refraining completely from any interference in each other's internal affairs, have mutually agreed to strengthen the existing relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy by the conclusion of the present treaty, and have appointed their plenipotentiaries for this purpose, to wit:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—Vladimir Potemkin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to Rome.

His Majesty the King of Italy—His Excellency Benito Mussolini, Head of the Government, First Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Who after exchange of their full powers, found in good and proper form, came to an agreement on the following provisions:

Article I

Each of the High Contracting Powers binds itself before the other in no case, either separately or jointly with one or several other powers, to have recourse either to war against the other, or to any kind of attack by land, sea or air, and each undertakes to respect the inviolability of territories under the sovereignty of the other.

Article II

If one of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of attack by one or several third powers, then the other High Contracting Party is bound to observe neutrality during the entire time of the conflict.

If one of the High Contracting Parties attacks a third power, then the other High Contracting Party is entitled to denounce the present treaty without previous notice.

Article III

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes, during the period the present treaty is in force, to participate in no international agreements which would have the practical consequence of prohibiting purchases to be made of the other party, or the sale of its goods, or the granting of credits to the other, and to take no measures which would result in excluding the other party from any kind of participation in its foreign trade.

Article IV

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to enter into any agreement of a political or economic nature, or any combination directed against the other.

Article V

The obligations set forth in the foregoing articles can in

no way restrict or modify the rights and obligations resulting to each of the High Contracting Parties from agreements concluded prior to the entry into effect of the present treaty, and furthermore both of the parties hereby declare that they are bound by no obligations to participate in aggression undertaken by a third State.

Article VI

The High Contracting Powers undertake to submit to conciliation procedure questions on which differences may arise between them, which cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic methods.

Article VII

The present treaty, of which the Russian and Italian texts will have identical force, will be ratified, and ratification instruments will be exchanged in Moscow. It will enter into force beginning with the aforesaid exchange of instruments and will remain in force until the expiration of a period of one year from the day when one of the High Contracting Parties informs the other of its intention to denounce it. Announcement of such intention may not, however, take place before the expiration of a five-year period, counted from the day of the entry into effect of the present treaty.

In certification of which the plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done in two copies, one in the Russian and one in the Italian language, in Rome, September 2, 1933.

On September 16 the Italian Council of Ministers ratified the above pact.

SOVIET-GREEK TRADE AGREEMENT

A temporary agreement on trade between the Soviet Union and Greece was signed on September 8 in Athens by Mr. Angarsky, Soviet Trade Representative in Greece, and Mr. Lesmazoglu, Greek Minister for National Economy.

The agreement is designed chiefly to regulate the transfer to the U.S.S.R. from Greece of the valuta received by the trade delegation for the sale of Soviet goods in Greece.

The transfer of the receipts from the sale of grain, which is the main article of Soviet export to Greece is carried on for the most part without restrictions. The currency received by the trade delegation for other goods (lumber, coal, fish, industrial goods, etc.) goes to pay 31½ per cent of the freight charges due to Greek merchant ships chartered by Soviet chartering organizations, and as payment for Soviet purchases in Greece.

Greek ships are extensively used by Soviet trading organizations for transporting goods. In 1932 the Greek ships chartered by them amounted to 1,500,000 tons, or 25 per cent of the entire loadings of the Greek merchant ship.

In the event that the Greek government should introduce any new restrictions on imports into Greece, this agreement guarantees most-favored-nation treatment for Soviet goods on the basis of the convention on trade and navigation of June 11, 1929. The present agreement will aid in the development of Soviet trade relations with Greece.

RATIFICATION OF PACTS DEFINING AGGRESSION

On September 16 the Central Executive Committee of the US.S.R. ratified the convention defining aggression signed in London, July 3, 1933, by the Soviet Union, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Rumania, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. The convention was ratified on September 15 by President Moscicki of Poland, and on September 16 by Nadir Shah, King of Afghanistan.

AMERICAN-SOVIET TRADE DROPS

The continued decline in American exports to the Soviet Union is shown in U. S. Department of Commerce figures of exports to the Soviet Union for the first six months of 1933. American exports to the Soviet Union for this period were $2,577,435, compared with $5,016,977 for the same period of 1932, and $78,986,029 for the same period of 1930. The decline in three years was nearly 97 per cent.

In 1930 the United States furnished 25 per cent of all Soviet imports, in 1932 it furnished 4.5 per cent, in the first six months of 1933 it furnished 3 per cent.

RECENT DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

On August 20 Anatole Vassilevich Lunacharsky was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Spain. Mr. Lunacharsky was formerly People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R., and recently head of scientific institutions of the R.S.F.S.R.

Book Notes

"SUMMARY OF THE FULFILMENT OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN," Published by State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1933. Distributor, Amkniga, 258 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Paper, $1.00; cloth, $1.25.

This volume is an English translation of the report of the State Planning Commission on the results of the first five-year plan. With its appendix of 32 statistical tables, it forms a volume of nearly 300 pages. The book gives a detailed and comprehensive picture of the accomplishments under a socialized planned economy during its first five-year period.

The seven chapters devoted to industry include chapters on machine building, electrification, fuel, iron and steel, chemicals, building materials and timber, and on the light industries including food. Other chapters deal with agriculture, transport and communications, labor and living conditions, commodity circulation, finances, education, geographic distribution of productive forces.

The reader will gather that the primary accomplishment of the first five-year planning period was to establish solid foundations for a modernized productivity along collectivist lines. This involved a complete reorganization of the struc-

ture of agriculture, a vast expansion of industry with particular emphasis on fundamental heavy industry, and a similar expansion of power bases and of transportation. Along with this went a gigantic educational effort to equip the Soviet population, especially the growing generation, for its new responsibilities and opportunities. The various chapters give an accounting of the laying of these foundations.

"IN PLACE OF PROFIT," by Harry F. Ward. Scribners, New York, 1933. $2.50.

Professor Ward has contributed an outstanding work to the library of serious books on the Soviet Union. Living over there for a year, both in the villages and in the cities, he has drawn largely on conversations and discussions with collective members, workers, officials, Comsomols and teachers. The book is valuable for the many quotations from these sources as well as from official, trade union, workers' and newspaper reports.

Tracing the passage of the old incentives and the coming of the new, Professor Ward has dug deep under the new social foundations to lay bare how they are built. In so doing he discusses the functioning of socialist labor, its participation in its government, the role of the state, the party and the government, and cultural revolution solidifying the results of the economic and social upheaval. In the chapter on "New Forms of Socialist Labor," is one of the clearest presentations for the American reader yet printed of "shock work and socialist competition," and the various other plans devised, as Professor Ward states from his investigations, by the workers themselves to fulfil and outstrip the norm. The creative genius which is unloosened by "turning the battle spirit of man into constructive channels" is developed from childhood through old age by every cultural agency working continually at top speed.

It is Professor Ward's ability to see the picture as a whole that makes his book the excellent study it is. When the reader has finished it he knows just where guiding principles link up with actuality.

"FIRST TO GO BACK," by Irina Skariatina. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1933. $2.75.

Irina Skariatina, first of the titled artistocrats who left Russia after the revolution to return legally to the Soviet Union as a visitor, has accomplished an interesting feat of literary double-exposure in this account of the trip she took through her native land in the latter part of 1932.

Without making direct comparisons, Mme. Skariatina sets down the memories of the old Russia that rise around her at every step, and at the same time gives a fresh and stirring picture of the glowing, eager life of today. Her impressions of the new Russia stand out all the more clearly for this shadowy parallel picture, and because of it are more important and revealing than those of many visitors who have no standards of comparison.

With her husband, Victor Blakeslee, extracts from whose conversations and diary add not a little to the flavor of the book, Irina Skariatina traveled over a large part of European Russia, seeing everything, talking to all kinds of people.

Mme. Skariatina has succeeded in maintaining objectivity and balance. "But the Russia we knew is gone," she writes, "and I find it impossible to live only in that past, and as time goes on and new changes take place I hope to be always able to understand them and be a part of the life of my country."

COMPETITION FOR "PALACE OF TECHNIQUE"

An architectural competition for the best project for a "Palace of Technique," to be built in Moscow, commenced on August 30.

The total capacity of the building, including all sections, is to reach 4,400 cubic meters. The site selected for the palace, comprising 17½ hectares, is situated on the bank of the Moscow River facing the Central Park of Culture and Rest.

The competition will be divided into two stages. The first stage will last from August 30 to December 1. Anyone wishing to participate in the competition may send in contributions during this period. The first stage will be immediately followed by the second, in which only those who received prizes in the first stage of the competition will participate. The second stage will end in January next.

Altogether fifteen prizes will be distributed as follows: One of 15,000 rubles, two of 10,000 rubles, two of 5,000, and ten "encouragement" prizes of 3,200 rubles each.

The jury, which includes the foremost architects, is headed by Academician Bukharin.

BOOKS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 220)

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"The New Russia—Between the First and Second Five-Year Plans," introduced by Edw. M. House, edited by Jerome Davis. The John Day Co., New York, 1933. $2.50.
"An American Looks at Russia," by George A. Burrell. The Stratford Co., Boston, 1932. $2.50.
"The Red Flag of Ararat," by A. Y. Yeghenian. The Woman's Press, New York, 1932. $2.00.
"Red Virtue—Human Relationships in the New Russia," by Ella Winter. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1933. $3.00.
"In Place of Profit," by Harry F. Ward. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933. $2.50.
"Summary of the Fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan," State Planning Commission, Moscow, U.S.S.R., 1933. Distributor, Amkniga, 258 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Paper, $1; cloth, $1.50.
"In Place of Profit," by Harry F. Ward. Scribners, New York, 1933. $2.50.
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The following list is given in chronological order.

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"Fighting Without a War." An Account of Military Intervention in North Russia, by Ralph Albertson. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.

"The Russian Workers' Republic," by H. N. Brailsford. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1921.

"Through the Russian Revolution," by Albert Rhys Williams. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1921.

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"Modern Russian Composers," by Leonid Sabaneyef. International Publishers, New York, 1927.

"The Russian Land," by Albert Rhys Williams. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1927.

"Russia After Ten Years," Report of American Trade Union Delegation to U.S.S.R. International Publishers, N. Y., 1927.

Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1927-28: "How the Soviets Work," by H. N. Brailsford.—"The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union," by Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy.—"Village Life Under the Soviets," by Karl Borders.—"Religion under the Soviets," by Julius F. Hecker.—"Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors," by R. Page Arnot.—"Soviet Trade Unions," by Robert W. Dunn.—"Women in Soviet Russia," by Jessica Smith.—"New Schools in New Russia," by Lucy L. W. Wilson.—"Health Work in Soviet Russia," by Anna J. Haines.—"Liberty under the Soviets," by Roger N. Baldwin.—"The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets," by Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

"Soviet Russia in the Second Decade"; Edited by Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn and R. G. Tugwell. John Day Co., N. Y., 1928.

"Present Day Russia," by Ivy Lee. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

"Labor Protection in Soviet Russia," by George M. Price. International Publishers, New York, 1928.

"Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution," 1917-1927. Ten Years' Progress Reported by Authoritative Russian Leaders, 2 Vol. International Publishers, New York, 1928.

"Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution," by Maurice Dobb. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1928.

"Guide Book to the Soviet Union." International Publishers, New York, 1928.

"American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917," by Dr. Fred L. Schuman. International Publishers, New York, 1928.

"Dreiser Looks at Russia," by Theodore Dreiser. Horace Liveright, New York, 1928.

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"Impressions of Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World," by John Dewey. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1929.

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(Continued on page 219)

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

November 7, 1917

November 7, 1933

SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN-SOVIET EXCHANGES

THE STRATOSPHERE ASCENT

BY AUTO TO KARA KUM

SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

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The Sixteenth Anniversary

THE sixteenth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Government will be celebrated throughout the U.S.S.R. on November 7. The anniversary sees the Soviet republics well into the latter half of their second decade. They have enjoyed eleven years of peace, and during this peace has come a rapid and solid development. The heavy burden of illiteracy—one of the darkest heritages of Tsarist medievalism—has been lifted. The peasant, formerly isolated from human progress, both by his illiteracy and by his hopeless economic position under the feudal landlords, has been freed to the possibility of a full, well-rounded life; education and the pleasures of culture have been brought to his door. The country has been dotted with new giant power plants and factories, and the foundations laid for a modern industrial state. New socialist cities, planned to give light and recreative facilities and health for all who inhabit them have risen near the new industrial centers. The death rate, which under the Tsars was double that of the leading European countries, has been cut to a figure that compares well with that of the most advanced lands.

These are some of the factors that give the celebration of November 7 a tangible background.

This year's anniversary finds the country with its first five-year essay in planned economy completed and its second five-year period well under way, drawing toward the close of its first year. The first five-year plan was concluded December 31 last, in four and a quarter years. Its monuments are visible in all parts of the land, both in the towns and the countryside. They are for the most part too new a feature of the landscape to escape notice by persons familiar with the old Russia. The giant industrial enterprises and the huge power dams are novelties. The large-scale collective and state farms with their battalions of tractors and their modern buildings have transformed the countryside where formerly there were only the occasional huddled groups of peasant huts and the pitiful little strip fields of the individual farmer. And everywhere one finds the omnipresent school house—equally novel in the Russian landscape and as much a surety for the future as the humming structures of iron and steel or the machine-tended broad acres.

The first five-year plan was a rapid transition

Soyuzphoto.

Soviet leaders on the reviewing stand on Lenin's tomb
Left to right, Ordzhonikidze, Yaroslavsky (third), Stalin, Voroshilov, Molotov, Kalinin

period. The country planned for itself certain basic tasks, charting hitherto untried courses, and stuck to the accomplishment. There were initial discouragements and failures. In some cases the haste made for waste. There were periodic shortages of various consumers' goods and severe economic dislocations inherent in such a rapid transition period. Gradually the handicaps were ironed out. The new giant productive enterprises were built, some of them ahead of schedule. The intricate new machinery of mass production was mastered through stages of trial and error, but it was mastered thoroughly. The new socialized set-up in agriculture involved even more complicated problems than the creation of mass-production industry, but here, too, solid foundations were laid.

The two primary material accomplishments of the first plan were the creation of a substantial base for heavy industry and the complete reorientation of agriculture. The chief cultural accomplishment was the virtual liquidation of illiteracy.

Economic progress is shown in the following table giving statistics for 1913, for the old fiscal year 1927-28 (the year preceding the inauguration of the first five-year plan), and for 1932:

	1913	1927-28	1932
Power output (million kilowatt hours)	1,950	5,000	13,500
Coal (metric tons)	28,900,000	35,400,000	64,000,000
Oil (metric tons)	9,300,000	11,600,000	21,381,000
Pig iron (metric tons)	4,200,000	3,280,000	6,206,000
Railway freight (million ton-kilometers)	65,700	88,200	169,300
Sown area (thousand hectares)	105,000	112,990	134,430

The capital investments during the period of the first plan aggregated sixty billion rubles.

The change in the composition of the population during the plan, with comparison of 1913, is shown in the following table:

Population at End of Year
(in millions)

	1913	1928	1932
Total population	139.3	154.2	165.7
of which			
Urban	24.7	27.6	38.7
Rural	114.6	126.6	127.0

During the first five-year plan the Soviet Union moved up rapidly in position among the industrial nations of the world. Its position among the nations in output of key products in 1928 and in 1932 is shown by the following table:

	1928	1932
Electric power	10	6
Coal	6	4
Pig iron	6	2
General machine building	4	2
Oil	3	2
Agricultural machinery	4	1

Though the second five-year plan was formally inaugurated January 1 last, the original schedules for the full plan are still undergoing revision. They are expected to be published shortly. Meanwhile the plan is proceeding under schedules or "control figures" for the first year. This provides for an increase of 16 per cent in the industrial output and efforts to increase the per-acre output in agriculture, with no addition in acreage. It is understood that the second plan will place more emphasis than during the past few years on increasing the output of consumers' goods. Industries turning out commodities of personal

consumption are scheduled for a generous expansion.

The Year in Agriculture

The most significant economic factor of the past year is the fact that the new agricultural set-up became firmly established. The significant thing was not so much the large crops, as it was the fact that the big collective farms were "clicking," and that there was definite evidence of the conclusion of the difficult period of transition from small-scale individual farming to large-scale farming with pooled resources and modern machinery. The collective farms gave better results, real results, this year, but more important was the new spirit in the collectives.

During the four summers of the five-year plan the area of the collective farms increased from 1,370,000 hectares to 91,579,000 hectares. The area of the state farms increased from 1,735,000 hectares to 13,300,000 hectares. Thus the area of the "socialized sector" advanced from 2.7 per cent of the total farm area in 1928 to nearly 80 per cent of the total farm area in 1932. The original five-year plan envisaged the socialization of hardly more than one-fourth of this percentage by the summer of 1933. Thus the transition was far more rapid than had been expected, and under the circumstances it was inevitable that the percentage of mistakes and dislocations would be somewhat increased in proportion. This was the case. However, there were other compensatory factors. Despite the difficulties it was demonstrated that a well-run collective farm was much more productive than a number of small individual farms covering a similar area, and offered a better return and the opportunity for a much fuller life for the farmers so engaged. Moreover, it made the peasant tractor-minded. No peasant, in even a fairly well organized collective, who had experience in large-scale production with tractors, would care to go back to the little individual patch and the old hand methods of production. Though the dislocations of the transition period—including errors in management, untrained personnel, sabotaging kulaks and their dupes—kept down production in 1931 and 1932, there were over 170,000 tractors at work on the collective and state farms in 1932 as compared with some 17,000 in 1928.

This year extraordinary efforts were made to improve the effectiveness of the collective farms. The system of state grain deliveries has been modified and a definite grain tax, fixed in advance, and paid for at fixed government price, has been instituted. The regulations for the disposal of surplus products by the collectives were liberalized. New decrees provided for assistance for the collectives in improving their organization. The personnel of the machine and tractor stations was strengthened through the introduction of political departments with certain supervisory and administrative powers to assist the collectives towards greater efficiency. These various provisions showed excellent results.

In a measure the machine and tractor stations, now established at strategic points throughout the farm belt, have proved themselves the key factor of the collective farming system. In 1928 they were non-existent. In the fall of 1932 there were 2,115 of them, serving over 50,000,000 hectares of the sown area of the collectives and aiding individual farmers as well to better their production. They have proved a powerful force

In the Soviet locomotive works at Lugansk

to integrate the whole collective farm movement. The improved morale within the collective farms this year, the more intelligent planning and operation, and the bumper crops, are attributable in no small degree to the device of the machine and tractor stations.

In the Soviet Union it cannot be said that all the problems of agriculture have yet been solved, but firm bases have been laid, a vast improvement in procedure has been effected this year, and the prospects for the future are excellent.

Industry

Soviet industry has moved ahead appreciably

in 1933, despite some difficulties in the early weeks of the year. The second quarter showing was appreciably better than that of the first quarter, and the third quarter promises a substantial further advance. Though the gross output of heavy industry as a whole for the first eight months of the year was reported behind the fixed program, due to the lag in the early part of the year, production figures in all key industries were being stepped up rapidly during August and September. Many new industrial plants have been opened since the first of the year, including the new machine construction works at Sverdlovsk, and the tractor plant at Cheliabinsk which will have an eventual capacity of 40,000 high-power caterpillar tractors.

Tractor production is decidedly a key industry in the Soviet Union, as it is essential to the agricultural program. The output of tractors at all plants (as well as the daily output of motor trucks and automobiles), is published at five-day intervals and commands the widest interest. Production of these machines during the first nine months of this year was well ahead of schedule and considerably in advance of the output for the entire year 1932. The Stalingrad tractor plant has been operating at full capacity since summer and the Kharkov plant is approaching full capacity.

