

# SOVIET UNION REVIEW



Soviet  
Ambassador  
Arrives  
In  
Washington

*Acme Photo*



TROYANOVSKY ARRIVES

BULLITT IN MOSCOW

LITVINOFF VISITS ITALY

CALENDAR FOR 1933

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

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# SOVIET UNION REVIEW

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Troyanovsky Arrives .....	2	Krylenko on Soviet Law .....	18
Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow .....	4	Decree on Far Eastern Colonizers .....	19
Litvinoff in Italy .....	6	Foreign Miscellany:	
Italian-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty .....	8	Convention Defining Aggression .....	20
Molotov on International Situation .....	9	New Soviet-Latvian Trade Agreement .....	20
Agriculture and Industry Forge Ahead .....	10	Soviet-Italian Trade Treaty .....	20
Soviet Cultural Progress .....	12	Calendar of Events .....	21
16 Years of Geological Exploration .....	15	Death of Lunacharsky .....	23
Some Results of the Stratostat Flight .....	17		

## Troyanovsky Arrives

ALEXANDER A. TROYANOVSKY, first Soviet Ambassador to the United States, arrived in this country on the liner Washington January 7. He was met at Quarantine by representatives of the protocol division of the State Department. Mr. Troyanovsky went direct from the pier to the train. Arriving at Washington, he was met at the station by Jefferson Patterson of the protocol division of the State Department and Robert H. Kelley of the Eastern European Division. Mr. Patterson escorted him to the temporary embassy at 1637 Massachusetts Avenue.

Mr. Troyanovsky was accompanied from Moscow by three assistants: Gregory Gokhman, Second Secretary of the Embassy; Vassily Kotov, Assistant of the Embassy; Peter Khrisanfov, Attaché.

The day following his arrival, January 8, Mr. Troyanovsky went to the White House and presented his credentials to President Roosevelt. On presenting his letters of credence, he spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, I have the honor to present to you the Letters which accredit me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Government of the United States of America. At the same time I have the honor and pleasure to transmit to you on behalf of the President of the Central Ex-

ecutive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and on behalf of the Government and the people of my country the warmest personal greetings and the sincerest expression of friendship and the best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your great country.

"In a world that has gone through the intense post-war period, a period of concentrated historical events, in a world so much in need of real peace and good will among nations, in a world that has substantial reasons for disappointment with the seemingly endless and so far fruitless talks about peace and disarmament—the very fact of cooperation and friendship between two such great and powerful nations as the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics must inevitably be of great historical significance and of direct far-reaching moment in the cause of world peace.

"It is my Government's and my own sincerest desire and intention to do everything possible for the realization of the wish expressed by you 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.

"There is among the people of my country a most natural feeling of sympathy, respect and ad-

miration for your great country which they associate with high technical and scientific progress and which they regard as an immense creative force. The cooperation, therefore, of the one hundred and twenty-five million people of your country with the one hundred and seventy million of our own vast country, must of necessity be a boon to the general progress of humanity.

"I therefore trust, Mr. President, that the new era of normal and friendly relations between our peoples may contribute fundamentally to the development of the widest cooperation in the most varied fields of human endeavor, but first and foremost to the cause of the peace of the world. On behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, let me assure you that it is determined to continue most consistently and unswervingly that policy of peace of which it has given ample proof on every occasion since its establishment.

"On entering upon my mission here, I shall consider it my highest task to do everything in my power towards the creation of the closest bonds of cooperation and friendship between our two nations."

Responding to the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador, the President said:

"Mr. Ambassador, I am very happy to receive the Letters accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to welcome you in that capacity.

"The foundation has now been laid for the development of genuinely friendly relations and close cooperation between the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It will be your privilege and mine to work together in the task of building upon that foundation a permanent structure of friendship and collaboration.

"A deep love of peace is the common heritage of the people of both our countries and I fully agree with you that the cooperation of our great nations will inevitably be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace. The successful accomplishment of this mutual task will be of immediate and lasting benefit not only to the peoples of our countries but to all peace-loving peoples everywhere.

"I welcome you personally, Mr. Ambassador, with especial satisfaction. On more than one occasion during recent years you have shown your friendliness for the American people. This has not been unnoted or unappreciated by the Government of the United States and I consider it most auspicious that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should have selected as its first Ambassador to this country not only one of its most distinguished citizens but also one whose friendly feelings for this country are well known.

"You may be assured, Mr. Ambassador, of re-

ciprocally friendly feelings towards you on the part of the American Government and people. Members and officials of this Government will do all in their power to cooperate with you and will be glad to lend you every assistance that may contribute to the accomplishment of your mission, the success of which is greatly desired by my own as well as your Government.

"I trust that you will inform His Excellency, the President of the Central Executive Committee, the Government, and the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that their kind messages of good will are deeply appreciated and that I send in return sincere wishes for their peaceful progress and happiness."

### THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR RECEIVES THE PRESS

On the afternoon of January 10, Ambassador Troyanovsky received representatives of the press at the temporary embassy, and made the following statement:

"I am very glad to be here in Washington. I hope while here to cement the friendly relations between the two countries which got such an excellent start during the recent visit of Commissar Litvinoff. I hope to assist in establishing the trade relations between the two countries on a solid and mutually profitable basis. I hope to extend the cooperation of my Government in every effort to support and strengthen the machinery of peace.

"I am confident that we shall find, now that diplomatic relations have been established and our two countries can get a first-hand look at



*Troyanovsky leaving White House after presenting credentials to President Roosevelt. Left to right, after the military aide, Peter Khrisanfov, Attache of Soviet Embassy, Boris Skvirsky, Counsellor, Ambassador Troyanovsky and Richard Southgate of the State Department.*

each other, that we have many points of similarity and many interests in common.

"Like the United States, the U.S.S.R. is a country of great distances, of rich and multiform natural resources. Our physical problems are in many respects similar to yours. We approached our problems of developing our resources later than you, and we have availed ourselves and will continue to avail ourselves of American technical skill and of American machinery. We have found that generally speaking of all foreign technical men Americans are best equipped to give advice on our development projects and American type machinery is in most cases best adapted to our needs. In this respect we have the basis for a steady and profitable commercial development.

"I have had the honor to be appointed by my Government as its first Ambassador to the United States. In this capacity I shall strive to accomplish—I am convinced in accord with the Govern-

ment of the United States—the settlement of the most important problem of the present day: the maintaining of world peace. We cannot only dream of peace or talk of it; we must do something for it, be active for it, struggle for it.

"I hope that our great countries will contribute positively to the promotion of the peace of the world which is so ardently desired by the vast majority of mankind.

"In addition it will be my duty to eliminate all possible difficulties and misunderstandings which may have remained in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States after sixteen years of separation. I hope to do my best in order to stimulate the spirit of collaboration and mutual friendliness and understanding between our peoples. I depend upon American public opinion and especially upon the American press in my conviction of the bright future of American-Soviet relations."

## Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow

WILLIAM C. BULLITT, American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, arrived in Moscow on December 11 on a preliminary visit to present his credentials and make arrangements about establishing the American Embassy. Mr. Bullitt was welcomed at the station by a large group of officials from the Soviet Foreign Office, including Alexander Troyanovsky, first Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Ivan Divilkovsky, General Secretary of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, who welcomed him on behalf of Maxim M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Dmitri Florinsky, Chief of Protocol of the Foreign Commissariat, and representatives of the press. On the day of his arrival Mr. Bullitt paid a call on Commissar Litvinoff and later inspected the house offered as an Embassy, accompanied by Keith Merrill of the Foreign buildings office of the State Department of the United States who traveled with Mr. Bullitt to the Soviet Union.

On December 13 Ambassador Bullitt presented his credentials to Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., who received him in the Kremlin. In presenting his credentials Mr. Bullitt made the following speech:

### Speech of Ambassador Bullitt

"Mr. President, I have the honor to place in your hands the letters which accredit me as the first Ambassador of the United States of America to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socia-

list Republics. I am charged by the President at the same time to convey to you his cordial and friendly greetings as well as his earnest hope for the welfare and prosperity of your great country.

"I do not come to your country as a stranger. My profound interest in it has existed for many years and I come with a deep conviction of the importance and historic significance of my mission.

"That mission, Mr. President, is to create not merely normal but genuinely friendly relations between our two great peoples who for so many years were bound to each other by a tradition of friendship. The firm establishment of world peace is the deep desire of both our peoples and the close collaboration of our governments in the task of preserving peace will draw our peoples together. Bound by the tie of their mutual desire for peace, our peoples will find many other fields for fruitful cooperation. Today each of our nations in its own manner is seeking with the same indomitable will and limitless energy, but by different methods, to promote the welfare of its people. This simultaneous effort, rather than a source of conflict, offers an opportunity for creative collaboration. Finally, our peoples are surely bound by the bond of a common youthful energy, a readiness to seek new ways to solve new problems and a courage to face the future unafraid.

"Mr. President, in entering upon my mission, I wish to associate myself with the personal wishes I have expressed to you on behalf of the President

of the United States, as well as with his wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I pledge you every effort within my powers to forge strong and enduring ties between our countries."

#### President Kalinin's Reply

In reply President Kalinin said:

"Mr. Ambassador, I have the honor to receive from you the letters which accredit you as the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I am sincerely moved by the cordial and friendly greetings which you have conveyed to me from your President. On my part I beg you to convey my sincerest and most friendly greetings and wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your great country.

"The outstanding role which you personally, Mr. Ambassador, have played in the matter of mutual rapprochement of our two countries is well known to the wide public of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the very fact, therefore, that it was precisely you who were chosen by the President of the United States as the first Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in itself is considered by us as an act of friendship.

"I was always deeply convinced that as soon as the artificial barriers in the way of establishing cooperation between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the American people were removed, such cooperation would assume the widest and most varied forms and that with good will and mutual respect on both sides, the difference in sociopolitical systems existing in the two countries need not at all be an obstacle thereto.