The original plan, adopted for both tractors and motor vehicles, was revised upward early in the year. Nine months actual production, with comparison of the two plans, follows:

	Actual production	*1st plan*	*Revised plan*
Tractors	54,624	42,815	54,050
Motor trucks and cars	35,327	33,485	34,585

Production of tractors for the entire year 1932 was 50,250, of motor trucks and cars 25.000.

A promising feature of production of tractors and of motor trucks and cars during the present year has been the sharp reduction of costs. In the case of tractors this has amounted to 13 per cent at Stalingrad and 32 per cent at Kharkov. Cars and trucks of various types have been reduced on an average of upwards of 20 per cent.

Production of other key products, for nine months of 1933, with comparison for the same period of 1932 follows:

	1933	1932
Coal (metric tons)	51,718,000	45,096,000
Pig iron (metric tons)	5,136,000	4,529,000
Steel (metric tons)	4,857,000	4,403,000
Locomotives	694	599

The percentage of gains for September were generally far greater than for the whole nine-month period. Thus the increases for the nine-month period, as compared with 1932, were coal 14.6 per cent, pig iron 13.4 per cent, steel 10.3 per cent. For September, as compared with September, 1932, the increases were coal 40 per cent, pig iron 22.4 per cent, steel 39.2 per cent. The output of oil for the nine-month period was somewhat behind that of 1932, but the September output was up 26.2 per cent as compared with last year.

Electric Power

The output of electric power increased 29 per cent in 1932, and an additional 21 per cent during the first six months of this year, as compared with the same period of 1932. A network of high-power transmission lines is in process of development from the large regional power plants.

In the matter of power development the Soviet Union started, so to speak, at scratch. In 1917 there was only one power plant in the country of 20,000-kilowatt capacity. At the beginning of the first five-year plan the first plant of 100,000-kilowatt capacity was still to come. At the end of 1932 there were ten plants of 100,000-kilowatt capacity or over.

The rise in power capacity and power output is shown in the following table:

	Capacity of Plants (thousand kw.)	*Power Output* (million kw.)
1913	1,098	1,945
1928	1,874	5,003
1929	2,344	6,386
1930	2,894	8,231
1931	3,878	10,433
1932	4,567	13,500

Transport

Two developments in water transport, of major economic significance, were brought to conclusion in the first half of 1933. One was the opening of the sluice gates of the Dnieper river dam, giving a water course around the rapids and opening the Dnieper river to navigation for 1,000 miles, from the Black Sea to far into the rich black earth region. The other was the completion and opening of the Baltic-White Sea waterway, linking Leningrad with the White Sea port of Archangel and giving the Soviet northwest a valuable inland water route. The construction of the new waterway involved the building of 141 miles of canal with 19 locks, 15 dams, 12 floodgates, 49 dykes and 33 inner canals. The work was completed in twenty months, establishing a new record in hydrotechnical construction of that magnitude. Formerly vessels plying between Leningrad and Archangel had to circle about the Scandinavian countries and dare the hazards of the northern ocean. The distance was 2,840 miles. The new inland route is only 674 miles.

In addition to these water routes a new railway line of 750 miles connecting Moscow with the Don Basin was nearing completion in the fall of 1933.

Freight operations on the railroads increased 150 per cent during the period of the first five-

year plan. In 1932 the figure was 169.3 billion ton kilometers. The total length of railways in 1932 had reached 51,790 miles, an increase of 43 per cent over the mileage of 1913. Despite the rapid rise in freight operations the greatly enlarged demands on the railroads still outrun the facilities. A concerted drive is now in progress to improve operations and increase mileage and rolling stock. Betwen August 1 and September 20 daily freight car loadings were increased by 10 per cent.

Airplane lines in operation this year are 30,771 miles, over four times the mileage in 1928, at the beginning of the first five-year plan. Passengers carried in 1932 were 27,200, as compared with 9,532 in 1928. Mail and freight carried in 1932 amounted to 1,006 metric tons as compared with 229 metric tons in 1928. At the present rate of development the air lines in regular operation will exceed the railway mileage within the next few years.

Finance

The national income of the U.S.S.R., which reached 22,900,000,000 rubles in 1926, at the close of the period of restoration, when it was about a billion and a half rubles above the figure for 1913, attained to 45,500,000,000 rubles in 1932. (The figures given are in unchanging prices of 1926-27.) In six years the national income had doubled, and it is expected to pass the mark of 50,000,000,000 rubles this year.

The improved position was reflected in the record-breaking response to the offering of the first loan of the second five-year plan. The loan was for 3,000,000,000 rubles and was oversubscribed in twenty days. The amount subscribed in this period, by categories of the population, in comparison with loans of the two previous years, is shown in the following table:

	1931	1932	1933
	(millions of rubles)		
Workers and office employees	967.5	1,851.9	2,256.1
Other city inhabitants	64.1	108.4	159.7
Collective farmers	20.3	177.0	520.2
Individual peasants	.....	7.5	114.4
	1,051.9	2,144.8	3,050.4

In a country as highly socialized as the Soviet Union the growth of the federal budget is a direct indicator of economic progress. In 1928-29 budgetary receipts were 8.04 billion rubles, in 1932 they had risen to 30.49 billion rubles, and this year's budget envisages receipts of 35.01 billion rubles. During the four and a quarter years covering the first five-year plan actual budgetary receipts were 72.76 billion rubles and expenditures were 71.96 billion rubles.

Education

The first five-year plan was a period of intensive educational effort. By the close of last year illiteracy had been reduced to 10 per cent of the population, as compared with upwards of 70 per cent in 1913. Approximately 25,000,000 children are in school this year, more than triple the number in 1913, and more than double the number at the beginning of the five-year plan. Universal compulsory education over a four-year period, introduced for the first time in 1930, is now being extended to seven years. The percentage of literacy among the younger generation in the Soviet Union compares favorably with the most advanced standards anywhere.

Moscow, now a city of 3,000,000 population, has over 400,000 children in the schools this fall.

In higher educational institutions the enrollment is well over half a million, over four times that of 1913. There are upwards of two million students in institutes offering technical training.

Expenditures for education have increased from 1,493,000,000 rubles in 1928, the first year of the five-year plan, to 6,508,000,000 rubles in 1932.

Labor

The large labor turnover, which was a vexing problem of Soviet industry during the entire period of the first plan, was decreasing materially this year, as was the high degree of sporadic absenteeism, which formed another difficult problem. These handicaps resulted from the tremendous accession of "green" labor due to the rapid industrial expansion. The young peasants drawn into industry by the millions were unaccustomed to the routine exigencies of factory production and many of them were migratory by habit. They liked their jobs, but they were accustomed in their villages to occasional days of idleness for sleep or play. Such habits hardly accord with the requirements of mass production which calls for steady effort by every human link in the chain.

The problems involved primarily affected the trade unions, and their tasks in this connection were those of education and local self-discipline. It was realized that the handicaps to production due to the excessive labor turnover and the excessive absenteeism were handicaps that affected all workers alike. Removable causes of the labor turnover were carefully studied. Factory restaurants were improving and housing conditions in the neighborhood of the new plants were bettered. These measures and the educational efforts have had an appreciable effect.

In June the People's Commissariat of Labor of the U.S.S.R. was abolished and its functions were taken over by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. This was an important development of labor autonomy and a tribute to the increasing responsibility assumed by the trade unions in promoting the effectiveness of industry as well as raising the technical standards of the workers and guarding their interests.

American-Soviet Exchanges

On October 20 the following exchange of messages between President Roosevelt and President Kalinin was made public simultaneously in Washington and Moscow:

President Roosevelt's Letter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 10, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Since the beginning of my administration, I have contemplated the desirability of an effort to end the present abnormal relations between the hundred and twenty-five million people of the United States and the hundred and sixty million people of Russia.

It is most regrettable that these great peoples, between whom a happy tradition of friendship existed for more than a century to their mutual advantage, should now be without a practical method of communicating directly with each other.

The difficulties that have created this anomalous situation are serious but not, in my opinion, insoluble; and difficulties between great nations can be removed only by frank, friendly conversations. If you are of similar mind, I should be glad to receive any representatives you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries.

Participation in such a discussion would, of course, not commit either nation to any future course of action, but would indicate a sincere desire to reach a satisfactory solution of the problems involved. It is my hope that such conversations might result in good to the people of both our countries.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

MR. MIKHAIL KALININ,
President of the All Union Central Executive Committee, Moscow.

President Kalinin's Reply

MOSCOW, OCTOBER 17TH, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have received your message of October tenth.

I have always considered most abnormal and regrettable a situation wherein, during the past sixteen years, two great republics—The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—have lacked the usual methods of communication and have been deprived of the benefits which such communication could give. I am glad to note that you also reached the same conclusion.

There is no doubt that difficulties, present or arising, between two countries, can be solved only when direct relations exist between them; and that, on the other hand, they have no chance for solution in the absence of such relations. I shall take the liberty further to express the opinion that the abnormal situation, to which you correctly refer in your message, has an unfavorable effect not only on the interests of the two states concerned, but also on the general international situation, increasing the element of disquiet, complicating the process of consolidating world peace and encouraging forces tending to disturb that peace.

In accordance with the above, I gladly accept your proposal to send to the United States a representative of the Soviet Government to discuss with you the questions of interest to our countries. The Soviet Government will be represented by Mr. M. M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who will come to Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MIKHAIL KALININ.

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States of America, Washington.

Progress in Foreign Relations

THE sixteenth year of the Soviet Republic, which ends November 7, has been a peculiarly fruitful one in the development of foreign relations. It began with the negotiation of a treaty of amity and non-aggression with France and as it draws to a close friendly letters have been exchanged between President Roosevelt and President Kalinin opening the way to American-Soviet conversations at the White House. In between came the signing of non-aggression pacts containing a comprehensive definition of aggression with contiguous countries and with the countries of the Little Entente, the signing of a non-aggression treaty with Italy, the resumption of diplomatic relations with China, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Spanish Republic and the clearing up of differences which had partly interrupted trade with England for several months. The U.S.S.R. has now concluded treaties of non-aggression with fourteen countries, most of which have been negotiated in the past two years.

These important developments in the clarification of Soviet foreign relations stemmed from the policy of peace and trade adopted by the Soviet Government at its inception and adhered to consistently ever since.

The first steps in this policy were taken in the earliest days of the Soviet power when the Soviet Government made clear its desire to renounce the various treaties by which the Tsarist Government had exacted control of territory in China, to renounce all indemnities, including the Boxer payments, exacted by the Tsarist Government, to give up extra-territorial rights in China for Soviet citizens, and to revise the treaty governing the Russian-built Chinese Eastern Railway so as to eliminate the clauses giving the Russian Government political administrative powers in the territory traversed by the line. A similar desire was expressed in connection with control of Persian resources acquired by the Tsarist Government. In due course these abnegations were embodied in treaties concluded both with China and with Persia.

Efforts to effect a lasting peace with the Western neighbor nations were also begun as early as possible, and in 1923 the Soviet Government invited the governments of the border countries to a disarmament conference. This conference had no results.

Early in 1928 the Soviet Government took the idea to a larger field. At the international disarmament conference held that year, Mr. Litvinov, then Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, acting as head of the Soviet delegation, offered a proposal for complete general disarmament. Later in the conference he submitted an alternative plan for progressive disarmament among the nations. At subsequent conferences at Geneva he continued to press these plans.

The Soviet delegates at the various conferences have also given support to peace and arms reduction plans proposed by other countries. The Soviet Government signed the Kellogg Pact as soon as it was offered and ratified it on the same day (August 16, 1928), being the first government to ratify the pact. When general ratification among the powers promised to be slow, the Foreign Commissariat had Mr. Litvinov negotiate agreements with the border countries making the Kellogg Pact immediately effective as among them. Last year at Geneva the Soviet delegates gave support to the American plan for a one-third cut in military budgets.

At recent international conferences Mr. Litvinov has developed further the plans for international agreements to conserve peace. He has proposed a multi-lateral non-aggression pact in which aggression was comprehensively defined, thus supplementing the Kellogg agreement, and he has submitted proposals for a general treaty of economic non-aggression.

Mr. Litvinov's long struggle at successive "disarmament" conferences at Geneva for a practical consideration of disarmament plans and for establishing an effective machinery for conserving peace have made little progress in the conferences themselves, but at least they have served to release and circulate the idea. At the conference in the spring of 1931 there was a tendency among certain delegates to side-step discussion of concrete disarmament or arms-reduction plans by fine phrases of a vague nature about "moral disarmament." In point in this connection is a passage from an address made by Mr. Litvinov at that time before the American Committee at Geneva, a group composed of representatives from American peace and civic organizations. Mr. Litvinov said:

"So long as armed force exists there will be faith in it, and in the possibility of getting the upper hand of neighbors by increasing armaments, and through political combinations, inside or outside of internal organizations. And so long as armed force exists chauvinism and militarism in education will continue. Moral disarmament cannot help here. It is bound to follow on actual disarmament, but can never be a substitute for it. Only when we have finished with the immediate task of the Conference and achieved appreciable success with regard to actual disarmament, shall we be free to discuss measures of moral disarmament also, which then

and then only are sure to be crowned with a certain degree of success. . . .

"I may be told that governments are often compelled by public opinion in their own countries to maintain armaments and pursue chauvinistic policy, and that, therefore, as public opinion becomes more enlightened its pressure will lessen and governments will be more amenable to the idea of disarmament. I cannot share this view. Campaigns of chauvinism and national hatred, the setting of nation against nation, have never yet come from the heart of the masses. Such campaigns are always organized and artificially nourished by small groups interested in warlike preparations, the manufacture of munitions, and war industry, potential war-profiteers. They very often succeed in poisoning the minds of the masses for their own ends. Deprive these groups of their base, remove them from war industry, destroy this industry, destroy their hopes of war and of profits to be drawn from war, and these campaigns will die out of themselves, for they will become pointless. Then you will have true moral disarmament, without the need of any special administrative measure."

Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs

The first non-aggression treaty concluded by the Soviet Government was with Turkey in 1925. This was important, not only because it made a concrete beginning for the non-aggression idea, but because it marked a complete reversal in the feeling between the two countries as compared with the days of the Tsarist Government, when Russian foreign policy was ever reaching an imperialist hand toward the Dardanelles. The following year similar treaties were signed with Germany, Afghanistan and Lithuania and in 1927 with Persia.

Then came a hiatus of several years, and it was not until 1932 that progress in the matter of the non-aggression treaties was resumed. Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Poland signed in 1932, and toward the close of the year, France.

In the course of the World Economic Conference at London last summer Mr. Litvinov inaugurated a further development of the idea. With the seven neighbor nations, viz., Afghanistan, Esthonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania and Turkey, he signed the first treaty, a multi-lateral agreement, in which aggression was not only renounced as among the signers, but was also defined. The definition was based on that proposed by Mr. Litvinov earlier at Geneva. A second treaty along the same lines was quickly signed with the nations of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia) and to this Turkey also was a party. A third treaty defining non-aggression was signed separately between the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

The non-aggression treaty with Italy, similar to the older treaties of that type, was signed early in September.

Thus while the Soviet Government has not yet succeeded in bringing to fruition its proposals to the representatives of the nations at Geneva to join in strengthening the machinery for preserving peace, it has made marked progress in establishing peace - assuring agreements with neighbor nations, both singly and in groups.

Consistent with its peaceful policy, and with the various efforts enumerated above, was the offer made in May to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. The road was built by the Russian Government in the nineties at a cost of $225,000,000. Negotiations for the sale were begun in the summer with the Manchukuoan authorities, in Tokio. They have come to no conclusion and unfortunately have been accompanied by increasing harassment of the Soviet officials of the road by Japanese-Manchukuoan authorities. As early as December, 1931, the Soviet Government proposed to the Japanese Government the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two countries. The proposal has not borne fruit.

The essential general features of Soviet foreign

policy are now well-established for the future. This policy avoids entangling agreements. At the same time it embraces full cooperation with other countries singly or in concert to preserve peace and to erect a practical structure for keeping the peace. At various international conferences the Soviet delegates have given concrete demonstration of their government's desires in this direction. Though the lines of this policy were well developed before 1927, in that year its basis received a certain validation. It was at the international economic conference of 1927, that the Soviet delegates proposed the formula that the U.S.S.R., with its established socialist economy, and other countries, with their capitalist economies, could cooperate for peace and trade, and this formula was accepted by the delegates of other countries. During the years since 1927 this formula has gained steadily in general acknowledgment. It is an important coursemark on the chart of Soviet foreign relations.

American Foundation Reports on U.S.S.R.

THE American Foundation's Committee on Russian-American Relations, of which Mr. Curtis Bok is chairman, issued November 1 its report on "outstanding problems in the relation between the United States and the Soviet Union," the result of a study begun some months ago. On October 30 the Committee issued the result of an inquiry addressed generally to the daily press of the United States on the question of establishing diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R.

In its summary of its report the Committee issued the following statement:

> The Committee's purpose, as stated at that time, was to elicit and make available information on the controlling factors in the present relation between the United States and the Soviet Union and thus furnish interested citizens with what they need to know in order to arrive at a fair understanding of what is involved in the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States.
>
> The members of the Committee under the auspices of which the report that appears today is published are: Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, consulting engineer; James D. Mooney, president of the General Motors Export Company; Thomas S. Gates, president of the University of Pennsylvania; Frank W. Taussig, professor of economics at Harvard University; Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company; William Scarlett, Protestant Episcopal Bishop Coadjutor of Missouri; Esther Everett Lape, Member in Charge; George H. Houston, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works; David B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Jacob Viner, professor of economics at the University of Chicago; Roland S. Morris, lawyer, former ambassador to Japan; Paul D. Cravath, lawyer; Roscoe Pound, Dean of the Harvard School of Law; Walter W. Cook, professor of law at the Johns Hopkins University; Allen Wardwell, lawyer; General William N. Haskell of the National Guard of New York; J. H. Rand, Jr., president of the Remington Rand Corporation; Thomas A. Morgan, president of the Curtiss-Wright Corporation; Dr. Walter C. Alvarez of the Mayo Clinic; and Curtis Bok, Chairman of the Committee.
>
> The report—which consists of 270 odd pages and is divided into 8 sections—discusses: the traditional policy of the United States in recognizing other governments; the history of our dealings with Russia since 1917; what the United States and the Soviet Union have had to say officially on the question of recognition; the manner in which 25 countries—including all the great powers except the United States—have recognized the Soviet Union; the part the Soviet Union is now playing in international organization, its attitude toward the League of Nations, the part it has played in international conferences, e. g., the Disarmament Conference and the various economic conferences including the World Economic Conference of last June; its characteristic international policy of building up separate agreements, as non-aggression pacts, with various countries, particularly its immediate neighbors; and the effect that is produced, legal and otherwise, by the present state of non-recognition by the United States.

The report, the statement continues, takes up in successive sections such matters as debts of previous regimes, claims, the relation between the Soviet Government and the Third International, and trade and credits.

Newspaper Poll on Recognition

In making public the result of its inquiry as to the attitude of the American press on recognition, the Foundation issued a statement quoted in part below.

> The Foundation has received replies from 1,139 dailies. Of these 718, or 63 per cent, advocate recognition now on the terms of the question submitted; 29, or 2.6 per cent, favor recognition, but with qualifications that might negative the reply; 306, or 26.9 per cent, are opposed; 79, or 6.9 per cent, take no stand; 7, or .6 per cent, express a view or comment, but do not reply to the inquiry as framed.
>
> The question submitted to editors was, "Does your paper favor or oppose the recognition of Russia?" The card of inquiry also contained the following note:
>
> "'Recognition' is here understood to mean the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations, with agreement to enter upon subsequent negotiations for the adjustment of all outstanding claims, and other matters now in dispute."
>
> The significance of the definition that accompanied the inquiry was explained by Curtis Bok, chairman of the Committee on Russian-American Relations, as follows:
>
> > "The definition of recognition on which our inquiry was based simply notes the method of recognition followed in the case of the 25 powers that have already recognized the Soviet Union. In no case has recognition of the Soviet Union been conditional, although certain general understandings have sometimes accompanied recognition, such as mutual undertakings to refrain from propaganda; and such as agreements upon procedure for later adjusting of claims. The Soviet Union has been willing to make arrangements of this kind but has repeatedly shown that any form of conditional recognition is not acceptable."

The Soviet Stratosphere Ascent

SEPTEMBER 30 was a day of rejoicing in the Soviet Union. The Red Army stratostat "U.S.S.R." rose to record-breaking heights, and made a perfect landing nine hours later with crew, craft and scientific instruments intact. While the bright speck of the balloon hung higher in the upper air than man has ever been before, twenty-two trucks and automobiles rolled into Moscow through cheering crowds, home from a difficult 5,800-mile endurance test which included the Kara-Kum desert of Central Asia. Stratostat and motor cars were wholly of Soviet construction and materials, down to the smallest details.

From the pages of the newspapers the story of the preparation of the stratostat and the actual ascent can be vividly reconstructed. Problems of politics and economics were forgotten by the press which turned its pages over to Soviet scientists who paid tribute to the technical perfection of the achievement and Soviet poets who exulted in the romance and courage embodied in this conquest of the stratosphere. The three men who made the flight—George Prokofiev, Konstantin Godunov and Ernst Birnbaum—spoke modestly of their own part. The acclaim went to no one person, was not confined to those who actually made the ascent, but was shared by the whole group of scientists, engineers and workers who contributed to the flight from start to finish.

The ascent of the stratostat, several times postponed on account of weather conditions, was finally set for September 24, but a heavy fog interfered. On September 29 a quiet, cloudless autumn evening presaged the long-awaited favorable weather for the ascent of the stratostat, and the starting crew was called to the Frunze airdrome. All night the searchlights played on the great limp bag of the balloon swaying on its mooring ropes, surrounded by the thirty-five gas holders, full of hydrogen. Long before dawn the filling of the envelope with hydrogen was commenced, while two small balloons hovered around the bag as it filled, their occupants testing valves, smoothing out wrinkles. At six-thirty a radio probe was sent up, its straight vertical movement confirming expectations regarding the favorable conditions for the flight.

A child in the crowd of spectators that started to mass on the field at dawn cried out, "Just like in a theater!", and the start of the stratostat was indeed like a gorgeous mass spectacle put on by a talented director. Thousands of people were at Frunze field, because this was rest-day for most of Moscow's population. Around the stratostat hundreds of people moved swiftly and efficiently putting the many instruments in order, fastening the gondola to the balloon, filling the balloon with gas, holding the mooring ropes, carrying on all the painstaking work of preparation for the ascent—Red Army men attached to the airdrome, scientists, workers, radio operators, meteorologists, each looking after his appointed task.

In the whitish pre-dawn mist, like unravelled cotton, the slowly filling stratostat hung over the airdrome and shadowy hangars like a titanic exclamation point. One after another the balloon drained off the greenish goblets of hydrogen offered it, the wrinkles of its throat quivering like the air over the earth on a hot noonday. With the first rays of the sun the mists were dispelled, the fastening of the gondola to the envelope was completed, and the maneuvering ballast was hung in its place. The special commission of scientists made the final tests of the instruments, the crew—Prokofiev, Godunov and Birnbaum—entered the gondola. One by one the ropes were released. The ground crew held down the stratostat with difficulty. At eight-forty Alksnis, Chief of the Military Aviation Division of the Red Army, gave the command to start. The stratostat rose swiftly. Within five minutes it reached

Soyuzphoto.

As the command to start was given

a height of three kilometers. In fifteen minutes it was six kilometers high. An hour later the altimeters registered eighteen kilometers. The maximum height was reached at twelve-forty-five p.m. when the stratostat was nineteen kilometers (60,000 feet) above the earth, exceeding by over two kilometers the altitude reached by Professor Piccard. At five p.m. the stratostat landed near Kolomna, about a hundred kilometers southeast of the starting place. Two-way radio communication was maintained between the crew and the wireless station of the Central Meteorological Service throughout the entire flight. The flight itself is best described by Commander Prokofiev who was interviewed soon after the flight by the Red Army Paper, "Krasnaya Zviezda."

Prokofiev first outlined the preparations for the flight, which had to be based largely on original research, since little published material was available on the details of construction of the Piccard stratostat. Then he describes the ascent as follows:

The flight itself took place under exceedingly favorable conditions. The thermic insulation of our cabin enabled us to maintain a temperature from 12 to 32 degrees centigrade, and we were able to work normally. Our start was splendid, which was due to excellent organization. The whole mechanism proved perfect.

As long as we were ascending we had to watch all apparatus. At the same time, it was necessary to take note of the impressions of the ascent and observe what was happening around us. The picture was indeed one that will never be forgotten. One can hardly imagine anything more beautiful.

First, we had a good vision of what was doing below. We never lost our orientation for a moment. We clearly saw from an altitude of eight or nine kilometers the buildings of the Aviation Academy. Later, when we moved somewhat southward, we could still see Moscow for a long time.

The day of the ascent was such that Comrade Godunov and myself could see with the naked eye the movement of trains, the outline of roads and railways, from a height of 17 or 18 kilometers. The radius of vision was enormous and we could see for about 70 to 80 kilometers.

No less effective was the picture we saw above us. As one ascends, the view of the sky changes quickly. When we reached the roof, the sky was of a dark violet color. That was so attractive that involuntarily we wished to rise as high as possible.

Each one of us was absorbed in his own work. Time literally flew. In an ordinary flight, a period of eight or nine hours seems terribly long. But in this flight the eight hours and fifteen minutes we spent in the air passed with lightning speed. It seemed to us that we accomplished very little. We should have done more. We had a short break, enough to eat a slab of chocolate. We were very thirsty. Flying at such heights one must have water.

We balanced ourselves when we reached an altitude of 17 kilometers. Until that point, we did not throw off a single kilogram of ballast. That encouraged us, as all our calculations had been made on reaching that height. Seeing that our ballast was not spent, we felt sure we could go higher.

We dropped two portions of our ballast, and our roof expanded. Our ascent was facilitated by the fact that we had an external temperature of 67 degrees centigrade below zero, and within the envelope a temperature of from 14 to 30 degrees above.

Soyuzphoto.

Testing the air within an experimental gondola

A few words about the altitude: We had a pressure of 49-50 mm. on the quicksilver bar, a degree never reached before.

An extremely interesting sight was produced by the envelope itself. The envelope expanded at the very top to 24,340 cubic meters while on earth it was only about one-eighth this size.

We started our descent when things began to cool down. The speed of the descent was all the time as we desired it. We descended very slowly, taking about three hours for the 19 kilometers.

The landing was very successful. The whole apparatus is in good condition and can be used again in favorable weather.

What are the results of the flight?

First of all, we tested all the material composing the stratostat. We know that we have a reliable apparatus which can be used for systematic flights in the stratosphere.

The second result is that we proved we can produce apparatus by no means inferior to that made abroad, but rather excelling it. We also made very important observations and have brought down with us valuable data of interest to various branches of the national economy.

As to our part in solving the problem of the energy of the atom, the data will be published together with the rest of the scientific material we have obtained.

We tested the possibility of radio connections. Throughout our flight, we were connected with the earth. Consequently, this phase of the problem has been solved and ours is a valuable experience.

Preparations for the flight took about eight months. First came the problem of the balloon. It was necessary to find a material strong enough to withstand the ultra-violet rays and the low temperature, and to be impenetrable to gas and at the same time light enough to reach a very great height. Experiments were made by the Scientific Institute of the Rubber Industry, where the specifications for the envelope and the formula for vulcanizing it were actually worked out by Kuzina and Levitina, two young Soviet girl engineers. The specifications were turned over to the Soviet rubber factory "Kauchuk" which manufactured the balloon in record time. Its volume was 25,000 cubic meters, and its weight 950 kilograms, whereas the balloon used by Professor Piccard, with a volume of 14,000 cubic meters, weighed 800 kilograms. Next came the

question of rigging, the testing of the rope to make sure it would withstand excessive cold, and the problem of distributing the load equally on the entire rigging.

These problems solved, the construction of the gondola was tackled. Here again it was a question of constructing a gondola which would rise easily and at the same time be sufficiently solid to withstand the increasing pressure at great height. The construction of the gondola was turned over to Menzhinsky Plant No. 39, where a group of young Soviet engineers—Kashtanov, Levin and Lapitsky—under the direction of Engineer Chizhevsky, a graduate of the Military-Aviation Academy, constructed a cabin according to plans made after a thorough study of the problem. Instead of a cast aluminum gondola, such as was used in the Piccard stratostat, a duralumin riveted globe was made, two and a half meters in diameter. The framework of the cabin was constructed of duralumin tubing, and the globe was fitted around it in such a way that the entire weight of crew, instruments and ballast should be carried by the framework and the pressure sustained by the envelope. According to theoretical calculations there was a twelvefold reserve of resistance in the cabin. The problem of making the gondola absolutely airtight was complicated by the necessity of using several thousand rivets, constructing two manholes that could be opened easily, nine windows, the insertion of all sorts of electrical wires and attachments to the instruments and valves for the control of the balloon and ballast from within. The most infinitesimal chink or irregularity at the point of riveting would have meant disaster. That the builders succeeded in their task of making the gondola absolutely hermetic by the care of the riveting and through pasting and painting the seams was proved by the results of the flight.

Another consideration was to create sufficiently normal conditions within the cabin to enable the crew to make its observations without being subjected to excessive variations in temperature. Professor Piccard's attempt to solve the problem by the use of heat-conducting colors was rejected. The Soviet method of insulation and the use of a special heat and cold resisting fabric painted a blue-gray provided a consistently normal temperature for the crew. Everything possible was done for the comfort and safety of the crew. Oxygen was provided in both compressed and liquid form, and a newly invented apparatus to absorb the carbon dioxide from the air exhaled.

To insure a safe landing a wicker basket woven of willow, on which the gondola rested, was used. This simple landing device proved eminently satisfactory. Within the cabin everything possible was covered with soft felt to prevent damage on landing.

The scientific equipment of the cabin consisted of a number of delicate precision instruments, including two electrometers to determine the intensity of the action of the cosmic rays, four air-testing mechanisms, two meteorographs, and other contrivances, suspended outside the cabin and connected by electric wires. Soundings of the air content were taken at different heights, the humidity in the atmosphere was measured, electrical conductivity, pressure and temperature were recorded.

Prof. P. A. Molchanov, leading Soviet radio and meteorological expert, had a large part in the control of the flight. He predicted correctly the height of the ascent, the place of landing, and just the shade of deep soft violet the sky would take on at the highest point. The scientific instruments used during the flight were taken by Professor Molchanov to Leningrad to be studied by a special commission under the chairmanship of Professod Wangenheim, chief of the Hydro-aeronautic Service Board of the U.S.S.R. The study of the material obtained during the ascent is being carried on in the main geophysical laboratory in Leningrad, which examined and tested all the instruments before they were used.

On this first flight, while valuable scientific observations were made, the main emphasis was on mastering the technique of stratostat flying in preparation for a more detailed study of the stratosphere later. A number of pilots have received special training in preparation for a series of such flights. The U.S.S.R. will make further ascents. The stratostat of the Osoaviakhim Society has been awaiting favorable conditions for a flight and the construction of other stratostats is projected.

SOVIET SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow has issued the first four volumes in a series of "Collection of Documents on International Policy and International Law" (Sborniki Dokumentov) under the editorship of K. V. Antonov. Volumes one to three were published in 1932, the fourth in 1933. The first deals with disarmament, the second with Pan-European, agrarian conferences and regional agreements; the third with the Sino-Japanese conflict, the Hoover arms reduction plan and reparations problem, activities of the League of Nations, and international legal and economic questions; and the fourth with the Lausanne Agreement, Geneva Disarmament Conference, recognition of Manchukuo and the Memel conflict of 1922.

Further volumes will appear periodically and as with the first four, will contain only documentary material of a purely informative nature. Multilateral and bi-lateral treaties, conventions, agreements and acts, surveys of League activities and of other international organizations, exchange of notes and bibliographical material will appear in the Sborniki. In those cases where material on a special question is sufficiently extensive, a separate volume will be devoted to it, as was done with disarmament.

Moscow - Kara Kum - Moscow

THE 9,400 kilometer (5,800 miles) swing around the circle completed by twenty-three automobiles on September 30, while less spectacular than the stratosphere flight, was of greater immediate practical import, and was hailed with no less enthusiasm by the cheering throngs who lined the way from the triumphal arch erected sixteen miles outside of Moscow to the city itself. The dusty cars were laden with flowers, tributes received along the last lap of the journey, as they returned to the Central Park of Culture and Rest, the point from which they had started on July 6, two months and twenty-four days before, on their grilling trip over camel trails and mountain passes, through the sand and stone of the desert and thick clouds of Asiatic dust.

The trip was made to test the technical quality of Soviet-made machines and their accessories under the most varied possible conditions of roads and weather. Twenty of the cars were entirely of Soviet manufacture, three of foreign make. They stood the test excellently, there were no major mishaps and all returned in good condition.

Of the 9,400 kilometers covered, only 1,600 kilometers were good paved roads. Six thousand kilometers of the way was over unpaved road not suitable for motor car traffic, 1,203 kilometers was tractless waste land and 1,400 kilometers was through the great largely unexplored desert of Kara Kum with its sands and ruinous salt marshes. The caravan went through Gorky district, the Chuvash Republic, the Tartar Republic, Samara, Aktiubinsk, Aralsk, Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, and then Kara Kum. At Krasnovodsk they embarked on boats to cross the Caspian Sea. Then they traversed the mountainous part of Azerbaidzhan, rode through the steep and dangerous Gombaisky Pass to Tiflis, over the Georgian Military Road to the North Caucasus and then up through the Ukraine to Moscow. Altogether they passed through nineteen different republics and regions.

Near Moscow, at the beginning of the trip, good roads were encountered. The Chuvash Republic had done a fine job of repairing roads and bridges and building many kilometers of new roads in preparation for the motor column. In the Tartar Republic the roads were pretty rutty. The most difficult part was the 4,138 kilometer stretch in Central Asia from Aktiubinsk to Krasnovodsk, and the first severe test was in the so-called "Little Kara Kum" desert, where there were great stretches of quicksand, and where there were only camel trails.

Mr. V. V. Ossinsky, who has done more to press the need for mas automobile production and better roads than almost anyone else in the Soviet Union, wrote in part as follows about the trip in *Izvestia* of September 30:

"The chief significance of this trip, which in length and hazards overcome might be compared to a transatlantic flight, is that it has served as a mirror of all our achievements and of all the problems yet to be solved in the sphere of automobilization of the U.S.S.R.

"We began to develop mass production of automobiles only at the end of 1931 and the beginning of 1932, after the opening of the reconstructed Amo factory. We passed another landmark in the summer of 1932 when the Gorky giant started production and the Amo factory started to gather

Soyuzphoto.

Miretsky (right), leader of the motor column, with some of his fellow-travelers

The motor column returns from its trip

Soyuzphoto.

speed. Finally, still another important point was passed at the beginning of the present year when the Gorky factory started to produce light machines on a mass scale.

"In 1931 we produced an average of less than 350 machines per month. In January, 1932, the output reached almost a thousand a month; in July, 1932, it went up to almost 2,000; in January, 1933, it passed the 3,000 mark, and in August, 1933, 4,800 machines, including 1,200 light cars, were produced. In August alone of this year we produced 800 machines more than for all of 1931.

Building new roads in preparation for the Kara-Kum run

"All this has happened in a little over a year and a half. The figures, of course, show all this only on paper. The actual proof of the achievements in automobile production has been concretely demonstrated by the Kara Kum run.

"The first thing demonstrated was the good quality of the Soviet machines. The second thing was that we have every prerequisite for the mass use as well as the mass production of machines; the third was the intense interest of the Soviet public—workers and government organs—in the problem of automobilization of the country. The run was organized and carried out by Avtodvor, in conjunction with the Moscow auto club, and sanctioned by special government decree. The Soviet press contributed to its success. The all-seeing eye of the Soviet cinema followed the movements of the machines."

A number of different standard types of cars, both light cars and heavy trucks were used in the run, and all stood up under the test equally well.

The tires of seventeen of the cars were made of different kinds of Soviet synthetic rubber and rubber from the rubber-bearing plant tau-sagyz now being grown on a large scale in the Soviet Union. Practically all of these tires stood the trip well, showing no more wear and tear than the tires of imported natural rubber also used on the trip by way of comparison.

Altogether ninety-nine persons took part in the trip—chauffeurs, mechanics, engineers, scientists, journalists and cinema operators. In addition to testing the quality and endurance of Soviet-made automobiles, the trip had as its purpose the investigation of the agricultural possibilities of the Kara Kum desert. Representatives of the Lenin Agricultural Academy and the Academy of Sciences went along for this purpose. Samples were gathered of numerous desert plants with a view to determining what food resources would be available in the event of developing the breeding of astrakhan sheep in this region. The scientists penetrated parts of the desert never before reached, and gathered much valuable material. The course was charted of a road through the Kara Kum desert which will unite the Khoresm oasis with the ports of the Caspian Sea.

The expedition received whole-hearted support and cooperation all along the way. Roads and bridges were built and repaired in preparation for their coming. Women helped by doing the laundry of the travellers overnight. The trip through Kara Kum was cut in half, it took six-and-a-half days instead of thirteen as expected because the government of Turkmenistan sent water and provisions ahead by camel caravan and organized every detail in advance.

The weak points brought out by the trip were the general bad condition of Soviet roads, and the unsatisfactory quality of certain of the automobile accessories manufactured in Soviet factories. Attention will be centered on improving these shortcomings as a result of the trip. The high-quality of Soviet-made cars—these used were just run-of-the-mill samples, not special cars at all—has been demonstrated incontrovertibly, and all doubt has been dispelled regarding the product of the Soviet synthetic rubber factories.

Culture Comes to the Kolhoz

THE political departments have unquestionably been the most important single instrument in bringing about the striking improvement that has taken place in the management and operation of the agricultural collectives during the past six months.

Many other forces have contributed to this improvement. With almost two-thirds of the Soviet peasants in collectives the foundation for socialized agriculture was laid three years ago. But habits of individual peasants were carried over into the collectives. They did not know how to plan or manage or handle modern machinery, and were an easy prey to the kulak elements who wanted the new system to fail. Many mistakes were made and the past few years have been difficult. Through one measure after another the government has sought to improve the situation. The organization of machine and tractor stations, with large consignments of new, modern machinery in the hands of experts working the land for the collective peasants and receiving a share of the crop in exchange was an important step. In September, 1932, the Communist Universities, with two exceptions, were made into agricultural universities in order to provide more leaders of the highest type, combining theoretical and practical training, for the countryside. Next came a decree stressing the importance of crop yield rather than an extension of sown area as the aim for this year, since the area had already been increased by 30,000,000 hectares over pre-war, and providing definite government assistance in the form of selected seed and fertilizer, to this end. During the winter there was an all-Union conference on weeds which resulted in a spectacular campaign to destroy weeds during the summer months. Then there were conferences in Moscow of brigade leaders and *udarniki* (shock troop workers) from the collectives to compare notes and make plans, at one of which Stalin launched his now famous slogan that the next task was to make the collectives "well-to-do." The new decree replacing the contracted-for grain deliveries by a compulsory sale of a fixed quota of grain by each collective gave a great impetus to increased production — no longer could the better-off collectives be made to pay for their less successful neighbors. Each collective now knew in advance just how much grain was due the government and could plan accordingly—no "extra-deliveries" could be exacted as had been the case in the past.