"I fully share your conviction that between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the American people there can and should exist not only normal but genuinely friendly relations. I wish to assure you that on its part the Soviet Government is filled with the firm determination to help develop and strengthen precisely such relations. The best foundation for such sincerely friendly relations and for their full development is the unswerving will for the maintaining and consolidation of peace which inspires both the peoples of the Soviet Union and the American people.

"I thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for the cordial wishes expressed by you to the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics and to me personally. I assure you that in the realization of those high tasks in which you rightly see the important historic significance of your mission, you will always meet with the fullest and most active cooperation on my part and on the part of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Following the presentation of credentials the United States Ambassador held a reception for the Soviet and foreign press in his suite at the National Hotel. He told the newspapermen that he would return to the United States in a few days and was planning to be back in Moscow early in February with the full embassy and consular staffs.

During his stay in Moscow Mr. Bullitt called upon the leading Soviet officials and exchanged calls with the heads of the diplomatic missions of other countries in Moscow. He left for the United States on December 21.

#### Izvestia Editorial

In connection with the presentation of credentials by Mr. William C. Bullitt, the Moscow *Izvestia* of December 14 published the following editorial:

"The presentation of credentials by the Ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. William C. Bullitt, to Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., marks the beginning of normal diplomatic relations between the United States and our country. The fact that diplomatic relations have been established between the United States and the U.S.S.R.



*Sovfoto*

Ambassador Bullitt presents his credentials. Left to right, Joseph Flack, Secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin, E. V. Rubinin of the Narkomindel, A. S. Yenukidze, Secretary of TSIK, Ambassador Bullitt, Mikhail Kalinin, Maxim Litvinoff.

is in itself a political fact of the utmost importance. The first American Ambassador accredited to the Soviet Government, correctly estimated the historical significance of this fact in pointing out that the mission of the American representative 'is to create not merely normal, but genuinely friendly relations between our two great peoples.' Diplomatic relations may also exist between governments whose interests are deeply contradictory, up to the moment when the contradictions dividing them burst the shell of the official relations. And if the Soviet Union had established merely normal relations with the United States, then the act of recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States would not have been of such historical importance.

"In putting forward as his aim the creation of really friendly relations, Mr. Bullitt indicated at the same time the basis on which the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States must develop. This basis is 'the firm establishment of world peace,' which 'is the deep desire of both our peoples.' William C. Bullitt has indeed the right to say of himself that he has come to our country not as a stranger, but as one who has demonstrated his friendly attitude to the people of the Soviet Union. In urging the 'close collaboration of our governments in the task of preserving peace' as the central problem, William C. Bullitt has once again proved his understanding of the spirit animating the people of the U.S.S.R. The masses of the people throughout the world and particularly the people of the Soviet Union are filled with hatred of war, of the idea of the extermination of new millions of men. There is no better basis for the rapprochement of peoples than the mutual effort to preserve peace. The people of the Soviet Union welcomed the appointment of William C. Bullitt as Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. as a proof that the Government of the United States desired to cooperate with the Soviet Government for the maintenance of peace. If William Bullitt succeeds in furthering this aim—and we are convinced that he will succeed—then history will justify the confidence expressed

by him in the importance and historical significance of the mission entrusted to him.

"The American Ambassador said that the peoples of the United States and the U.S.S.R. 'are surely bound by the bond of a common youthful energy, a readiness to seek new ways to solve new problems and a courage to face the future unafraid.' This common spirit animating both peoples, will help to strengthen and to deepen the relations between the two countries and create a basis for successful joint economic work. The cultural growth of the Soviet Union creates tremendous requirements, both material and intellectual. The participation of the United States in satisfying these requirements makes the relation between these two people most valuable for the general population of both countries.

"The struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace, for the economic collaboration of two great countries—that is a task which is worth undertaking with the greatest energy and conviction and the fulfillment of which will make out of the diplomatic mission of Mr. Bullitt a new chapter in the history of the relations of the two great peoples. With energy and determination the President of the United States has shown by his actions that he believes in a great future for Soviet-American relations. Ambassador William Bullitt, pioneer in Soviet-American relations, chosen by President Roosevelt to carry out the mission of strengthening these relations, has commenced his work with words proving that he holds himself responsible for the great problems which must be resolved in the near future—a period fraught with dangers. The people of the U.S.S.R. wholly support the statement of Comrade Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., in which he assures the American Ambassador of assistance on the part of the Soviet Government in the carrying out of his mission. He can count on such support also from the people of the Soviet Union who see an important guarantee of peace in the strengthening of Soviet-American relations."