All through last fall and winter, a steady stream of government decrees and practical measures were passed to help the collectives manage, plan, produce. They all had their effect. But the high point in the whole program was the organization of the *politotdeli* (political departments) in the machine and tractor stations and state farms to coordinate all these measures, to help the collectives organize and carry them through. Thousands of the most devoted and efficient men the party could muster were sent to the rural districts to carry on this job. Their main function has been to tighten party control of the processes of farming, to see that these proceed in accordance with the central plan—to bring together the economic and political lines at the actual point of production. The *politotdel* leaders have investigated the character of administrative and accounting personnel, arranged the removal of undesirable elements, strengthened weak spots, organized educational work, and in every way helped to make the farms more efficient. They have, for the most part, been men of practical experience, who have entered into every phase of the work of the collectives with interest and understanding. Their presence was felt immediately in the spring sowing campaign, which was completed way in advance of last year, in the cultivation of the fields and organization of the work during the summer, in the harvesting and threshing of this year's bumper crop, in preparations already under way for next year.

Now the *politotdel* leaders are turning their attention to cultural problems. The following account of a collective conference printed recently in *Izvestia* is typical of the situation that has followed the harvest throughout the Soviet Union. It is only one of many such reports, and will give a picture of the part the *politotdeli* are playing in kolhoz progress.

Late in September the *polititdel* of the Kirpotinsky machine and tractor station near Dniepropetrovsk in the Ukraine, called a rally of the collectives in the district it served. The rally was held at Nataleyevka, in the club house of the Proletar kolhoz. The main report, given by Proletar, the leading kolhoz in the district, was devoted to the subject: "Plan for the cultural and economic development of the collectives for 1933-34."

At sundown, on the opening day of the rally there was an extraordinary amount of activity around the club house. Automobiles and wagons of all descriptions were drawn up around it and still arriving. Two dusty brigades of kolhozniki, just in from finishing their day's stint in the fall sowing campaign, watched excitedly while the bookkeeper chalked up the day's score on the blackboard. Both brigades had accomplished double the task allotted them for the day, and they all strained forward eagerly as the columns

were added up to see which was ahead, for they were engaged in socialist competition with each other. All the members of the "Proletar" collective attended the meeting, delegations from other collectives and from neighboring MTS, and guests from the city. Finally, the club room would hold no more, and the meeting began.

The chairman from the Proletar kolhoz opened the meeting.

"We are nearing the end of our work for the year. We have gathered a rich harvest. We have delivered our quota of grain to the government ahead of time. We have paid our account to the MTS. We have set aside all the funds required for the needs of the kolhoz. We have divided the surplus income among the kolhoz members. Our members are being paid seven kilograms of grain and two rubles and ten kopeks per working day —three times last year's pay. We are entering upon a better life. And now we must all put our heads together and work out a plan as to how we can make the best use of our surplus of grain and money. We must consider how to strengthen and extend our successes of this year, how to go still further on the road to well-being. That is what we are here for today."

With these words, the chairman declared the meeting open, and called upon Kuchinsky, chief of the *polititdel* of the Kirpotinsky MTS, to speak.

"Comrades," began Kuchinsky, "great new problems are now before us. There are still some who do not understand this. A comrade from the city was working among us and not long ago he came to me and said: 'I have been working in the collective for two months now. The kolhoz has delivered its grain, paid the MTS, the kolhozniki have a lot of bread. Everything has been done. The kolhozniki are already well-to-do, so please let me go back to the city.'

"I let him go, because he understood nothing at all of Comrade Stalin's slogan about making the collectives well-to-do. It is not a matter of bread alone, nor even of bread and salt, comrades—that is only the beginning of well-being. A well-to-do kolhozniki must also be a cultured person, must lead a well-ordered and cultural life.

"During the years of collectivization we have already made progress in the cultural development of our village. We perhaps do not notice how life is changing around us. But even in small details there is evidence of that. We made a house-to-house canvass in Nataleyevka, and here are the results, which show astonishing progress.

"In 79 per cent of the households there are clocks—which means that our members are beginning to understand the value of time.

"In 43 per cent of the households, side by side with the old clay bowl, china dishes have appeared. No longer are they eating soup from a common bowl.

"In 75 per cent of the houses there are iron bedsteads. Metal beds, instead of the old bug-infested plank beds!

"In 62 per cent of the houses there are irons—which means, at last, neat clothing.

"In 53 per cent of the houses there are sewing machines.

"In 42 per cent of the houses there are razors.

"In 40 per cent of the households there are well-built toilets.

"These things might seem mere trifles—but each china dish, each iron, each clock, is new evidence of how our collective life is beginning to flourish."

In addition, in the past two and a half months in Natalievka there had been sold an average of fifty-five yards of goods, two pairs of shoes and one pair of galoshes for each peasant family.

The full significance of this list presented by the *politotdel* leader can perhaps be appreciated only by those who knew the old Russian village, with its rows on rows of dirty, airless peasant huts, rough-edged, lopsided, shaggy-thatched,

Soyuzphoto.

An airplane lands in a kolhoz field to get the latest harvest report

where the whole family ate from one soup bowl, slept in bug-ridden wooden beds, while the refuse of living lay all around them in their courtyards and cattle-sheds, since there were no sanitary facilities of any kind.

Clocks, irons, china dishes, these were the things that before the revolution, and even just a few years back, before collectivization swept the land, were known only in the homes of a few kulaks, the two or three or half dozen at most rich peasant families of each village.

Kuchinsky went on to outline the defects in the past year's work and to emphasize the need for better organization and planning in order to make things still better for next year. He said that the members of the Proletar kolhoz have been working out such a plan, and introduced Yatsenko, secretary of the *yacheika* (party cell), to tell about it.

"A great honor has fallen to our collective," Yatsenko began, "to report to this meeting. Hardly a year ago our collective took almost last place. But the party sent the *politotdel* to us, and it has taught us how to manage our kolhoz, how to distinguish who are our enemies, how to work, not blindly, but by a plan, how to look ahead. And our kolhoz has changed completely. Our harvest was double that of last year. We gathered twelve centners a hectare, in round numbers. We have paid all our debts and have a large surplus. In the name of all our members *bolshoye spasibo* (great thanks) to the *politotdel.*

"And now, with the advice and help of the *politotdel,* we have drawn up a plan of cultural and economic development. We have talked about it with the old people, with our best *udarniki,* with the teachers, the agronom, the young people —all of these have had a part in it, and that is why it is strong, our plan, that is why we already hold the future in our hands."

Yatsenko then outlined the plans they had made. Next year they must harvest twenty centners from each hectare. This was being prepared for by seeding in well-cultivated fallow land, and using only cleaned, selected seeds, by careful fall plowing in preparation for the spring sowing. The question of livestock was receiving attention, the horses, badly cared for before, would be in good condition for the spring work, the number of cows would be increased from 146 to 225, and by spring every household would have a cow of its own. More pigs, sheep and poultry were to be purchased. By next year the payment per working day would be increased to 15 kilograms. Plans were being made for well-organized field camps during the rush season, with comfortable places to read and rest in the fields, with field kitchens, shower baths, radio, and drying barns so that the threshing need not be stopped by rain.

Yatsenko then turned to the outward appearance of the collective, since there were still members of the collective who continued to live as in the old days. He said they had decided to fill in the holes in the street, to plant a double row of trees three kilometers long, to have all cottages and courtyards completely clean and orderly in time for the November anniversary. For this purpose a sanitary inspection committee has already been appointed and black and red boards set up where the progress of separate households could be recorded.

At this point Laptev, a representative from the tramway workers of Dniepropetrovsk who had taken this collective under their patronage, rose to say that as their contribution to the well-being of the kolhoz they had decided to install electricity in Natalievka, that a brigade of workers would visit them in a few days to make the first arrangements. Stormy applause greeted this announcement, and then a young pioneer rose to say that the pioneers were already taking part in the clean up campaign. In two days they had gathered 329 kilograms of old iron from the streets and courtyards, and they had all pledged to plant and care for flower gardens in their own front yards.

Yatsenko went on to report that a large part of the plan was already being carried out. A new bath-house with a communal laundry attached was nearing completion, a barber shop would be opened in two weeks. Improvements were already being made in the day nursery. Washrooms were being installed in the communal dining room. A radio was being set up in the club in which they were meeting. A fund had been set aside for the library, and a special "agro-technique and machinery" room was being equipped where tractorists, combine operators and mechanics could study during the winter. Fuel, he said, had already been laid in for the school, products set aside for hot lunches for the children and a new workshop equipped for them. Various courses were planned for the adults during the winter. A number of subsidiary enterprises would be opened—carpentry and shoemaking shops, a sewing room and a broom shop. A thousand saplings of various fruit trees had already been ordered from a nursery, and the collective would soon have extensive apple, pear and apricot orchards, berry patches and vineyards. All the purchases already made and planned were according to a definite budget, which came altogether to 6,200 rubles, or five per cent of the kolhoz income for this year.

Amid the applause and shouting that followed his report, Yatsenko gathered up his papers and left the platform.

After that representatives of other collectives reported on their plans, there were lively discussions of many things affecting kolhoz members, and at last Ionka, the woman president of the Proletar kolhoz, invited them all to supper in the kolhoz dining room and a cinema show in the evening.

Labor Protection in the U.S.S.R.

PROBLEMS of protection of labor have always been of vital concern to the Soviet government, and an extensive system of scientific institutions which carry on systematic research work on various problems of labor has been developed. There are now twenty scientific research institutes in this field with 2,100 scientific workers, in addition to a large number of laboratories working on problems of labor protection.

Each of the institutes concentrates its attention on a single branch of the national economy, or, in some cases, on several related branches, taking up the whole complex of questions on the organization and protection of labor with which the given industry is concerned. The most important of these institutions, which have been built up wholly since the revolution, are: The All-Union Central Institute for Labor Organization and Protection, in Moscow; The Leningrad Institute for Labor Organization and Protection; The All-Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute in Kharkov; The All-Union Scientific-Research Institute for the Protection of Miners in Makayevka. These institutes carry on scientific research work in the main branches of the national economy—metallurgy, machine construction, agriculture, the chemical, electrical and coal industries, railroads and water transport.

Such institutes have also been developed in direct connection with the leading industries in various parts of the country. The oil industry in Baku, cotton and silk in Tashkent, manganese and tea in Tiflis, wood-working, peat and the clothing industry in Minsk, non-ferrous metallurgy in Sverdlovsk, agriculture and cement in Rostov, the textile industry in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the lumber, fur and leather industries in Kazan, ferrous metallurgy in Dniepropetrovsk, and the sugar and food industries in Kiev—all these have special institutes engaged in the study of problems of labor protection under the conditions of the given industry. There is practically no labor process in the Soviet Union not subject to scientific scrutiny to determine the best methods and conditions for its performance.

Especially important results have been achieved in improving conditions of labor in furnace divisions, in the study of night labor, in lighting, ventilation, combatting poisons, smokes, injurious gases, and so on. The Moscow Institute has worked out a method of fanning the workers, a model lighting system, and individual protection for the workers (the most healthful motions and positions for the performance of certain types of work and similar problems).

The Leningrad Institute has created a new methodology for investigating factory and shop conditions and worked out special equipment for this purpose. The Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and Dniepropetrovsk institutes have all done extensive work in the creation of protective and safety devices.

Soyuzphoto.

Miners at a rest home receiving instruction in hygiene

The Central Institute in Moscow has worked out an artificial cooling system for locomotives. In addition to creating healthier conditions for labor by lowering of temperature this system has greatly reduced the period of cleaning locomotives, and has resulted during the first year the system has been in use in an economy of 4,500,000 rubles. In the same institute a self-cleansing valve has been invented which eliminates the necessity for crawling inside of oil cisterns and has meant a radical improvement in the conditions of cleaning cisterns. The new valve has meant an economy of 700,000 man-days a year.

A method of using photography in safety devices, worked out by the Leningrad Institute, has opened up a new epoch in labor protection. Through the use of the photoelectric cell, registering the approach of a foreign object, such as a human hand, to the danger zone of a machine, an automatic device has been developed which stops the machine immediately.

The Leningrad Institute has proposed a water trap for tempering ovens which should completely revolutionize the ventilating process and generally improve conditions in the furnace departments. These traps represent a wide, solid transparent stream of water covering the openings of the oven, which entirely eliminates the cast-iron oven doors, makes artificial ventilation unnecessary, shuts off escaping gases and infra-

red rays and makes it possible to observe the processes taking place within the oven at close range.

World renown has been won by the fireless method of coal blasting by water, by means of a special cartridge, the "hydrox," worked out by the All-Ukrainian Institute. This method has entirely replaced blasting by dynamite and guarantees entire safety in blasting in gaseous mines.

These are just a few of accomplishments of the institutes in the field of labor organization and protection. Along with these activities the institutes carry on complex and important work in going over preliminary plans for new and reconstructed enterprises. Thus, for example, the Moscow Institute took an active part in going over the plans for the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk plants, the Stalingrad tractor factory, the Gorky automobile factory, the Ural machine construction works, the Bobriki chemical combinat, the Moscow ball-bearing factory and many others, from a viewpoint of maximum protection for labor. The Leningrad Institute also made a careful study of plans for a number of important enterprises and made valuable suggestions for creating healthy conditions of work.

Valuable studies of the problem of fatigue have been made by the Central Institute in Moscow and some of the other institutes.

Still another field in which these institutes are doing interesting work is in careful investigation of the work of women in industry. As a result of their findings the kinds of work which women may perform have been greatly increased. In this connection concrete material has been worked out designed to change and supplement existing laws on women's labor.

The work of these scientific institutes and laboratories, the system of labor protection museums, the sanitary-technical inspection at factories and plants, along with the reduction of the working day to seven hours and the continued improvement in the material and living conditions of the workers — all these things taken together have resulted in an appreciable reduction of traumatism among Soviet workers, and a general improvement in health conditions in industry and other branches of the national economy.

Excellent work is also being done along these lines by the Central Institute of Traumatology in Leningrad and its branches. This institute is engaged in prophylactic as well as therapeutic work, and has gained a wide reputation for its methods of handling industrial disease and accidents.

The Lindberghs in the U.S.S.R.

THE recent visit of Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh to the U.S.S.R. was the occasion of a demonstration of great enthusiasm for the flyer on the part of the Soviet press and public. The Lindberghs arrived in Leningrad on September 22. After a day of sight-seeing a banquet was given to them on the 23rd, attended by prominent aviation officials, scientists, representatives of the foreign office and others. Colonel Lindbergh was particularly interested in the Arctic Institute in Leningrad, where he had an interview with Professor Samoilovich, chief of the Institute, and with others familiar with flying conditions in the North. In a press interview later Colonel Lindbergh said that the experiences of Soviet aviators who had explored the air in the Far North had been very valuable in working out plans for the proposed transatlantic air-route by way of Greenland, Iceland and the Scandinavian countries.

On September 23 Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh flew to Moscow in their Lockwood-Sirius hydroplane, and made a perfect landing on the narrow Moscow river opposite the Dynamo water sport station, while thousands of spectators lining the waterfront cheered and applauded. They were met on landing by prominent representatives of aviation and scientific circles, foreign office officials and members of the press.

The Lindberghs spent six days in Moscow as the guests of Intourist, visiting a great many Soviet institutions. They were particularly interested in the work of the Central Aero-Hydrodynamic Institute in Moscow where they inpected the giant eight-motor seaplane now under construction there and also the Maxim Gorky airplane which is nearing completion, and which is said to be the largest land plane in the world. Colonel Lindbergh spent a great deal of time in the experimental laboratories of the institute and expressed the hope that he might return in about two years and see the results of many of the interesting experiments now under way. Subsequently a group of Soviet flyers visited the hangar where the Lindbergh plane was moored, and Lindbergh explained the construction of his plane to them in great detail.

The Lindberghs left Moscow for Tallin, Esthonia, on September 29.

Soyuzphoto.

The Lindberghs as they landed in Moscow

Foreign Miscellany

MOLOTOV REPLIES TO LORD CECIL

V. M. Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., has sent the following reply to the communication sent by Lord Robert Cecil to the governments of a number of countries, including the U.S.S.R., asking that they express their opinion with regard to the formation on October 15 of an "International Group for the Discussion of Disarmament Questions."

Lord Robert Cecil, Geneva:

The Soviet government, for more than ten years, and quite irrespective of the rapid changes in the international situation, has never ceased to advocate universal disarmament as an essential guarantee of peace. At the present time, when the menace to peace is actually felt by all nations, the Soviet government is more than ever convinced of the necessity for total or at least maximum disarmament in order to avert or weaken the menace, and is confident that this necessity is evident to the peoples of other countries as well.

While pursuing a purely independent policy, the Soviet government on its part supports all proposals aiming at real disarmament. The more so, since such proposals are included in the disarmament plans put forward by ourselves, which provide for the elimination of the most aggressive types of arms for air, naval and land forces, as well as for strict and real control.

Notwithstanding the fact that not all the neighbors of the Soviet Union are pursuing a policy of peace, I am glad, on behalf of the Government of the U.S.S.R., to be able to emphasize once more that its policy on the question of real disarmament and the strengthening of world peace remains unchanged, and to express the sincere hope that the initial steps taken toward the desired goal will be crowned with success.

V. MOLOTOV.

THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

Following the proposal made by Maxim Litvinov to Japanese Ambassador Ota regarding the sale to the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Soviet Union to Manchukuo, as a means of avoiding further friction and consolidating peace in the Far East, the first session of the Conference for the sale of the railroad took place on June 26 in Tokio with Japan acting as intermediary, as per agreement.

At the session of the conference on July 3 the Soviet delegation submitted a memorandum setting forth Soviet proposed terms of settlement.

The memorandum pointed out that from the time joint Sino-Soviet administration of the line was introduced, in 1924, until 1930, the income of the line had exceeded expenses of exploitation by over 140,000,000 gold rubles, i.e., an average of over 20,000,000 gold rubles a year. Even in 1932, in spite of the disturbed conditions in Manchuria, the net income had been 11,000,000 gold rubles.

The total cost of the railway was estimated in the memorandum to be 411,691,976 gold rubles, including costs of construction, purchasing roll-

ing stock, capital construction and various kinds of work connected with keeping the line in good condition, covering the period up to 1932 inclusive. Considering, however, the wear and tear of the technical equipment of the line, and other factors, the Soviet government, in order not to make the purchase of the road too difficult, offered to accept for the line and the various properties appertaining to it, a sum of 250,000,000 gold rubles. The memorandum noted further that in order to facilitate the purchase and to assist the development of economic relations with Japan and Manchuria, the Soviet government was prepared to accept one-half the above-mentioned sum in the form of goods, the commodity part of the payment to be made in four installments during the course of two years. Of the remaining 125,000,000 rubles the memorandum suggested that one-quarter be paid in cash when the agreement for the sale was reached, and the rest in bonds bearing four per cent interest redeemable within three years.

In its counter-memorandum the Manchukuo delegation offered to pay 50,000,000 yen for the road, less than one-fifth the sum asked by the Soviet government, at the same time disputing the ownership of the road by the Soviet government. After further discussions the Soviet delegation, in order to bring the negotiations to a speedy and successful conclusion, offered to reduce the price of the line to 200,000,000 gold rubles. The Manchukuoan delegation, however, held to its original offer of 50,000,000 yen.

Meantime reports of disordered conditions on the road itself, including serious damage by armed bands and attacks on Soviet employees without interference from the Manchukuoan authorities, were increasing. On September 1 Mr. Sokolnikov, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made a statement to Japanese Ambassador Ota in Moscow to the effect that according to reliable information received by the Soviet government the Manchukuoan authorities, acting on a suggestion from the Japanese government, intended shortly to introduce a series of changes in the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway violating the present system, making the Soviet manager dependent on his Manchukuoan assistant, and that it was also planned to institute police measures against Soviet employees of the road.