## Litvinoff in Italy

ON his return to the Soviet Union after the successful conclusion of his mission to the United States, Maxim M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, spent several days in Italy as the guest of the Italian Government. On December 3, the day following his arrival, he had several conferences with Mussolini and in the evening a dinner was given in Mr. Litvinoff's honor by Mussolini. On the following day Mr. Litvinoff was received by the King of Italy and

conferred with several Italian officials. Before he left Rome the Soviet Foreign Commissar in an interview with the press, made the following statement:

"The purpose of my visit to Rome and the gist of my conversations with the head of the Italian Government have been the subject of all manner of surmises, guesses and speculations on the part of the press. As frequently happens in such cases, the most intricate explanations of my visit



*Sovfoto*

*Litvinoff returns to Moscow—his daughter Tanya on the left and his son Misha on the right.*

were sought, while the most simple ones were neglected.

"In recent times, official meetings between representatives of various states outside of international conferences, have usually had as their aim the changing of the relationships existing between the countries concerned, the forming of new relations, or else the settling of disputes and conflicts and seeking new, frequently risky, forms of cooperation, or even the conclusion of deals the effect of which would be detrimental to a third state. In the case of my meeting with the head of the Italian Government all such aims were excluded.

"My visit here is primarily a sign of the satisfactory character of the relations existing between Italy and the U.S.S.R., relations which we intend neither to alter nor replace by new ones. I am happy to state that throughout the thirteen years of our de facto relations and during the ten years since diplomatic relations were established there have been scarcely any conflicts or disputes between our two states.

"We have mutually benefited from the economic and political cooperation between our two countries. We should like therefore merely to prolong and cement the existing relations and forms of cooperation, and since my visit cannot but help toward this end, its purpose will have been achieved.

"However, apart from the questions which directly involve the interests of the Soviet Union and Italy, there exist a great many problems of an international nature to which neither country can remain impartial. These problems not only multiply but become increasingly complex.

"We have observed how some attempts to solve one or another international problem, by their

very nature frequently raise fresh and more serious problems. It was quite natural that those directing foreign policy in my country and in Italy should desire by personal contact to analyze these problems and exchange opinions regarding the attitude of both governments towards them. That is precisely what occurred during my meetings with Mussolini.

"On the basis of the desire of both countries to preserve universal peace and the necessity of international cooperation for the purpose of eliminating, or at any rate, mitigating the menaces to peace, we have been able, as a result of our conversations, to confirm once more the numerous points on which the policy of our two countries coincides.

"All aspects of international life are approached by the Soviet Government from the standpoint of its basic aim of guaranteeing peace. In considering one or another form of international cooperation or method of solving international problems, my government asks itself primarily how this or that solution will affect the cause of peace and the answer to this question determines the position it will take.

"All that represents a factor in, or a guarantee of peace, the Soviet Government approves or accepts, disregarding all doubtful combinations, rejecting anything that does not strengthen peace.

"On numerous occasions at international gatherings I have frequently had occasion to point out that the 'security of peace' is considered by us as much more important than any other definitions of security. Any country which aspires to the same end and takes the same stand can rely upon sincere cooperation from the Soviet Government.

"The supporters and friends of peace have

therefore no reason to be alarmed by any diplomatic action on the part of the Soviet Government, including the official visits of its representatives.

"On my way to America I had a talk with Paul-Boncour on all international questions. In Washington, immediately upon the establishment of relations with the United States, I had similar conversations with President Roosevelt. The same took place in Rome, where for the first time I met Mussolini. That is why I had a very exhaustive talk with him.

"Each of these meetings, singly or as a whole, served to strengthen not only the relations but the cause of universal peace. For this reason I

can express the fullest satisfaction with my whole trip."

In conclusion Maxim Litvinoff expressed his gratitude for the warm reception accorded him in Italy.

On December 9 Mr. Litvinoff returned to Moscow where he was greeted at the station by members of the collegium and heads of the divisions of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Troyanovsky, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Leo M. Khinchuk, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Germany, the German Ambassador to Moscow, Herr Rudolf Nadolny, the Italian Charge d'Affaires, Signor Berardis, and others.

## Italian-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty

ON December 15, Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Bernard Attolico, the Italian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., exchanged letters of ratification of the treaty of friendship, non-aggression and neutrality concluded between the Soviet Union and Italy in Rome on September 2, 1933.

In an editorial commenting on the Soviet-Italian Pact the Moscow *Izvestia* of December 16 said in part as follows:

"As a result of the exchange of ratification documents yesterday between People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinoff and the Italian Ambassador Attolico, the Soviet-Italian Pact on friendship, non-aggression and neutrality, signed in Rome on September 2, has entered finally into force. Thus a new link has been forged in the chain of bilateral non-aggression pacts which represents one of the chief weapons of the Soviet policy of peace. This fact, as all other achievements of the peaceful policy of the U.S.S.R. will be greeted with deep satisfaction not merely by the Soviet public but by all to whom peace is dear.

"As a result of this policy of striving for peace which the Soviet Union has carried on over a period of years steadfastly and firmly, the Soviet Union has today pacts of non-aggression with all the strongest European powers with the exception only of Great Britain. Anyone able to judge objectively and dispassionately of the development of the events of international life during the past few years must acknowledge that in the excessively strained and highly charged atmosphere that has been created in Europe and throughout the world by the interaction of the most varied contradictions, the Soviet non-aggression pacts are a factor of no little importance in the struggle to maintain peace and serve as an

instructive example of how that struggle should be carried on.

"Naturally the non-aggression pacts are not purely accidental, there can be no question of their arising as unexpected improvisations. The conclusion of non-aggression pacts is of real value only insofar as they have been prepared for beforehand in the development of the relations between the two countries concerned. In this connection it is impossible not to emphasize the fact which we have already frequently pointed out, that for many years the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy have been marked by their lack of friction and their stability, by their normal and unbroken development in the spirit of mutual respect on which the U.S.S.R. invariably bases its relations with capitalist countries: non-interference in each other's internal affairs and economic collaboration.

"This distinguishing feature of Soviet-Italian relations was precisely and emphatically expressed in the statement which People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinoff made to the press during his recent visit to the Italian capital.

"It is not superfluous to point out that the stability and smoothness of Soviet-Italian relations created such favorable prerequisites for economic collaboration between the two countries that trade and other economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy have developed favorably to the advantage of both countries even in the years of sharp reduction of world trade caused by the world economic crisis. The extension of the trade agreement which took place during Mr. Litvinoff's visit to Rome is a demonstration of the stability of the economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy.

"During the many years of normal, friendly Soviet-Italian relations the leading circles of Italy



have had an opportunity to evaluate the Soviet Union not only as a most important factor in international economic relations but as a factor of paramount importance in the struggle for peace. The proof of this was to be seen in the extremely friendly response which the news of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States called forth in Italy. The friendly comments expressed in the Italian press were received with gratification by the Soviet Government as proof that the efforts of the Soviet Union in the direction of maintaining and strengthening peace in international relations were properly evaluated in Italy.

"The final formulation of the Soviet-Italian

pact strengthening the normal relations that exist between the two countries in spite of the radical contradictions in the socio-political systems, is one more reminder to anyone who has not yet understood that the Soviet Union, true to its policy of peace may support and actually does support normal relations with any capitalist state, irrespective of any diversity in the internal political regime, under condition of the strict observance by that state of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs which the Soviet Union observes on its part. This is one of the most useful lessons to be drawn from the history of Soviet-Italian relations during the past thirteen years."

## Molotov on the International Situation

*The fourth session of the TSIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee), opened in the Kremlin on December 28. After a brief opening speech by Mikhail Kalinin, President of the TSIK, Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Sovnarkom, reported on the economic plan for 1934, and in conclusion summed up the international situation of the Soviet Union as follows:*

**T**HIS year has been a year of further strengthening of the international position of the Soviet Union. The facts speak for themselves.

The main achievement of Soviet foreign policy this year was the restoration of relations with the United States of America. The warm reception given Litvinoff in the United States was proof of the extent to which the restoration of these relations answered the growing needs and deep desires of the people of not only the U.S.S.R. but of America.

The restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States took place on the basis of agreements wholly in line with the basis of Soviet foreign policy. The restoration of relations creates a favorable situation for the development of trade and economic connections. And in the present international situation it is particularly important that the restoration of these relations should be a great positive factor in the stabilization of international relations as a whole, in the furtherance of universal peace. . . .

The Government of the U.S.S.R. has set itself the task of increasing its active work for peace in every possible way, in spite of the increasingly aggressive tendencies among the ruling groups of certain countries. We proposed to all countries at the disarmament conference the conclusion of a pact directed against any aggressor nation, against any nation inciting war. The postponement of a decision on that question at the disarmament conference did not prevent us from ourselves signing a pact defining aggression with a large number of neighboring nations: with Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Persia and

Afghanistan. This achievement of Soviet diplomacy is closely associated with the name of Litvinoff whose services are well known, and which should be especially emphasized here.

In its relations with all countries the Soviet Government has consistently pursued its policy of peace and practical collaboration.

An excellent example of this has been the development of our relations with the Turkish Republic. The visit to Turkey on the occasion of her tenth anniversary celebration by an official Soviet delegation headed by Voroshilov and the warmth of the reception given to the delegation in this friendly country, gave evidence of the stability and political importance of Soviet-Turkish relations.

Nor can we but mention the development of new and more favorable factors for business and cultural relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. This we consider of great political importance.

Similarly practical collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and France has proceeded favorably. The visit of a group of outstanding French leaders to the U.S.S.R., the establishment of closer business contacts between the representatives of both countries will help in the further development of this collaboration. We are convinced that our collaboration with France has entered upon a new stage and has a bright future.

Finally, the conclusion with Italy of a pact on non-aggression, neutrality and friendship and the restoration of diplomatic relations with Spain and Uruguay, mark important steps in the relations of the U.S.S.R. with other countries.

On the other hand, there has been a temporary

tension in our relations with England this year. For well-understood reasons the Government of the Soviet Union could not tolerate external attempts at interference in our internal affairs, and held to this position. But the tension which arose, as is well known, in connection with the trial in the case of the Metropolitan-Vickers damagers, was liquidated in a short period, and at the present time normal trade negotiations are proceeding at London.