Mr. Sokolnikov stated that he had been authorized to give warning that the enforcement of these or similar measures in Harbin, violating the existing status of the line as fixed by treaties, would be regarded by the Soviet government as an infringement of the obligations undertaken by the Tokio and Mukden governments and would be considered an impermissible attempt to seize the line. The Soviet government, he said, believed that the direct responsibility for these violations must devolve upon the Japanese government. Three days after this warning a number of responsible Soviet employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway were arrested.

Strong protests against the arrest of Soviet employees by the Japanese and Manchukuoan authorities were made by the Soviet Consul-General in Harbin and the Soviet members of the Board of Management of the railroad, in reply to which Li-Shao-gen, chairman of the Board of Managers of the road, merely attempted to justify the arrests.

On September 28 the ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Tokio, Mr. Yurenev, made a statement to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Hirota, enumerating the recent cases of arrests of Soviet employees of the Road by Manchukuoan and Japanese police and border guards, and declaring that these illegal actions clearly constituted a violation of existing treaties. He further stated that the Soviet government had incontrovertible information to the effect that these measures represented the first step of a detailed plan for the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway developed at the Japanese Military Mission in Harbin in conjunction with Japanese leaders of the Manchukuoan administration and that, if necessary, the Soviet government would publish these documents in full.

No satisfactory reply having been received, the Soviet government made public the secret documents in its possession and a summary of their contents by the Tass Agency was published in the Soviet press of October 9. The documents consist of four dispatches sent by the Japanese ambassador in Manchukuo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokio, reporting on detailed steps taken in the direction of the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and designed to weaken the Soviet position in the Tokio negotiations on the sale of the railroad.

SOVIET-GERMAN CORRESPONDENCE

On September 25 the correspondents of *Izvestia* and *Pravda* and of the official Soviet News Agency, *Tass*, were recalled from Germany because of continuous discrimination, persecution and interference with their work. The following day the four German correspondents in Moscow were notified by the press department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that they must leave Moscow in four days. The German correspondents were informed that their expulsion was due not to any improper conduct on their part, but was simply the answer to the treatment accorded members of the Soviet press.*

On September 26, Dr. Fritz von Twardowski, the German Charge D'Affaires in Moscow, sent a

*According to information received as we go to press, the differences in this case have been settled and the press representatives of both countries will return to their posts.

protest to Mr. Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, against the expulsion of the German correspondents, in which he declared that this step would conflict with the terms of German-Soviet agreements.

On September 27 Mr. Litvinov replied to Dr. von Twardowsky citing specific instances of harassment of Soviet press representatives in Germany. He mentioned several instances of raids and arrests to which Soviet correspondents had been subjected and the discriminatory treatment accorded Soviet journalists in refusing them permission to attend the opening of the Reichstag or the Leipzig trial of the Reichstag fire case. Litvinov stated further that the Soviet embassy in Berlin had made countless protests against this discrimination, but that although the German Minister of Foreign Affairs had found the protests well grounded and promised to adopt measures to prevent the recurrence of such happenings, nothing had been done; that under these conditions further sojourn in Germany was useless and incompatible with the dignity of the Soviet press.

In conclusion, Mr. Litvinov expressed his regret for the necessity of having recourse to these measures.

SOVIET DELEGATION TO TURKEY

A Soviet delegation of twenty-one persons headed by Climenti Voroshilov, People's Commissar for the Army and Navy, attended the celebration on October 29 of the tenth anniversary of Turkish independence, on the invitation of the Turkish Government. Mr. L. M. Karakhan, Vice Commissar for Near Eastern Affairs, took the place on the delegation of Mr. Litvinov whose visit to America prevented his going to Turkey. Other members of the delegation included Andrey Bubnov, Commissar for Education and General Budenny. A squadron of the Red Fleet also visited Turkey and sixteen Soviet flyers took part in the exhibition flight of Turkish planes at Angara which was part of the anniversary celebration.

KARAKHAN VISITS PERSIA

Mr. L. M. Karakhan, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, arrived at Pekhlevy, Persia, on September 29, en route to Teheran, where he was entertained warmly. Mr. Karakhan went to Persia on the invitation of the Persian government, to return the visit made to the Soviet Union last year by an official Persian delegation headed by Foroughi Khan, at that time Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and now Persian Premier.

The visit is hailed by the Soviet press as a further indication of the strengthening of Soviet-Persian relations, which began with the signing of a treaty of friendship with Persia in February, 1921, and have been further developed through the pact of neutrality and non-aggression concluded between the two countries in October, 1927, and a series of agreements on economic questions. The most recent mark of the friendly relations between the two countries was the signing by both of the convention defining aggression in London on July 3, 1933, on the initiative of Mr. Maxim Litvinov.

RATIFICATIONS OF PACT DEFINING AGGRESSION

On September 18 the Persian Medzhlis ratified the pact defining aggression concluded in London on July 3 between the U.S.S.R., Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Rumania, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

On the same day Mr. M. M. Litvinov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, received from Tewfik Rusti-Bey, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the following telegram:

"In accordance with your instructions the charge d'affaires of the U.S.S.R. has informed me of the ratification by the Central Executive Committe of the U.S.S.R. of the convention defining aggression. This means that still another link has been forged in the friendship between our countries, which grows stronger every day. I am sincerely grateful that you have hastened to transmit to me this news which is received in Turkey with the same satisfaction as in the U.S.S.R. The convention will be presented to the Great National Assembly of Turkey for ratification as soon as it convenes for its next session. I take this opportunity for renewed expressions of my deep respect."

The London convention defining aggression was ratified by Rumania on September 15. The other nations who have already ratified the pact are Poland, Afghanistan and the U.S.S.R.

FRANCO-SOVIET TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

Franco-Soviet trade negotiations were opened in Paris September 20. The first session was devoted to a general discussion on Franco-Soviet trade. A plan of negotiations was drafted and the work was allocated among several sub-committees.

RECENT DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

On October 10 Stefan Brodovsky was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Latvia.

RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Joseph Stanislavich Unshlikht was appointed chief of the Head Administration of the Civil Air Fleet attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., on September 22. Mr. Unshlikht was appointed to replace A. Z. Goltzman, who was killed in the airplane catastrophe of September 5.

Recent Articles on the Soviet Union

A list of the more important articles which have appeared since the July-August issue of the SOVIET UNION REVIEW

Cultural Problems

"New Music in New Russia," by Paul Rosenfeld. The New Republic, July 26, 1933.

"Popular Libraries in the U.S.S.R.," by Jessica Smith.
A chapter in the volume, "Popular Libraries of the World," American Library Association, Chicago, 1933.

"Maxim Gorky: Russia's Literary Idol," by Alexander Bakshy. Current History, August, 1933.
A brief biography and interpretation of Gorky.

"Gostim—Russia's Experimental Theatre Museum," by Valerian Stepanov. Theatre Arts Monthly, September, 1933.
An account of the museum of the Meyerhold State Theatre in Moscow.

"Just Back from Russia," by Oliver Sayler. The Stage, September, 1933.
An enthusiastic letter on the Soviet drama.

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An issue devoted to a review of relations with Tsarist and Soviet Russia and pro and con arguments.

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Changing Soviet-American relations.

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"Litvinov Scores for Moscow," The Business Week, July 15, 1933.
Notes on achievements of the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs at the London Conference.

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"A detailed estimate of the possible value in dollars of trade with the U.S.S.R."

"Do We Want Russia's Trade?" Review of Reviews and World's Work, September, 1933.
1. "The Story of Non-Recognition," P. W. Wilson—brief survey.
2. "A Market, Not a Menace," William C. White—for recognition and close trade relations.
3. "A Trade Bubble Only," Harrison H. Wheaton—against recognition and any trade relations.

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The advantages in trading with the Soviet Union.

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"Russian Interlude," by Reginald T. Townsend. Country Life, July, 1933.
"The purpose of my article is to set forth what the visitor will see and want to see."

"Planning Socialist Cities," by Isador Rosenfield. Soviet Russia Today, October, 1933.
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"Administration of Justice in the Land of the Soviets," by Judah Zelitch. The Daily Record, Baltimore, October 4, 1933.
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"Kalinin: Little Father of the Peasants," by Gertrude Hutchinson. The New York Times Magazine, October 22, 1933.
A sketch of the President of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and his functions.

"The Soviet Union," by E. John Long. The Grade Teacher, November, 1933.
A general survey of geographical and political subdivisions and industrial progress.

"Abou Ben Adhem of Bokhara," by Jackson Fleming. Asia, November, 1933.
Changes wrought by the revolution.

SOVIET UNION REVIEW

Litvinoff
Arrives
In
Washington

Acme Photo

LITVINOFF'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

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American-Soviet Relations Established

FOLLOWING the interchange of messages that took place on October 10 and 17 between President Roosevelt and President Kalinin, Maxim Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., accompanied by Ivan A. Divilkovsky, General Secretary of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and Constantin Oumansky, chief of the Press Department of the Foreign Commissariat, arrived in New York on November 7. Mr. Litvinoff was met at quarantine in New York by Mr. James Dunn, head of the Protocol Division of the State Department, who greeted him on behalf of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. In the welcoming party were also Boris E. Skvirsky, head of the Soviet Union Information Bureau (now Soviet Chargé d'Affaires), Peter A. Bogdanov, Chairman of the Board of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, A. G. Rosenshein, President of the Amtorg, and others. Mr. Litvinoff and his party entrained at once for Washington. At Union Station Mr. Litvinoff was greeted by the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Under Secretary of State, Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Secretary, Mr. Marvin H. McIntyre, and other officials. Mr. Ahmet Muhtar, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, was also at the station to welcome Mr. Litvinoff.

The same afternoon Mr. Litvinoff paid his first official call at the White House, and, in the presence of Secretary Hull, was greeted by President Roosevelt. Thereafter a series of conversations ensued in the State Department and at the White House. After a preliminary survey of the situation with State Department officials the Soviet-American conversations moved on to the stage of direct interchange of ideas between President Roosevelt and Mr. Litvinoff. These conversations at the White House culminated in an exchange of notes establishing diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Government, which took place in the President's study at ten minutes before midnight on November 16.

On the afternoon of November 17 the President of the United States announced the resumption of normal relations with the U.S.S.R. and made public the following documents:

NOTES INAUGURATING RELATIONS

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

I am very happy to inform you that as a result of our conversations the Government of the United States has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to exchange ambassadors.

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinoff,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinoff,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

I am very happy to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is glad to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States and to exchange ambassadors.

I, too, share the hope that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

Reciprocal Pledges on Non-Interference in Internal Affairs

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the Government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

I am glad to have received the assurance expressed in your note to me of this date that it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in

Harris-Ewing

Litvinoff confers with Secretary of State Hull

the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the Government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

It will be the fixed policy of the Executive of the United States within the limits of the powers conferred by the Constitution and the laws of the United States to adhere reciprocally to the engagements above expressed.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinoff,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinoff,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet Policy on Religious Freedom

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

As I have told you in our recent conversations, it is my expectation that after the establishment of normal relations between our two countries many Americans will wish to reside temporarily or permanently within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and I am deeply concerned that they should enjoy in all respects the same freedom of conscience and religious liberty which they enjoy at home.

As you well know, the Government of the United States, since the foundation of the Republic, has always striven to protect its nationals, at home and abroad, in the free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship, and from all disability or persecution on account of

their religious faith or worship. And I need scarcely point out that the rights enumerated below are those enjoyed in the United States by all citizens and foreign nationals and by American nationals in all the major countries of the world.

The Government of the United States, therefore, will expect that nationals of the United States of America within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be allowed to conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature, including baptismal, confirmation, communion, marriage and burial rites, in the English language, or in any other language which is customarily used in the practice of the religious faith to which they belong, in churches, houses, or other buildings appropriate for such service, which they will be given the right and opportunity to lease, erect or maintain in convenient situations.

We will expect that nationals of the United States will have the right to collect from their co-religionists and to receive from abroad voluntary offerings for religious purposes; that they will be entitled without restriction to impart religious instruction to their children, either singly or in groups, or to have such instruction imparted by persons whom they may employ for such purpose; that they will be given and protected in the right to bury their dead according to their religious customs in s u i t a b l e and convenient places established for that purpose, and given the right and opportunity to lease, lay out, occupy and maintain such burial grounds subject to reasonable sanitary laws and regulations.

We will expect that religious groups or congregations composed of nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be given the right to have their spiritual needs ministered to by clergymen, priests, rabbis or other ecclesiastical functionaries who are nationals of the United States of America, and that such clergymen, priests, rabbis or other ecclesiastical functionaries will be protected from all disability or persecution and will not be denied entry into the territory of the Soviet Union because of their ecclesiastical status.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinoff,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinoff,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

In reply to your letter of November 16, 1933, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a fixed policy accords the nationals of the United States within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the following rights referred to by you:

1. The right to "free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship" and protection "from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship."

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations existing in the various republics of the Union:

> Every person may profess any religion or none. All restrictions of rights connected with the profession of any belief whatsoever, or with the non-profession of any belief, are annulled. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 3.)
>
> Within the confines of the Soviet Union it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges or preferential rights of any kind based upon the religious profession of any person. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 2.)

2. The right to "conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature."

This right is supported by the following laws:

> A free performance of religious rites is guaranteed as long as it does not interfere with public order and is not accompanied by interference with the rights of citizens of the Soviet Union. Local authorities possess the right in such cases to adopt all necessary measures to preserve public order and safety. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 5.)
>
> Interference with the performance of religious rites, in so far as they do not endanger public order and are not accompanied by infringements on the rights of others is punishable by compulsory labour for a period up to six months. (Criminal Code, art. 127.)

3. "The right and opportunity to lease, erect or maintain in convenient situations" churches, houses or other buildings appropriate for religious purposes.

This right is supported by the following laws and regulations:

> Believers belonging to a religious society with the object of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion may lease under contract, free of charge, from the Sub-District or District Executive Committee or from the Town Soviet, special buildings for the purpose of worship and objects intended exclusively for the purposes of their cult. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)
>
> Furthermore, believers who have formed a religious society or a group of believers may use for religious meetings other buildings which have been placed at their disposal on lease by private persons or by local Soviets and Executive Committees. All rules established for houses of worship are applicable to these buildings. Contracts for the use of such buildings shall be concluded by individual believers who will be held responsible for their execution. In addition, these buildings must comply with the sanitary and technical building regulations. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 10.)
>
> The place of worship and religious property shall

be handed over for the use of believers forming a religious society under a contract concluded in the name of the competent District Executive Committee or Town Soviet by the competent administrative department or branch, or directly by the Sub-District Executive Committee. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 15.)

The construction of new places of worship may take place at the desire of religious societies provided that the usual technical building regulations and the special regulations laid down by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs are observed. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 45.)

4. "The right to collect from their co-religionists . . . voluntary offerings for religious purposes."

This right is supported by the following law:

Members of groups of believers and religious societies may raise subscriptions among themselves and collect voluntary offerings, both in the place of worship itself and outside it, but only amongst the members of the religious association concerned and only for purposes connected with the upkeep of the place of worship and the religious property, for the engagement of ministers of religion and for the expenses of their executive body. Any form of forced contribution in aid of religious associations is punishable under the Criminal Code. (Decree of April 8, 1929, art. 54.)

5. The right to "impart religious instruction to their children either singly or in groups or to have such instruction imparted by persons whom they may employ for such purpose."

This right is supported by the following law:

The school is separated from the Church. Instruction in religious doctrines is not permitted in any governmental and common schools, nor in private teaching institutions where general subjects are taught. Persons may give or receive religious instruction in a private manner. (Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, art. 9.)

Furthermore, the Soviet Government is prepared to include in a consular convention to be negotiated immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries provisions in which nationals of the United States shall be granted rights with reference to freedom of conscience and the free exercise of religion, which shall not be less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. In this connection, I have the honor to call to your attention Article 9 of the Treaty between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow October 12, 1925, which reads as follows:

Nationals of each of the Contracting Parties . . . shall be entitled to hold religious services in churches, houses or other buildings, rented, according to the laws of the country, in their national language or in any other language which is customary in their religion. They shall be entitled to bury their dead in accordance with their religious practice in burial-grounds established and maintained by them with the approval of the competent authorities, so long as they comply with the police regulations of the other Party in respect of buildings and public health.

Furthermore, I desire to state that the rights specified in the above paragraphs will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries.

Finally, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, while reserving to itself the right of refusing visas to Americans desiring to enter the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on personal grounds, does not intend to base such refusals on the fact of such persons having an ecclesiastical status.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

Protection to Nationals

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

Following our conversations I have the honor to inform you that the Soviet Government is prepared to include in a consular convention to be negotiated immediately following the establishment of relations between our two countries provisions in which nationals of the United States shall be granted rights with reference to legal protection which shall not be less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. Furthermore, I desire to state that such rights will be granted to American nationals immediately upon the establishment of relations between our two countries.

In this connection I have the honor to call to your attention Article XI and the Protocol to Article XI, of the Agreement Concerning Conditions of Residence and Business and Legal Protection in General concluded between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on October 12, 1925.

ARTICLE XI

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to adopt the necessary measures to inform the consul of the other Party as soon as possible whenever a national of the country which he represents is arrested in his district.

The same procedure shall apply if a prisoner is transferred from one place of detention to another.

FINAL PROTOCOL

Ad Article XI

1. The Consul shall be notified either by a communication from the person arrested or by the au-

thorities themselves direct. Such communications shall be made within a period not exceeding seven times twenty-four hours, and in large towns, including capitals of districts, within a period not exceeding three times twenty-four hours.

2. In places of detention of all kinds, requests made by consular representatives to visit nationals of their country under arrest, or to have them visited by their representatives, shall be granted without delay. The consular representative shall not be entitled to require officials of the courts or prisons to withdraw during his interview with the person under arrest.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

I thank you for your letter of November 16, 1933, informing me that the Soviet Government is prepared to grant to nationals of the United States rights with reference to legal protection not less favorable than those enjoyed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by nationals of the nation most favored in this respect. I have noted the provisions of the treaty and protocol concluded between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on October 12, 1925.

I am glad that nationals of the United States will enjoy the protection accorded by these instruments immediately upon the establishment of relations betwen our countries and I am fully prepared to negotiate a consular convention covering these subjects as soon as practicable. Let me add that American diplomatic and consular officers in the Soviet Union will be zealous in guarding the rights of American nationals, particularly the right to a fair, public and speedy trial and the right to be represented by counsel of their choice. We shall expect that the nearest American diplomatic or consular officer shall be notified immediately of any arrest or detention of an American national, and that he shall promptly be afforded the opportunity to communicate and converse with such national.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinoff,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinoff,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

On Economic Espionage

In reply to a question of the President in regard to prosecutions for economic espionage, Mr. Litvinoff gave the following explanation:

"The widespread opinion that the dissemination of economic information from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is allowed only in so far as this information has been published in newspapers or magazines, is erroneous. The right to obtain economic information is limited in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as in other countries, only in the case of business and production secrets and in the case of the employment of forbidden methods (bribery, theft, fraud, etc.) to obtain such information. The category of business and production secrets naturally includes the official economic plans, in so far as they have not been made public, but not individual reports concerning the production conditions and the general conditions of individual enterprises.

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has also no reason to complicate or hinder the critical examination of its economic organization. It naturally follows from this that every one has the right to talk about economic matters or to receive information about such matters in the Union, in so far as the information for which he has asked or which has been imparted to him is not such as may not, on the basis of special regulations issued by responsible officials or by the appropriate state enterprises, be made known to outsiders. (This principle applies primarily to information concerning economic trends and tendencies.)"

The Problem of Claims

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

Following our conversations I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that, preparatory to a final settlement of the claims and counter claims between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America and the claims of their nationals, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not take any steps to enforce any decisions of courts or initiate any new litigations for the amounts admitted to be due or that may be found to be due it, as the successor of prior Governments of Russia, or otherwise, from American nationals, including corporations, companies, partnerships, or associations, and also the claim against the United States of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, now in litigation in the United States Court of Claims, and will not object to such amounts being assigned and does hereby release and assign all such amounts to the Government of the United States, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to be duly notified in each case of any amount realized by

Underwood and Underwood
Boris Skvirsky, Chargé d'Affaires of the U.S.S.R. in Washington

the Government of the United States from such release and assignment.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics further agrees, preparatory to the settlement referred to above not to make any claim with respect to:

(a) Judgments rendered or that may be rendered by American courts in so far as they relate to property, or rights, or interests therein, in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or its nationals may have had or may claim to have an interest; or,

(b) Acts done or settlements made by or with the Government of the United States, or public officials in the United States, or its nationals, relating to property, credits, or obligations of any Government of Russia or nationals thereof.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 16, 1933, in which you state that:

"The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that, preparatory to a final settlement of the claims and counter claims between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America and the claims of their nationals, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not take any steps to enforce any decisions of courts or initiate any new litigations for the amounts admitted to be due or that may be found to be due it, as the successor of prior Governments of Russia, or otherwise, from American nationals, including corporations, companies, partnerships, or associations, and also the claim against the United States of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, now in litigation in the United States Court of Claims, and will not object to such amounts being assigned and does hereby release and assign all such amounts to the Government of the United States, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to be duly notified in each case of any amount realized by the Government of the United States from such release and assignment.

"The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics further agrees, preparatory to the settlement referred to above, not to make any claim with respect to:

(a) Judgments rendered or that may be rendered by American courts in so far as they relate to property, or rights, or interests therein, in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or its nationals may have had or may claim to have an interest; or,

(b) Acts done or settlements made by or with the Government of the United States, or public officials in the United States, or its nationals, relating to property, credits or obligations of any Government of Russia or nationals thereof."

I am glad to have these undertakings by your Government and I shall be pleased to notify your Government in each case of any amount realized by the Government of the United States from the release and assignment to it of the amounts admitted to be due, or that may be found to be due, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and of the amount that may be found to be due on the claim of the Russian Volunteer Fleet.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinoff,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Washington, November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to inform you that, following our conversations and following my examination of certain documents of the years 1918 to 1921 relating to the attitude of the American Government toward the expedition into Siberia, the operations there of foreign military forces and the inviolability of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that it will waive any and all claims of whatsoever character arising out of activities of military forces of the United States in Siberia, or assistance to military forces in Siberia subsequent to January 1, 1918, and that such claims shall be regarded as finally settled and disposed of by this agreement.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.

Joint Statement by the President and Mr. Litvinoff

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1933.

In addition to the agreements which we have signed today, there has taken place an exchange of views with regard to methods of settling all outstanding questions of indebtedness and claims that permits us to hope for a speedy and satisfactory solution of these questions which both our Governments desire to have out of the way as soon as possible.

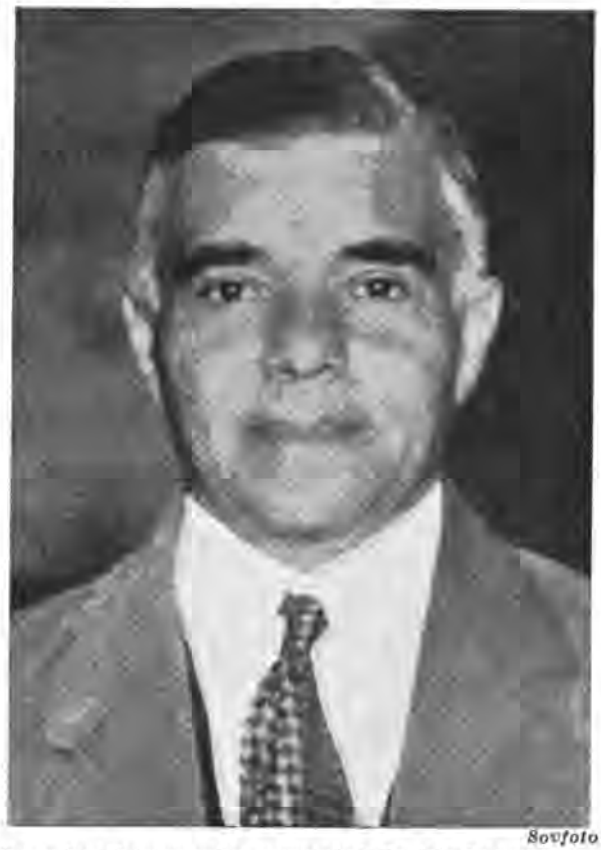
Mr. Litvinoff will remain in Washington for several days for further discussions.

APPOINTMENT OF AMBASSADORS

Immediately after the announcement of the resumption of relations, President Roosevelt announced the appointment of Mr. William C. Bullitt as Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

On November 19 Mr. Litvinoff received the approval of the State Department to the appointment of Mr. Alexander Troyanovsky as Soviet Ambassador to the United States. On the following day Mr. Litvinoff informed the State Department that Mr. Boris E. Skvirsky, formerly head of the Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, would serve as Chargé d'Affaires pending the arrival in Washington of Mr. Troyanovsky and that thereafter he would serve as counselor to the embassy of the U.S.S.R.

The property of the old Russian embassy was delivered to the representatives of the Soviet Union on November 17. The Soviet embassy will be temporarily located at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C., formerly headquarters of the Soviet Union Information Bureau, until the old Russian embassy is ready for occupancy.



Sovfoto

Alexander Troyanovsky, appointed Soviet Ambassador to Washington

KALININ GREETS THE UNITED STATES

Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, made a short speech of greeting to the people of the United States in a transatlantic broadcast from Moscow on the morning of November 20.

"At the moment when normal official relations between our states are being established," he said, "I am glad to transmit in the name of the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a hearty greeting to the people of the United States of America.

"In the last sixteen years the toilers of the cities and villages of the Soviet Union have shown to the whole world examples of tremendous creative work. With intense efforts they turned our country in a short time from a backward agrarian into an advanced industrial country, and it is precisely because of this that our workers and peasants look with the greatest interest and at-

tention to the country of advanced technical progress, the United States of America.

"The most important condition for securing technical progress and the well-being of people is the preservation and strengthening of peace between nations. I am convinced that now, when all the artificial obstacles for full and manifold contact between the peoples of our two great countries are removed, it will greatly benefit not only their mutual interests but also the economic and cultural progress of mankind and the strengthening of universal peace.

"I strongly believe that now will begin an era of fruitful and manifold cooperation between our two nations.

"I am convinced that the joy which we feel on this occasion is shared all over the world by everybody to whom is dear the progress of humanity and peace among the nations."

STATE DEPARTMENT CONVERSATIONS

Following the publication of the documents on the establishment of normal relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Mr. Litvinoff remained for several days in Washington, and resumed conversations with State Department officials. On November 22 the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. William Phillips, issued the following statement:

"In accordance with the joint statement by the President and Mr. Litvinoff of November 16, 1933, further discussions have taken place between Mr. Litvinoff and officials of the Department of State and the Treasury Department. Due to the intricacy of the questions to be explored, it has been impossible to reach definite conclusions before the departure of Mr. Litvinoff. The discussions will be actively continued by officials of both Governments. The conversations which have thus far taken place have shown a desire on the part of both Governments to reach a speedy solution of these questions."

EXCHANGE OF FAREWELL MESSAGES

Upon his departure, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs addressed the following letter to the President of the United States:

Litvinoff's Letter

Washington, D. C., Nov. 22, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

On leaving the United States I feel it a great pleasure respectfully to convey to you my feelings of high esteem as well as gratitude for the many tokens of attention and friendship you have been good enough to show me during my stay in Washington.

I also wish hereby to thank the whole Executive and its various organs for their courtesies and cares.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express once more my firm conviction that the official linking of our two countries by the exchanges of notes between you, Mr. President, and myself will be of great benefit to our two countries and will also be conducive to the strengthening and preservation of peace between nations, toward which our countries are sincerely striving. I believe that their joint efforts will add a creative factor in international affairs which will be beneficial to mankind.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President, with the best wishes for the well-being of yourself, your family and of your great country,

Yours very sincerely,

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The President's Reply

Warm Springs, Ga., Nov. 23, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinoff:

I thank you for your most courteous letter of November 22, 1933.

It has been a great personal pleasure to me to meet you and I trust that some day I shall again have the pleasure of welcoming you in America. On your return to your country I hope that you will convey to President Kalinin my greetings and best wishes.

I am profoundly gratified that our conversations should have resulted in the restoration of normal relations between our peoples, and I trust that these relations will grow closer and more intimate with each passing year. The cooperation of our governments in the great work of preserving peace should be the cornerstone of an enduring friendship.

I am sorry that owing to my absence from Washington I am unable in person to say goodbye to you and to wish you a safe and pleasant journey; but I assure you that you carry with you my warmest personal regards.

Yours very sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Litvinoff sailed from New York on November 25. Pressed on shipboard for a final word over the radio before he left American shores, Mr. Litvinoff referred to the sixteen-year rift between the United States and the Soviet Union and said:

"I hope that we shall never lose each other again. Our friendship, let us hope, will be enduring and always great. That is all I can say."

On his return trip Mr. Litvinoff stopped at Rome on the invitation of Premier Mussolini, delivered through Signor Augusto Rosso, Italian Ambassador in Washington. Mr. Litvinoff arrived in Rome December 2 and had several conferences with Mussolini the following day.

The Soviet Foreign Commissar Greets the American Press

Statement made by Maxim Litvinoff to newspapermen on board the Berengaria as he arrived in New York on November 7.

I AM setting foot today on the territory of the great American Republic with a keen sense of the privilege that is mine in being the first official representative to bring greetings to the American people from the peoples of the Soviet Union. I realize that I am, in a way, making the first breach in that artificial barrier which has for sixteen years prevented normal intercourse between the peoples of our two countries. The object of my visit has become common knowledge through the publication of the messages which passed between President Roosevelt and Mr. Kalinin. The anomalous nature of the situation during the last sixteen years has now been recognized by both sides, and the first step taken towards clearing it up. Everybody now realizes that this situation has done no good to either side, and the sooner it becomes a thing of the past the better for us all! I am looking forward to the pleasure and honor of making the acquaintance of your President, who has given yet another proof of his wisdom and broad views by taking the initiative in addressing Mr. Kalinin. I also will be very glad to renew my acquaintance with the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the London Economic Conference.

I would emphasize the artificial nature of the estrangement hitherto existing, since in point of fact the peoples of our republics have never ceased to follow each other's development with the utmost mutual sympathy and interest.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, burdened with the onerous legacies of Tsardom, which purposely kept the country in backwardness and ignorance and setting themselves the Herculean task of building up, on the ruins left by seven years of war, an industrially developed state on new social and economic principles, could not but be inspired by the example given by your country in the methods you found of subordinating natural forces to the needs of humanity—enabling the American people in a comparatively short time to build up the most technically progressive country in the world, well ahead of the older continents. The words "American technique," "American tempo," "American scope," are continually to be met with in my country, and no small contingents of your countrymen have helped us to fulfill our constructive task, bringing with them valuable American experience, while some of our greatest technical achievements are associated with the names of representatives of American technique and industry.

Moreover the great interest in the Soviet Union felt in the United States is testified to by the numerous visits of leaders of American science, technique and art, and by the innumerable books devoted to the Soviet Union in the United States. All these things show that there is already a solid base for economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, which should be of advantage to both our countries.

Although there are as yet no official contacts, our countries have always felt, and continue to feel, that they are united by common aspirations for peace. The efforts of both countries for the preservation of peace have so far proceeded along parallel lines, but the absence of normal means of continuous intercourse has prevented that linking-up of these efforts which would have made them one of the most solid guarantees of peace. The opinions expressed all over the world on the messages which passed between our Presidents have shown the hopes raised among all the friends of peace, and the fears felt by the adversaries of peace, at the very thought of the establishment of solid friendly relations between the peoples of the two greatest republics in the world.

All these things encourage me to nourish the most sanguine hopes as to the outcome of the mission placed upon me, and as to the future of Soviet-American relations. It seems to me that what we have to do now is only, so to say, to legalize and to give an official expression to that reciprocal gravitation of two nations which had no conflicts in the past and cannot anticipate them in the future, of the numerous symptoms of which I have just spoken. My mission is, moreover, rendered easier by the fact that the questions to be discussed between your President and myself have had innumerable precedents during the establishment of normal relations and peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, and that the Soviet Government's attitude to these questions has long been well-known to the world.

The sympathy with which President Roosevelt's initiative has been received by the American press and public opinion makes me hope that the American press will extend its sympathy and assistance to those further steps towards the completion of establishment of Soviet-American official relations which may be the result of my conversations with your President, and, secure in this hope, I want to thank you in advance.

Litvinoff at the National Press Club

Address of Maxim Litvinoff at the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., November 17, 1933

I AM happy today because one of the hopes which I have cherished for sixteen years has been realized. Ever since the beginning of my diplomatic activities I have been striving to obtain a good understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. Towards that end I proposed to my government in 1918, during the war, that it send me to Washington. I was sent, but I did not reach my destination. Many things might have happened, and many historical events might have taken different shape if we could then have entered into relations with this country. At the end of 1918 I made another attempt in the same direction by sending a long telegram and making certain proposals to President Wilson on his arrival in Europe. I failed again, but I continued my efforts to get into touch with your country. Then a lengthy period intervened during which any efforts on our part seemed to be doomed to failure and there was nothing for us to do but to wait patiently. We gladly echoed the call of your President when he realized the necessity of removing the most striking political and economic anomaly of the post-war time.

I can assure you that the establishment of normal relations between our countries will be received by the people of the Soviet Union with the most sincere satisfaction and with the same friendly feelings towards the American people as I was happy to observe here towards my country from the first moment of my arrival. Yesterday's exchange of notes between the President and myself creates not only the necessary conditions for a speedy and successful settlement of the unsolved problems relating to the past, but, what is much more important, opens a new page in the development of relations of real friendship and of peaceful collaboration between the two largest republics in the world.

I feel sure that the many possibilities for economic cooperation between our two countries will be made use of in full. I also feel sure that the action we took last night will have the most beneficial effect for the cause of peace, for the preservation of which both our governments will spare no efforts. I feel sure that all honest and peace-loving people, all those who are against any breeding of ill-feeling, mistrust, hostilities or other anomalies between nations, will rejoice in this action.

Normal relations do indeed now exist among all the nations of the world, but in a few cases mistrust and ill-feeling, culminating sometimes in the most abnormal actions, are being nourished under cover of normal relations. It is in no such conventional or technical sense that we want normal relations with this country. We want and we are going to work for *really* normal relations, *really* friendly relations, which are bound to arise out of the fact that we have had no real conflicts in the past and need not expect them in the future, that there are already points of contact and that these will multiply, and that the common ground for cooperation in the field of economics, culture and the struggle for peace, will widen.

I have frequently been reminded since I have been here that I have far exceeded the half hour which I mentioned in Berlin as the time necessary for me to accomplish my mission in this country. I can assure you that the actual exchange of notes for the establishment of relations required even less time than that, and that is what I had in view, as on my part I did not propose anything else. There was, however, on the initiative of the other side, some preliminary discussion, the scope of which I could not gauge in advance.

I may have overlooked that the absence of relations for sixteen years has been instrumental in the accumulation in this country of incorrect and false ideas and notions regarding the state of affairs and conditions of life in my country. The absence of any official representatives in Moscow has deprived your Executive of the possibility of getting first hand and authentic information. A good many people have amused themselves by spreading in this country, the wildest stories about the Soviet Union. We were absent here and, according to the French saying, "Les absents ont toujours tort"—the absent are always wrong. I was not, therefore, greatly surprised when your President wished, first of all, to get from me the most complete information as to the policy of my government towards nationals of other countries, and to find out what will be the conditions in every domain of life for Americans who may come to my country in increased numbers with the establishment of formal relations. Certainly I had no objection whatsoever to supplying this information as best I could, to put it in the most convincing way, to word it carefully, so that it should give rise to no misunderstanding and no misinterpretation. We had no difficulty in doing so. Your President and myself understood each other perfectly well, understood each other's position, but it naturally required some time to put into shape what we had discussed. There were no hitches, no obstacles and no necessity for additional instructions or powers.

There was one question more complicated than the rest—that of the mutual material claims—which naturally could not be settled in a short time. An exchange of views on this question showed us that there is good-will and the desire

on both sides to have it out out the way as soon as possible, and that the views of both sides regarding the methods of settling it are not very far apart. Your President proved once more to be right when he stated in his message to Kalinin that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the settlement of all our outstanding questions. The only really insurmountable obstacle up to now has been the absence of any relations, of any contact, of any possibility of talking to each other.

In order to show our good will we decided, without waiting for a final settlement of mutual claims, to waive one of our own claims against the United States, i. e., on account of the American Siberian Expedition, and this we did in appreciation of certain acts of the United States at that time, with which I acquainted myself during my visits to the State Department.

Acme Photo

Litvinoff addressing the National Press Club. Boris Skvirsky on the left and Raymond P. Brandt, President of the club, at the right

The negotiations themselves have been of the most pleasant nature and afforded me many opportunities for admiring the charm, good-naturedness, kindness and at the same time the perspicacity of your President, as well as the efficiency of the State Department. I appreciated very much the good-will of Mr. Bullitt, who took a most active and helpful part in the negotiations.

I wish to thank you and the American press for your valuable contribution to the work President Roosevelt and myself have done. The impatience sometimes manifested by you during the conversations showed the great importance you attached to the results of these conversations. I am sure the further development of good relations between our countries will always find substantial support in the American press.

American-Russian Chamber of Commerce Dinner

A DINNER in honor of Maxim Litvinoff was given in New York on November 24 under the joint auspices of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce and the American-Russian Institute. The dinner was attended by about two thousand people including prominent financiers, business men, professional people, writers, artists and Soviet citizens residing in New York.

Col. Hugh L. Cooper, President of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, was chairman, and introduced Col. Raymond Robins and Commissar Litvinoff. In his opening address Colonel Cooper said, in part, as follows:

ADDRESS OF COLONEL COOPER

"The capacity attendance here this evening indicates the widespread interest in the United States in the restoration of the traditional friendship between the American and Russian people. Here are gathered together leaders of American business and cultural life, assembled to honor the envoy of a great republic and a great people.

"I have been more fortunate than some Americans in having had an opportunity, during the past seven years, to meet the leaders of the Soviet Government and to observe at first-hand the tremendous work now being carried out under their plans and leadership. Anyone who has had this experience must admire the zeal and devotion to the vast scope of human endeavor that is exemplified in the aspirations of these leaders of the Soviet Government.

"I want to take this occasion to say a word about Mr. Joseph Stalin, a man whose name will

go down in history as one of the foremost leaders of all times. While I may honestly disagree in some respects with his political and social philosophy, I say to you here and now that I wholeheartedly admire his unselfish, untiring efforts to raise the standards of living of the 160,000,000 people within the confines of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union represents about one-sixth of the earth's landed area, on which there exist natural resources far greater in value than the known natural resources of the balance of Europe. The remaining five-sixths of the earth's area is puttering along in various degrees of social and economic difficulties under the leadership of over a hundred governments. You therefore get some idea of the comparative responsibility resting on Mr. Stalin's shoulders. It is my firm conviction that Mr. Stalin and his associate leaders will gradually solve their problems and finally produce much higher standards of living for the people of their country.

"May I also pay a deserved tribute to President Roosevelt for his good judgment and commonsense in initiating the conversations which have finally healed the sixteen years' breach in American-Russian relations. I hold the view that this step is the most outstanding single achievement of the Roosevelt Administration up to date, and that future history will record it as such.