Our relations with Germany have always occupied a special place in international affairs. Remaining true to our principle of defending universal peace and self-determination for all countries, the U.S.S.R. has on its part no ground for changing its former policy toward Germany. However, during the past year there have been a number of attempts on the part of the ruling groups of Germany to revise relations with the Soviet Union. Tendencies of this kind are not difficult to make out even, so to speak, with the naked eye. There is no necessity to dwell here on the statements of Rosenberg, Hugenberg and others, of which enough has already been written and said. One thing is clear to us—up until recently friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany have proceeded smoothly on the basis of their efforts toward peace and the development of economic relations. We still remain true to these principles at the present time.

Only in carrying them out have we seen the strength of the political and economic collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, collaboration in the interests of both countries and of world peace. On the other hand, the policy of the partisans of belligerent national socialism, such as Rosenberg and others is the direct antithesis of this. In so far as this policy is permeated with reactionary tendencies and predatory imperialist plans it is incompatible with the strengthening of friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. And we also believe that it is incompatible with a great future for Germany.

With regard to our relations with Japan, enough has been said already. The policy of the Soviet Government in this respect is clear to the people not of our country alone. No greater proof of the peaceful nature of that policy could be adduced than our attitude in the chain of events so well known, beginning with our proposal for a non-aggression pact, our agreement to the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, our attitude toward all business questions as for example the Japanese concessions in the Far East.

Our present task is, while preparing ourselves for any possible attack or complication, against which possibility we cannot, unfortunately feel secure at the present moment, to pursue steadfastly our policy of peace in the Far East and improved relations with Japan.

## Agriculture and Industry Forge Ahead

THE total grain harvest of the Soviet Union for 1933, announced at the session of the TSIK (Central Executive Committee) which opened in Moscow on December 28, amounted to 89,800,000 metric tons, 20,000,000 tons more than the harvest for 1932.

The simplified system of grain deliveries to the state inaugurated this year, whereby each collective, state farm and individual peasant was informed in advance the fixed amount of grain required to be sold to the state, this amount in no case to be increased by local agencies, worked so successfully that the entire program of state grain deliveries was completed by December 15, two and a half months earlier than ever before. The program was fulfilled not only for the Soviet Union as a whole—but for every single region, province and republic and from all sources. Payments in kind by the collectives to the machine and tractor stations were also completed on this date, and loans paid up.

Most of the deliveries were completed as early as November. During August and September the deliveries ran from three to ten times higher than during the same period last year. The Crimea completed its deliveries by September 1, the Tartar Republic and Moscow Province in October,

the Ukraine early in December. Of particular importance was the completion of grain deliveries ahead of time by the North Caucasus where conditions were especially difficult last year. By December 10 the North Caucasus had completely fulfilled its deliveries for all crops and from all sources, ahead of schedule and two months ahead of last year.

Immediately on completion of the quota of deliveries to the state by each section of the country, free sale of grain on the open market was authorized. By October 1 the free sale of grain was in full swing in 130 of the chief industrial centers of the country and the turnover had reached a billion rubles. On December 15 free trade in foodstuffs was organized for the entire country.

About 90 per cent of the state grain deliveries were furnished by the state and collective farms. By November 1 over 15,000,000 small peasant households had been united into 225,000 collective farms, and 5,000 state farms were in operation throughout the country. The state farms and collectives together this year sowed about 84 per cent of the entire land under cultivation. The greatest single factor in the success of the agricultural program this year was undoubtedly the organization of political departments in the ma-

chine and tractor stations. These political departments, manned by a picked group of experts in party and agricultural work, have helped solve many of the knotty problems of farm management that hampered the earlier period of collective organization. There were 3,000 machine and tractor stations in operation on November 1. The first result of the work of the political departments was apparent in the spring sowing campaign which they helped to organize. Altogether 93,108,000 hectares were sown last spring—98 per cent of the program. The collective farms surpassed their program by 2 per cent, the state farms by 9.6 per cent—it was only due to lagging behind of the individual peasants that the plan as a whole was not completely fulfilled. The fall sowing program got under way in good time and was reported ahead of planned schedules.

The greatly increased extent of mechanization was also a very important factor in producing this year's large crop. On November 1 there were 200,000 tractors on the farms and machine and tractor stations. Twenty-two thousand combines helped to harvest and thresh this year's crop—while just a few years back there was not a single combine in the whole Soviet Union. Altogether the rural districts had been supplied with agricultural machinery to the value of 750,000,000 rubles during the first ten months of 1933, double the amount provided during all of 1932.

Incomes of collective members have been considerably increased this year, and reports from all sections of the country show payment per man-labor-day (the uniform standard of payment established for all collectives) two, three and four times higher than last year. The improved material condition of the collectives found expression immediately after the harvest in increased demand for manufactured articles, and an extensive program of building new clubs, reading rooms, kindergartens, day-nurseries, etc., was started. A great number of libraries have been opened in the collectives. Many of the collectives have started to build their own Parks of Culture and Rest, many are installing electricity, telephones, radio. Adequate schooling is provided for the collective children, and many courses for adults are being held in the collectives during the winter months.