"President Roosevelt and Commissar Litvinoff have just laid an American-Soviet foundation stone of friendship; it is up to the rest of us in both countries to build on this foundation a firm and lasting friendship.

"The world has acclaimed this rapprochement as a vital aid in the establishment of world peace. . . . Any event that tends to promote real world peace is of outstanding importance not only to the population of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, but to the entire population of the balance of the globe. We must, therefore, by hard work and fair play make this auspicious beginning an everlasting success.

"With no desire to minimize the great value to world peace of this rapprochement, let me say that the economic benefits that can accrue to both peoples, arising out of the assumption of normal relations, are of enormous potentiality. The President and Commissar Litvinoff have solved the political questions to the satisfaction of every right-minded person in both countries. There is every reason to believe that a wise solution of the economic questions involved can and will be found. The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce is glad to pledge its best efforts, experience and facilities to secure that end. Trade between the U. S. A. and the U.S.S.R. can be made to grow and prosper only if it is constantly fertilized by intelligence and commonsense.

"I believe the American people and the people of the Soviet Union are awake to this opportunity. Recognition will open the doors in both countries for the orderly procuring of the facts necessary for a practical program of economic cooperation of inestimable value to both countries. I feel that under these new conditions both peoples will do their full part."

ADDRESS OF COLONEL ROBINS

Extracts from the speech of Colonel Raymond Robins, who was American Red Cross Representative in Soviet Russia during the revolution, follow:

"For sixteen long years we have waited for this hour. All the peoples of the world share in the gains for international peace and economic recovery that are implicit in the establishment of normal and friendly diplomatic and trade relations between these United States and the Soviet Union. . . .

"Let us consider briefly some of the benefits that flow from this diplomatic accord between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"It marks a final liquidation of one of the most tragic consequences of the World War, and welds a vital link in international comity among the nations of the earth.

"It makes for understanding and peace in the solution of the problems of the Far East.

"It makes possible effective understandings and conventions to maintain international price levels for the benefit of all nations engaged in foreign trade.

"It opens under consular and diplomatic safeguards for the commerce of our people the largest potential market yet unappropriated in the international field.

"Finally and possibly most important of all it is the best guarantee for the development and maintenance of world peace. The Soviet Union, largely under the leadership of Commissar Litvinoff, has an enviable record in the effort to limit and reduce armaments and to organize agreements and methods to preserve international peace. . . .

"The Soviet Union and the United States have a common interest and foundation for seeking to develop and maintain international peace. Both nations have all the territory they need or desire, both are engaged in a domestic task that war would disorganize if not destroy, and the psychology of both peoples is pacific. Their friendly understanding and cooperation is the best single hope for the peace of the world.

"Familiar with the conditions and leadership under which the Soviets took power in the Russian land in 1917, I revisited Russia of the Soviets in the spring and summer of this year. After free and unhurried travel through the heart of the industrial and agricultural development of the Soviet Union, it is not too much to say that

Sovfoto

Airplane view of the new industrial city of the Stalinsk Metallurgical Combine in West Siberia, showing new sport stadium in the foreground, workers' apartments in the background

the achievement of the Soviet Government in sixteen years stands unrivaled in the history of the social and economic progress of any people in any age. . . .

"In sixteen years a land swept by revolutionary chaos and civil war has developed a disciplined law and order and the first planned economy among the nations of the earth. All the rich natural resources of nearly a sixth of the earth's surface and all the labor power — hand and brain—of one hundred and sixty million people is now organized on a national scale. And this planned economy is not handed down from above by a committee of supermen as some have supposed, but comes up from individual factories, mines, farms and economic units, through communities, districts, states; and when it reaches Moscow more than a million minds have worked upon the details of this plan. And those who have submitted the plan have to share in carrying it out. With power goes responsibility throughout the Soviet Union.

"In sixteen years the revolutionary Bolshevik power has become the oldest executive without substantial change among the governments of the world, and I could find nowhere anyone who knew of or said he believed in any organized resistance against the Soviet Government throughout the Russian land."

The address of Mr. Maxim Litvinoff, which followed that of Colonel Robins, is printed in full elsewhere in this issue.

The guests seated at the speakers' table were as follows:

General W. W. Atterbury, President The Pennsylvania Railroad Company; Dr. Thomas S. Barker, President Carnegie Institute of Technology; Robert J. Bender, Vice President and General News Manager United Press Association; S. R. Bertron, Bertron, Griscom & Company, Inc.; Paul Block, Publisher; Peter A. Bogdanov, Chairman of the Board, Amtorg Trading Corporation; Curtis Bok, Dechert, Bok & Smith; Louis Connick, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett; Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, President the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce; Paul D. Cravath, Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood; Dr. Harvey N. Davis, President Stevens Institute of Technology; Hon. John W. Davis, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner & Reed; Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, Foreign Policy Association; Dr. John Dewey; William C. Dickerman, President American Locomotive Company; Hon. Ivan A. Divilkovsky, General Secretary of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan; Walter Duranty, Moscow Correspondent New York Times; Hon. Harry M. Durning, Collector of the Port of New York; Charles Edison, President Thomas A. Edison, Inc.; Jackson S. Elliott, Assistant General Manager Associated Press; Ralph E. Flanders, Manager Jones & Lamson Machine Company; S. Parker Gilbert, J. P. Morgan & Company; Hon. James P. Goodrich, ex-Governor State of Indiana; Major General William S. Graves U. S. Army, Retired; Alex Gumberg; Mrs. Norman Hapgood; Henry I. Harriman, President Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. A.; Major General William N. Haskell, Commanding General New York National Guard; George H. Houston, President Baldwin Locomotive Works; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, the Milbank Foundation; Wilhelm Kurtz, President, Intourist, Member Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.; William W. Lancaster, Shearman & Sterling; Esther Everett Lape, the American Foundation; Sam A. Lewisohn, Adolph Lewisohn & Sons; Edward E. Loomis, President Lehigh Valley Railroad Company; Charles S. McCain, Chairman of the Board, the Chase National Bank; Clark H. Minor, President International General Electric Company, Inc.; James D. Mooney, President General Motors Export Company; Thomas A. Morgan, President Curtiss-Wright Corporation; Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Sr.; E. C. Morse, President Chrysler Export Corporation; G. B. Parker, Editor-in-Chief Scripps-Howard Newspapers; J. H. Rand, Jr., President and Chairman of the Board, Remington Rand, Inc.; Mrs. Ogden Reid, Vice President New York Herald-Tribune; Gordon S. Rentschler, President the National City Bank of New York; Joseph E. Ridder, Publisher; A. W. Robertson, Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company; Colonel Raymond Robins; Kermit Roosevelt, President Roosevelt Steampship Company, Inc.; James N. Rosenberg, Rosenberg, Goldmark & Colin; A. J. Rosenshein, President Amtorg Trading Corporation; David Sarnoff, President Radio Corporation of America; Reeve Schley, Vice President the Chase National Bank; H. F. Sheets, Vice President Socony-Vacuum Corporation; Hon. Boris E. Skvirsky, Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C.; Alfred P. Small, President American Express Company; Charles E. Sorensen, Ford Motor Company; Walter W. Stewart, Chairman of the Board, Case, Pomeroy & Co., Inc.; Alfred H. Swayne, Vice President General Motors Corporation; Gerard Swope, President General Electric Company; Mary van Kleeck, Russell Sage Foundation; Philip D. Wagoner, President Underwood-Elliott-Fisher Company; Allen Wardwell, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner & Reed; Thomas J. Watson, President International Business Machines Corporation; Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company.

Litvinoff's Farewell Address

Address by Maxim Litvinoff at the farewell dinner given by the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the American-Russian Institute, on November 24.

IN addressing you here on the last evening before my departure from the United States, I can find no words adequate to express my appreciation for the attention which has been bestowed upon me in this country by all your people. The culminating point is this occasion which gives me an opportunity to meet the leading citizens of the incomparable City of New York. I should like to interpret this attention as a symbol of the common desire of our countries to make up what has been lost through the absence of intercourse in the past sixteen years.

The happy event, which has been awaited by those here present not without impatience for sixteen years, arrived under the easiest and most normal circumstances. There were no long labors, no anxiety. My discussions with your President were concluded within one week. They were throughout of the most pleasant nature; so pleasant, indeed, that we both seemed to be in no hurry to finish them. I believe that we both, feeling the approach of our mutual pledges, tried to avail ourselves of the short period of freedom left to us to make some propaganda between us.

The President submitted me to a kind of religious propaganda, and I in turn tried to persuade him of the soundness of certain principles expressed in the will of a famous American, Stephen Girard, who thought it best to exclude all ecclesiastical activities from the college which he founded in Philadelphia. Although we hardly succeeded in convincing one another, I fully enjoyed the President's way of discussing things, and I still feel myself under the spell of his charm. Not for a moment had I any doubts as to the results of our discussions. Since the President called the absence of relations between our countries an abnormality, I was sure he would do all he could to remove it.

I think that there are not many persons left in this country who would ask why that anomaly has been removed. One hears now rather the question why this was not done before. The question as to what results may be expected from the renewal of relations between our countries is entitled to an answer. I shall endeavor to reply to this question as best I can, but in order to do so I shall allow myself to make a short analysis of the general political and economic outlook and then to give my country a kind of introduction to you.

The upheavals caused by the great war in the political, economic and social structure of the capitalist world not only have not ceased, but are displaying a tendency to extend still further their destructive activities. In the sphere of politics we observe a process of a growing international estrangement. With the exception of a very few cases, of which the most striking example is the historically unprecedented relation between Turkey and the Soviet Union and to which, I hope, the relationship of our two countries will soon be added, friendship between two countries, even of the most conventional nature, has rarely been established or preserved in recent years. International antagonisms have increased both quantitatively and qualitatively in comparison with the pre-war period.

It would be hard to find anyone today still holding the belief that the World War was the last war. Preparations for a new war, or rather for new wars, are in full swing and are carried on quite openly. Not only has the race for armaments been renewed and intensified, but what may be far more serious, in certain cases open propaganda of militaristic ideas is being carried on, the growing generation is being trained in the idea of the glorification of war. A characteristic of such militaristic training is the advancement of medieval, pseudo-scientific theories regarding the supremacy of some peoples over others, and the right of some peoples arising therefrom to dominate others or even to exterminate them. Songs, music, popular epics, literature and science are all made subservient to the militaristic training of youth.

In other countries there is not even the attempt to embellish the preparations for war with complex ideological and scientific theories. Such countries assert that if, in the opinion of certain odd persons, war as a weapon of national policy should be outlawed and peace pacts remain in force, this still must not refer to those parts of the world in which these countries themselves happen to have an interest.

The naive ideology of such opinions is expressed in references to "special conditions," though no trouble is taken to explain what these special conditions are. You must take their word for it, because if you express bewilderment or perplexity, you are accused of "insincerity." "Sincerity," in such cases, means acceptance and encouragement of violent, aggressive operations, even when it is your own ox that is being gored.

Is it then surprising when such moods exist in certain countries that the disarmament conference is breathing its last? I may go even farther and assert that the Geneva Conference is a corpse which no efforts can bring back to life, and, if no death certificate has been issued, that is only be-

cause the doctors are afraid to listen for the heart that has ceased to beat.

It is not now a question whether all countries will accept the British, French, or other method of disarmament and control or of other details for which this or that commission or subcommission is necessary. Put two simple questions to the members of the Geneva Conference: Will they agree to any serious reduction of armaments and will they submit to any control? You will hear from at least one large and bellicose country a negative answer to both questions, with the inevitable reference to "special conditions." Such an answer would be of decisive importance and would sound the death knell of the conference and therefore, perhaps, they will endeavor to avoid it.

It is not necessary for me to take up in such detail what is happening in the economic sphere, because I think that the majority of you here present know more about this than I do. The failure of the London Conference, the continuing curtailment in international trade and shrinkage of markets, the tens of millions of unemployed, the revaluation of values which the crisis has forced in a very literal sense, does not permit any rosy hopes for a change for the better in the world economic situation. Nor is the picture I have just drawn of international political relations an appropriate background for such change.

Against this gloomy background it is impossible, in my opinion, not to discern, in all that is going on in my country, a ray of light. I should like to avoid controversial topics, and therefore I shall merely touch upon facts which no one can deny.

It cannot be denied, for example, that the Soviet Union, which was threatened with the fate of being transformed into an agrarian colonial or semi-colonial country, has grown in sixteen years into a powerful industrial country, using technical methods and machinery the most modern in the world and predominantly American. The peoples of the Soviet Union are striving with all their might to develop even further the industrial and technical growth of the country and have the necessary natural riches for their purpose. And if sometimes sacrifices have been necessary for this development, they have had before them an ideal for the attainment of which no sacrifices would have been too great.

It cannot be denied that in spite of the progressively increasing production of its own industry, the Soviet Union does not attempt to enclose its market within an artificial barrier of economic autarchy. Enjoying the lowest foreign indebtedness in the world, the Soviet Union has the greatest capacity for absorbing the raw materials and products of other countries. On this question I presented data at the London Economic Conference, a study of which will show that the United States could make use of this capacity to the extent of 60 or 70 per cent.

It cannot be denied that the capacity of the Soviet market rests, among other things, on the increasing numbers of the population of the country, which has grown by more than 35,000,000 during the past ten years, and which now amounts to almost 170,000,000. A considerable share of this increase has resulted from the general rise of the cultural level of the population and from the success of the government's health program.

The general mortality—before the revolution among the highest in the world—has dropped by 40 per cent, and child mortality, formerly 270 per thousand, has been cut in half. It cannot be denied that public education has made gigantic strides forward. Instead of the 70 per cent illiteracy which prevailed before the revolution, ninety out of every 100 inhabitants of the Soviet Union are now able to read; and instead of 8,000,000 there are now 26,000,000 children attending primary and intermediate schools.

Nor can it be denied that the government of the Soviet Union gives special attention to the development of science and technique, and, further, to the development of the most advanced ideas in these spheres. An eloquent example of this is the tremendous growth of scientific research institutes—there are now hundreds of such institutes, employing some 35,000 scientific workers; there are several hundred colleges and higher technical schools with 500,000 students; over 2,000,000 students in our workers' faculties, technical high schools, and factory and shop schools. Hence the development of Soviet science and art has already made valuable contributions to the advance of mankind.

It cannot be denied that the Soviet Union has solved the question of nationalities within its borders in the most satisfactory way possible. It is enough to say that with 182 different nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union, one never hears of any nationalist friction or conflicts. That the significance of these achievements should be still more clear, I would ask you to remember the anti-Jewish pogroms in Tsarist Russia or the incessant strife and even mutual extermination of Armenians, Georgians and Tartars in Transcaucasia.

All nationalities enjoy in the Soviet Union complete cultural autonomy, complete freedom to use their native language, literature and customs. All nationalities are guaranteed real and complete equality of rights not only by the Constitution and in theory, but in practice as well, and there is no high government office not accessible to a representative of any race whatever.

Least of all can it be denied that the Soviet Union during its sixteen-year history has remained steadfastly true to the principle of peace proclaimed in the days of the October revolution.

This principle has enabled us to conclude with all our neighbors, including those who withdrew from the former Tsarist Empire, peace treaties fully satisfying their national aspirations and also representing, by the way, the only consistent and intelligent embodiment of the idea of self-determination of peoples set forth in the message of President Wilson. I challenge anyone to find in our literature or in our periodical press anything whatsoever in any degree approaching propaganda of narrow nationalism, chauvinism or consideration of the question of acquiring any territory whatever beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union, or to find in our school text-books any attempts whatsoever to train our young people in a spirit of hatred against other peoples.

Our adherence to the Kellogg-Briand pact, the conclusion by us of pacts of non-aggression and pacts defining aggression and, finally, our proposal for complete and universal disarmament are sufficiently eloquent evidence of the policy of peace which our government has ceaselessly carried on and will continue to carry on. Speaking of disarmament, I permit myself to say here that the failure of the Geneva Conference has still more strengthened us in the conviction that the only possible method of disarmament which would be not only effective, but also practical and easily carried out is complete disarmament, the idea of which we shall continue to put forward at every convenient opportunity.

After all that I have just said, can there be any question of the gain to both our countries from the restoration of economic cooperation between them, from the opening up of possibilities to use their respective resources in this sphere? Can the question arise as to whether or not the cultural collaboration of the scientists and artists of our two great countries will bear rich fruit for the benefit of humanity? What is still more important, can any question now arise as to whether both the United States and the Soviet Union will benefit from the joining of their efforts in the cause so important to both of them—the great work of preserving peace? Who can doubt that the combined voices of these two giants will make themselves heard and that their joint efforts will weight the scales in favor of peace?

I hope that in my attempt to answer the question as to the possible gains of the restoration of relations between our countries I have not indulged in excessive praise of my own country, and that, in any case, I have not transgressed the limits permitted by my agreement with President Roosevelt regarding propaganda. Sixteen years of estrangement—that is a long historical period. During that time many things in my country have changed beyond recognition, and so it was necessary to tell you about them here in order to give you some slight idea of the somewhat unusual country with which you have just renewed acquaintance.

In conclusion, permit me to mention some pioneers. The efforts of my eminent friend, Senator Borah, whose absence here I am sure we all regret, for rapprochement and peace, will remain in the memory of the people of my country. The services of the organizer of this meeting, Colonel Cooper, are already inscribed in the geography of the Soviet Union and endure in the concrete of Dnieprostroy. I am also glad to see here tonight one who is probably the oldest friend of the Soviet Union in America—Colonel Robins. I desire also to thank all the other friends of my country who are present here tonight—while I rejoice in their number, I regret that it does not permit me to mention all their names. Permit me, finally, once again to thank the representatives of the press, whose work during these weeks I have not always been able to make as easy as I should have liked, and who, understanding this, have good-humoredly given us their support to the end. And in conclusion, permit me to express my conviction, made still firmer by your hospitality, that the friendship and cooperation of our countries may in the future only strengthen and develop along new ways, to the great benefit of our peoples and the consolidation of universal peace.

Sovfoto

Grain elevator in construction—Tashkent

Editorial Comments from the Soviet Press

Izvestia

November 20

THE establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. has great practical significance for the solution of the questions with which the whole world is now faced. It creates a legal base for the economic relations of the two countries which must inevitably lead to the extension and development of these relations. It creates a diplomatic instrument for the exchange of opinions, for coordinated action in all political questions in which both powers have an interest.

The Soviet Government and the people of our country have bent every effort toward rapprochement with the United States. The reason for this has been our policy of peace—our day-to-day struggle for the maintenance of peace. Cooperation with the United States has been regarded as unquestionably one of the most effective means for guaranteeing peace. From this point of view the fact of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. must be regarded as an outstanding victory for our policy of peace. In addition, the people of the Soviet Union expect a development and extension of business relations between the two countries as a result of the Soviet-American rapprochement. American efficiency is highly rated in the Soviet Union. Back in 1924, in his lectures on the foundations of Leninism, Comrade Stalin took occasion to say to the Russian workers:

". . . American efficiency is that indomitable power which acknowledges no barriers, which sweeps away each and every obstacle, which completes everything once started, no matter how seemingly insignificant—and without this quality serious constructive work is unthinkable."

The President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinoff, have accomplished an act that will unquestionably strengthen peace and help in the solution of more than one urgent question. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. will develop on the basis of mutual advantage, mutual respect, without either interfering in the internal affairs of the other, and on the basis of both sides pursuing independent policies.

Pravda

November 19

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of first recognition of the Soviet government by the capitalist world, we note a new and great victory in our government's policy of peace—the establishment of normal relations with the United States.

It is no secret that at the present time the peace of the world is menaced by certain imperialist powers who are determined to settle their internal affairs at the expense of the resources and territory of other nations. The failure of the disarmament conference, ominous portents in the East and West, the race for armaments among the capitalists nations, indicate that indescribable hardships are in store for toiling humanity. Under these circumstances the new victory of our policy of peace—the establishment of normal relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R., takes on a special significance.