#### Progress of Heavy Industry

During the past year—the first year of the second five-year plan—the production curve of heavy industry has risen steadily from month to month. With each month the branches of heavy industry that have not only fulfilled but surpassed their program, have increased. The Donetz Basin, which at the beginning of the year produced less than 120,000 tons of coal a day stepped up its production steadily and at the end of the

year was producing 147,000 to 155,000 tons a day, and exceeded its program in the last days of the year. In ferrous metallurgy, production of pig iron increased from 15,000 tons a day last January and February to over 22,000 tons daily in September and October. In November this industry made still further advances, producing as much as 23,000 tons of pig iron daily and on some days almost 24,000. Machine construction heads all the rest, and the automotive industries keep up a steady record of surpassing their program from month to month.

The output of heavy industry as a whole has advanced over last year by 3.5 per cent in the first quarter, 10.2 per cent in the second quarter and 15.1 per cent in the third quarter. In October the increase was still greater, production exceeding that of October a year back by 15.9 per cent. For the entire first ten months of 1933 production increased 10.4 per cent over the corresponding period of last year.

During the first ten months of the past year, 60,000,000 tons of anthracite was mined, 16.5 per cent more than during the first ten months of 1932. This increase has been largely due to the steady increase of mechanization in mining processes, the increased number of competent engineers and skilled technical workers who have entered the industry and reduced labor turnover.

While the oil industry, as a whole, fell somewhat behind last year's level, the output of the Baku oil-fields has considerably increased. In the first ten months of 1933 production from this region amounted to 12,446,000 tons of oil as against 10,265,000 tons for the same ten months of 1932—an increase of 21 per cent.

Ferrous metallurgy shows a substantial rise in comparison with last year. The pig iron output of Soviet blast furnaces for ten months amounted to 5,814,800 tons, 14.1 per cent more than during the same ten months of 1932. Output of steel amounted to 5,531,800 tons, 13.3 per cent more than in 1932, and rolled steel amounted to 3,943,500, 12.7 per cent over the year before.

But especially great were the achievements in the automotive industries, as may be seen from the following table:

*Production of Tractors and Automobiles*

	Tractors	Automobiles
For 10 months 1931 .....	28,923	3,001
For 10 months 1932 .....	41,178	17,671
For 10 months 1933 .....	66,066	40,861

There have been improvements in the quality of the production of heavy industry as well during the past year. The average monthly productivity per worker increased in the first ten months of the year by 14.6 per cent against the same period last year. Labor productivity advanced especially in the new branches of industry. In the automotive industries the increase amounted to 53.9 per cent, and in the machine construction industry as a whole by 25.3 per cent.

# Soviet Cultural Progress

THE first five-year plan for economic development of the U.S.S.R. provided for an investment of 11,290,000,000 rubles in popular education. As a matter of fact 15,413,000,000 rubles was spent in the four and a quarter years of the plan, or 36.5 per cent over the amount originally envisaged. During the sixteen years the Soviet regime has been in existence 42,593 school buildings have been erected.

The Soviet government has given special attention to the development of the national minority districts of the country, which under Tsarism were completely neglected and were all in a state of semi-barbarism. The amount of money invested in cultural development exceeded the estimates of the plan by 231 per cent in White Russia, 326 per cent in Uzbekistan, 610 per cent in Turkmenistan, 596 per cent in Tadzhikistan, etc. During 1933, the first year of the second five-year plan, the expenditures for cultural development have grown at a still more rapid rate. On the training of skilled workers alone about 4,000,000,000 rubles was spent.

As a result of these enormous investments in cultural matters the overwhelming majority of the working population of the U.S.S.R. is engaged in one form or another of study. In 1932 every second inhabitant of the Soviet Union was so engaged.

Before the revolution over two-thirds of the population of the U.S.S.R. were illiterate. Among some of the minor nationalities the illiteracy was almost 100 per cent. The overwhelming mass of peasants could neither read nor write. The work of wiping out illiteracy developed at an extraordinarily fast rate and was especially intensive during the first five-year plan. As a result, the literacy of the population at the end of the five-year plan had increased to 90 per cent (97 per cent among the city population and 88 per cent among the village population). At the present time there are in the Soviet Union a large number of cities, districts, regions and even whole republics where 100 per cent literacy prevails. During the 1933-34 school year another three-and-a-half million adults will be taught to read and write, and this will mean practically the end of illiteracy in the U.S.S.R. Thus the Soviet government, with active assistance from the population, has been able to wipe out one of the darkest heritages of Tsarism, the greatest obstacle to cultural development. At the present time the entire attention of the organs of popular education of the U.S.S.R. is directed toward raising the standards of literacy still higher. Special work is being developed with the semi-literate, and during the past year 4,000,000 persons were enrolled in courses for this purpose.