The workers of the U.S.S.R. warmly hail this new victory of peace.

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn

November 20

It is well known that there has been extremely widespread interest in the Soviet Union in the United States. Probably more books devoted to the Soviet Union and its construction work have been published in the United States than in any other country. On the other hand, American science and technique have won the greatest respect in the U.S.S.R. There is no doubt that the vast construction work going on in the Soviet Union opens extensive opportunities for fruitful and varied technical collaboration between the two countries.

It is to be expected that the establishment of real friendly relations and peaceful cooperation of these two great republics will help all those elements sincerely working in the cause of peace.

Za Industrializatsiu

November 20

From now on, in any international situation, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. may consider all those international problems which are of interest to both countries, in an amicable spirit, and coordinate their efforts to prevent international complications.

The necessary atmosphere for this is already in process of being created—this is clearly evidenced by the evolution of public opinion in the United States in its response to Soviet-American rapprochement. As regards Soviet opinion about America, that was fully stated by Litvinoff in his statement to representatives of the American press.

Today the papers *Za Industrializatsiu* and *Technika* are printing the opinions of a number of leaders in our national economy on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United

States. These statements are the best possible illustrations to Litvinoff's words. Not only do they express the feeling of satisfaction shared by the entire Soviet public, they also have a practical significance. These men are the leaders of our largest enterprises, builders of our industrial giants, scientists, engineers, technicians, workers in our foreign trade organizations. Many of them are well acquainted in American business circles. These statements taken together give the rough outlines of an extensive program of Soviet-American cooperation.

How much can be accomplished by the two greatest countries in the world, now that they have entered upon a course of recognizing the fact of the co-existence of two systems, of mutual non-interference in internal affairs and a common striving for peace!

The U.S.S.R. in World Economy

DURING the period of the first five-year plan the Soviet Union progressed in rank as regards industrial output from fifth to second place among the nations of the world, and its share in total world output increased from 4.9 to 17.5 per cent. This was in part due to the continuous and rapid advance of Soviet economy under the plan, and in part to the decline in industrial production in other countries.

The place which the Soviet Union now occupies in world and in European production of basic industries, as compared with 1928 and 1913, is shown in the following table:

	1913	1928	1932 World	1932 Europe
Electric power	15	10	6	4
Coal	6	6	4	3
Oil	2	3	2	1
Peat	....	....	1	1
Pig iron	5	6	2	1
Steel	....	5	2	1
Industrial machinery	4	4	2	1
Agricultural machinery	....	4	1	1
Tractors	....	4	1	1
Automobiles	....	12	6	4
Chemical industry	....	8	4	3
Total industrial output	....	5	2	1

The share of Soviet output of some of these products in total world output (excluding the U.S.S.R.), and the ratio of Soviet output to that of the United States in 1928 and 1932 is given below:

Soviet output in per cent to total world (except U. S.)

			United States	
	1928	1932	1928	1932
Coal	3.1	8.2	6.9	20.0
Oil	7.7	16.5	9.6	20.8
Pig iron	4.2	22.6	8.9	70.5
Steel	4.2	14.8	8.4	44.4
Machinery, total	4.2	27.0	7.0	58.0
Agricultural machinery	....	.....	28.0	194.0*
Tractors	....	.....	0.8	70.9*

* 1932 for the U. S. S. R.; 1931 for the U. S.

The Soviet Union in 1932 ranked sixth in output of electric power. As regards the amount of power produced, it still lags far behind the other leading industrial countries, but its annual rate of increase is much higher, ranging in recent years from 25 to 30 per cent. On the basis of this rapid increase in output, the U.S.S.R. has made marked progress in the electrification of industry. The coefficient of industry amounted to 71 per cent in 1932, as against 40 per cent in 1913 and 51 per cent in 1928. In this respect the Soviet Union is exceeded only by the United States, where the corresponding coefficient is about 75.

The Soviet Union ranks high in output of fuel. With its immense peat bogs it has easily held first place in peat production, and has gained a foremost position as regards coal and oil. With respect to coal production the U.S.S.R. rose from sixth place in 1928 to fourth place in 1932, coming after the United States, Great Britain and Germany. In 1931 the Soviet Union reached second place in oil production, supplanting Venezuela. Soviet production exceeded that in Venezuela by over one-third both in 1931 and 1932. While in 1928 output in the United States of coal was fifteen times and of oil eleven times that of the U.S.S.R., in 1932 it was only about five times in the case of both coal and oil.

In 1932 the Soviet Union occupied second place in the world and first place in Europe with respect to the output of both pig iron and steel. This contrasts with the situation in 1928, when it held sixth place for pig iron and fifth for steel and when output in Great Britain was over twice, in France and Germany more than three times, and in the United States nearly twelve times Soviet production. In 1932 Soviet output exceeded that of France by 13 per cent, of Germany and Great Britain by over 50 per cent, and equalled nearly three-fourths of that of the United States.

With respect to machinery production the Soviet Union rose from fourth place in 1928 to second in 1932, and for tractors, combines, and agricultural machinery as a whole to first rank. Total output of machinery in 1932 was nearly four times the 1928 figure, and for agricultural

machinery and electrical equipment, five times. In spite of this rapid expansion of domestic output the Soviet Union has held first rank as an importer of machinery, and will continue to be one of the world's best customers for industrial machinery for a considerable period to come.

The share of the U.S.S.R. in total world imports increased from 1.3 per cent in 1929 to 2.8 per cent in 1931, and in total world exports from 1.5 per cent in 1929 to 2.2 per cent in 1931. In 1932 its share in total world trade amounted to 2.5 per cent, as compared with 15 per cent for Great Britain and 11 per cent for the United States. The Soviet Union with its 165 millions of population and its expanding industry and agriculture, could, with satisfactory credit facilities, absorb a much larger share of world imports, and, with its abundant supplies of natural resources, could easily contribute a greater share of world exports.

The exports of the Soviet Union have consisted principally of raw materials, industrial and agricultural, for some of which it ranks high among the world's exports. It holds first place as an exporter of timber and manganese, supplying over half the world total of the latter, and is a leading exporter of furs, fish, oil, and wheat. While its share of world exports of most of these commodities is equal to or in excess of the pre-war figure, for wheat the percentage has been cut in two. Thus, in 1913 Russian exports of wheat constituted 25 per cent of total world exports; in 1930, a bumper crop year, Soviet wheat exports made up only 15 per cent of the world total. This is due to the fact that a much larger amount is now allocated to domestic consumption.

The Soviet Union has the largest grain and wheat area and the largest total agricultural output of any country in the world. It is among the three leading producers of grain, flax, sugar beets, cotton, and tobacco. Its agriculture, formerly employing the most primitive methods of cultivation, now holds the foremost place as regards large-scale, mechanized production.

Not only in industry and agriculture but also in transportation the U.S.S.R. has won high rank among the nations of the world. It ranks second after the United States, in the length of air and railway lines and in railway freight operations. Passenger operation on Soviet railways in 1932 totaled 84 billion passenger kilometers, more than triple the pre-war figure (25.2 billion) and close to 2.5 times the 1932 level in the United States (35.3 billion). The Soviet Union thus attained first place in the world as regards railway passenger operations, while the density of its passenger traffic (passenger-kilometers per kilometer) is several times as great as that of the United States. With respect to average density of freight traffic the U.S.S.R. likewise ranks first. Nevertheless, transportation is one of the weak spots in Soviet economy, for it is still unable to cope with the increasingly heavy demands of industry and agriculture.

Children's Publishing House Established

THE campaign inaugurated last year to improve the quality of children's books is already bearing fruit. Following Maxim Gorky's suggestion that a publishing house be established devoted exclusively to the publication of books for children, Dietgiz (State Children's Publishing House) has recently been established in connection with Gosizdat, and henceforth the publishing of all children's literature is to be concentrated in this establishment.

In the decree of the central committee of the party providing for the establishment of Dietgiz, it is proposed that one of the first tasks to be undertaken shall be the republication of the best of the world's literature for children. As examples, "Robinson Crusoe," "Gulliver's Travels," and the books of Jules Verne are specifically mentioned.

A series of books for Young Pioneers is suggested, a series of a general educational nature, and a series for pure entertainment, especially for very young children — with tales, games, charades, and so on.

The decree urges special attention to improvement of the format of children's books, and asks that attention be paid to the quality rather than mere quantity of output. The foremost Soviet writers, artists and teachers are being called upon to help the new publishing company.

Mr. N. I. Smirnov has been appointed head of the new organization. Writing in *Izvestia* of September 18 about the problems of the new children's publishing house and their connection with general educational problems, he says:

"The generation which is destined to create and live in the society of the future must come to this task prepared and equipped with knowledge. It must have many-colored, many-sided books, in which life is presented from all angles. They must be first of all artistic, understandable, esthetically pleasing, and true to life. The best creative artists available should take part

in the preparation of such books. The crudity, carelessness, formalism, lack of taste and technical defects that have characterized many of the children's books in the past must no longer be permitted."

Smirnov goes on to say that it is a crime of first water against childhood to poison the clear, observant, receptive eyes and mind of a child with awkward, ungainly, tasteless things. He suggests that some of those pedologists who consider it possible to "embrace the infinite" should limit themselves to a more simple question—that of getting rid of all books not suitable to the child's perception, rather than setting for themselves the grandiose task of teaching children from all points of view and during every minute of their existence, which only leads in the end to giving nothing at all to either children or adults, and simply diffuses the child's acute perceptions into abstract forms. He further points out that the age of the children served by the new publishing company is from pre-school age to fifteen—which means that it will have a large share of responsibility for the training of human beings during the best years of life.

This means, says Smirnov, that the children must be first of all taught to know their own country, with all its natural riches, its mighty forests and steppes, rivers and mountains, its great variety of fauna and flora. There must be histories of the U.S.S.R., and histories of the countries of the west and the east, depicting the struggles of the peoples throughout the centuries — their sufferings, wars, victories and progress.

"History as a science," he continues, "must be the cornerstone of all our books for older children. Only with a knowledge of history is it possible to become a cultured person. . . . To impart a knowledge of the past—not a passive, indifferent knowledge, but a passionate, fiery, critical knowledge of human history—is the first problem in the teaching of the new generation."

Smirnov then urges that special attention be devoted to purity of language in all literature for children—a matter in which some of the Soviet children's books in the past have seriously offended. He urges, too, far greater attention to the classics than has been the case in the past. One-volume collections must be published, according to Smirnov, of the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Tiutchev, Polonsky, Melshin, Belinsky, Dobrolinbov and Nekrassov, and several volume collections of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Gorky, Mamin-Sibiriak, Kuprin, and others. Of the foreign classics he mentions, among others, Shakespeare, Moliere, Calderon, Lope-de-Vega, Dante, Hugo, deMusset, Goethe, Heine, Schiller, and Plutarch.

The children's editions of the classics, he says, must of course be accompanied by commentaries analyzing the social and political aspects of the epoch represented.

Smirnov suggests that the children's publishing house experiment with the publication of a small illustrated weekly newspaper for children. In conclusion the new head of Dietgiz writes:

"The work of the children's publishing house in the sphere of providing a critical understanding of the past must be in the direction of stimulating in children and young people an interest in the study of foreign languages and of the different cultures of other nationalities. . . . All-round education and the development of taste should be closely connected. There should be established in the Dietizdat sections on art, sculpture, architecture, music, the theater, not merely with a view of reproducing the work of artists in these fields, but practical materials should be provided for the children to use themselves in drawing, modelling and building, in connection with the literary and pictorial material.

"All material means which can be used to stimulate the creative activity of children and to prevent the development of dull and trite associations, should be used by the children's publishing house.

"It is difficult to foresee all the various types of publications which will be put out by Dietizdat, since many of them will develop in practice, in the creative work of the whole collective. We are attempting here merely to give a rough outline of the type of work that will be done by the children's publishing company, and of its responsibility in the training of the new human being, the worker in a classless society."

Soviet-American Archeological Expedition

Prof. Eugene A. Golomshtok, the American archeologist, returned to Leningrad in September with material gathered by the joint Soviet-American archeological expedition to the Crimea, organized by the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Leningrad Academy for the History of Material Culture. Prof. F. L. Schmidt of the Academy headed the expedition, which set out in mid-August, and has already made extensive excavations in Esski-Kermen, in the Bakhchisarai district of the Crimea.

The main interest of the expedition was centered on the ruined fortress of Esski-Kermen which is situated on the top of a large plateau and which is believed to have been built by Byzantine engineers as protection against the raids of neighboring nomadic tribes. The main roadway to the gates of the fortress has been cleaned out and excavations are being continued in the fortress itself. Thirty-three catacombs, dating from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D., were uncovered on the slopes of the fortress, and a number of communal burial chambers cut out of

solid rock were discovered in the fortress itself, containing bones redeposited from previous interments.

Three complete unbroken skulls, the first to be found in the region, were found in the excavation of four large "dolmen" and eight cist burials. One large burial was brought back complete in block.

The builders of these stone caves, who have been called Tavers from the ancient name of Crimea, Tauride, have formerly been identified only by their "dolmen" burials, but Professor Golomshtok believes that a whole settlement has been located which will yield far more information than has heretofore been known about these people.

Evidence has been established of migrations of five successive peoples in the Crimea, the most famous of them being the Scythians, many of whose beautiful gold and bronze ornaments have been preserved in widely distributed burials.

Professor Golomshtok expressed himself as well satisfied with the results of the expedition, and predicted that it would lead to further important scientific collaboration between Soviet and American institutions.

Foreign Miscellany

Sovfoto

The new British Ambassador Lord Chilston presents his credentials to the Soviet President. Left to right, Lord Chilston, Mikhail Kalinin, Nikolay Krestinsky, Acting Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs

SOVIET DELEGATION RETURNS FROM VISIT TO TURKEY

The official Soviet delegation which visited Turkey to participate in the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic, landed in Odessa on November 22 on its return trip, accompanied by a group of Turkish officials who travelled with the delegation as far as Odessa. Over 200,000 persons participated in the demonstration greeting their return, and Voroshilov, Soviet Commissar for the Army and Navy, who headed the delegation, gave an enthusiastic report of the warm welcome received in Turkey from government officials and the Turkish people. Other members of the Soviet delegation included L. M. Karakhan, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Andrey Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education; General Budenny, Red Army Cavalry Inspector and G. M. Krzhizhanovsy, Vice Commissar for Education. Hussein Rahib Bey, Turkish Ambassador to Moscow, and the Soviet Ambassador to Turkey, I. Z. Suritz, also accompanied the delegation. Another warm welcome was given the party on its arrival in Moscow November 14. On the anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic, October 28, the Moscow *Izvestia* printed an editorial which said, in part, as follows:

> Soviet-Turkish friendship is not a result of diplomatic combinations or temporary political considerations. It arose historically in the process of the struggles of both peoples for an independent existence and for the right to build up their lives in their own way. Soviet-Turkish friendship has strengthened on the basis of community of interests in a number of most important questions of international import. As far back as 1919 and 1920, the revolutionary government in Anatolia, headed by Mustapha Kemal, established connections with the government of Soviet Russia. In the autumn of 1920 the first Soviet mission, headed by Natsarenus, visited Turkey, and almost at the same time a Turkish mission, headed by Yusuf Kemal, arrived in Moscow. In March, 1921, the Soviet-Turkish treaty was signed in Moscow, laying a foundation for friendship and collaboration between the two countries.
>
> The development and strengthening of Soviet-Turkish friendly relations, the policy of both countries in the direction of eliminating the possibility of international conflicts, have been an appreciable factor for peace in Eastern Europe. The Soviet-Turkish pact of December 17, 1925, on non-aggression, neutrality and non-participation in hostile groupings, marked a new era in the practice of international relations. The Soviet-Turkish protocols of December, 1929, and of October, 1931, the naval protocol of March, 1931, were further steps in the development of cooperation between the two countries and their policy of peace. The Soviet-Turkish pact of 1925 was an example for similar pacts concluded with other countries having as their aim the creation of guarantees against hostile groupings and the dangers of air attacks. The last important step in the peaceful policy of both countries was the signing on July 3 and 4 of this year of the London conventions defining aggression.

SOVIET-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS

The Afghan Ambassador to Moscow, Abdul Hussein Khan Azis, on November 14, handed to Acting People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs N. N. Krestinsky, a telegram from the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs advising him of the enthronement of King Mohammed Zahir and assuring the Government of the U.S.S.R. of the desire of the Government of Afghanistan to maintain and consolidate friendly relations with the U.S.S.R.

In a reply addressed to the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, N. N. Krestinsky declared that the U.S.S.R., on its part, is prepared to further, in the future, the consolidation of friendly relations between the two states in the interests of their peaceful development.

LONDON PACT DEFINING AGGRESSION ENTERS INTO FORCE

On October 16 the documents ratifying the pact defining aggression concluded in London July 3 between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan, Esthonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania and Turkey, and adhered to on July 22 by Finland, were delivered to the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) on behalf of the Polish and Rumanian Governments. On October 20 ratification documents were deposited with the Narkomindel on behalf of Afghanistan, and on November 16 ratification documents were presented on behalf of the Persian Government. As each country deposits its ratification documents, the pact enters into force between that country and other countries which have deposited their ratification documents. Thus on November 16 the pact was in force between the following countries: the U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, Afghanistan and Persia.

The pact defining aggression was ratified by the Latvian Diet on November 14 and by the Finnish Diet on November 17.

ALEXANDER TROYANOVSKY

Alexander Antonovich Troyanovsky, whose appointment as Plenipotentiary Representative of the U.S.S.R. to the United States was announced on November 19, was born in Tula, famous industrial town of central Russia, in 1882. He attended a military academy and later studied in the physical-mathematical faculty of the University of Kiev.

In 1902, as a young graduate, Troyanovsky joined the revolutionary movement against Tsarism and in 1904 he became a member of the Social Democratic Party. In 1909 he was sentenced to exile in Siberia and the following year he escaped abroad. Until 1917 he lived in France, engaged mainly in literary work. In 1917 he returned to Soviet Russia and saw active service in the revolutionary army. In 1918 he was made assistant chief of the archive department. He later became an official in the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

From 1923 to the end of 1927 he served as President of the Board of Directors of the State Trading Corporation, Gostorg, and at the same time served as a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. These two posts made his position one of great economic importance.

At the close of 1927, Mr. Troyanovsky was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Japan, a post which he held for five years. In January, 1933, he returned to Moscow to assume the post of vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan). He has held that office up to the present time.

SOVIET SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow has issued the first four volumes in a series of "Collection of Documents on International Policy and International Law" (Sborniki Dokumentov) under the editorship of K. V. Antonov. Volumes one to three were published in 1932, the fourth in 1933. The first deals with disarmament, the second with Pan-European, agrarian conferences and regional agreements; the third with the Sino-Japanese conflict, the Hoover arms reduction plan and reparations problem, activities of the League of Nations, and international legal and economic questions; and the fourth with the Lausanne Agreement, Geneva Disarmament Conference, recognition of Manchukuo and the Memel conflict of 1932.

Further volumes will appear periodically and as with the first four, will contain only documentary material of a purely informative nature. Multi-lateral and bi-lateral treaties, conventions, agreements and acts, surveys of League activities and of other international organizations, exchange of notes and bibliographical material will appear in the Sborniki. In those cases where material on a special question is sufficiently extensive, a separate volume will be devoted to it, as was done with disarmament.

NEW BRITISH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS

On November 6 Lord Chilston, new Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, presented his credentials to Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

On November 16, Herr Nadolny, new Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Germany, arrived in Moscow and was met at the station by Mr. Florinsky, head of the protocol department of the Narkomindel and the staff of the German embassy, headed by the Chargé d'Affaires, Herr von Twardowsky.