Universal compulsory primary education was introduced by government decree three years ago, and as a result of this measure the total number of pupils in the primary and intermediate grades has increased to 25,600,000. The meaning of this figure becomes clearer when it is considered that in the same grades in pre-revolutionary Russia (1914) there were only 7,800,000 pupils, and in 1928, on the eve of the first five-year plan there were not more than 10,000,000.

Not only has universal compulsory primary education been introduced, but in all cities and industrial centers compulsory education already extends through the seventh year. In certain regions, for example, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Region, the Central Black Earth Region, and others, compulsory seven-year education has gone into effect in rural districts as well. In the near future universal compulsory seven-year training will be enforced throughout the whole Soviet Union, and it will then be possible to go on to the next step, the gradual introduction of compulsory ten-year schooling. This problem is already being worked on, and in a few cities it is already practically in effect. School children get all school equipment free of charge, are provided with free hot lunches at school, and many of them are provided with footwear and clothing at the expense of the state.

Teaching is carried on in the native language of every nationality inhabiting the Soviet Union. In the R.S.F.S.R. (Soviet Russia proper) alone, schools are carried on in about seventy different languages. On the present territory of the Buriat-Mongolian Republic, which covers 400,000 square kilometers, there were only a few dozen primary schools before the revolution. The literacy of the population amounted to hardly 3 or 4 per cent. At the present time literally all the children of primary age in the Buriat-Mongolian Republic are in school, and the number of schools has increased to 711. In the cities and workers' settlements compulsory seven-year education is already a fact. Everywhere, too, schools of a higher type have been established, even in the North Tungusian regions where before the revolution there were no schools at all. The literacy of the Buriat population has increased to 85 per cent.

The standards of teaching in the Soviet schools have shown considerable improvement in the past year. Recently there have been some radical changes in the school curricula and methods. Fixed courses of study and standard text books have been established and obligatory examinations at the end of the school term have been instituted. The polytechnical basis of education has been strengthened by linking up the schools

directly with productive enterprises, the whole school regime has been systematized to a very large extent, greater demands are made on the pupils and the quality of the teaching has been very much improved.

One of the results of the intensive industrial construction and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture has naturally been a great demand for skilled workers and specialists in every branch of the national economy. The training of such workers and specialists has been one of the central problems of Soviet cultural work. The years since the revolution and especially the years of the first five-year plan have seen a rapid growth of institutions for vocational training. The schools for trade, technical and professional training in the Soviet Union occupy first place in the world as regards numbers of students. In 1914 there were altogether only about 125,000 students in the universities of Russia. In 1932 there were several hundred higher educational institutions in the Soviet Union in which over half a million students were enrolled. During the past year there has been a still further increase in the number of students in the colleges and higher technical institutions of the U.S.S.R. Before the revolution the proletarian and peasant elements in the population had practically no access to the universities, whereas at the present time three-fourths of all the students in the higher educational institutions of the U.S.S.R. are workers and peasants. The new specialists in industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy, thus have for the most part a proletarian origin.

In the technical high schools of pre-revolutionary Russia there were altogether about 267,000

pupils, while at the present time there are over a million pupils in the Soviet technicums alone. In addition to the technicums, skilled workers for industry are trained in the factory and shop schools, created entirely since the revolution, where over 1,200,000 pupils are now studying. In the workers' faculties, also a post-revolutionary development, which prepare workers to enter the higher educational institutions, over half a million students are now enrolled. In addition tens of thousands of workers are studying in different evening technical courses, technical correspondence courses and many courses connected with plants and factories. From all this vast network of vocational training institutions large numbers of specialists and skilled workers are annually provided for all branches of the national economy. During the past school year alone 60,700 specialists from the higher educational institutions, 226,300 specialists from the technicums, 527,600 skilled workers from the factory and shop schools have entered various branches of the national economy.

Another branch of cultural development created entirely since the revolution is that of pre-school education. Throughout the Soviet Union there has been organized an extensive system of all possible types of pre-school institutions: day nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds, children's camps. Over five and a half million children are cared for in these institutions, which carry on systematic work in the first steps of training the growing generation, in bringing out their creative capacities, in the intelligent organization of play. Pre-school education, which was unknown in Tsarist Russia, is an integral part of the whole system of Soviet popular education. At the same



*In an agricultural collective school.*

*Sovfoto*

time it aids in the economic emancipation of the working woman, freeing her from the necessity of caring for children during the day and opening up opportunities for participation in productive social labor.

Mass adult education among the workers of town and village has been extensively developed. This work is carried on by the multitude of cultural and educational institutions—workers' clubs, people's houses, libraries, village reading-rooms, theaters, museums, and so on, the numbers of which increase from year to year. At the present time the number of libraries in the U.S.S.R. has reached 30,000, containing over 100,000,000 volumes.

There are now 4,150 workers' clubs in which every evening there are lectures, discussions, moving-picture shows, plays, concerts. Upwards of 30,000 village reading-rooms serve the cultural needs of the Soviet peasantry. Recently collective and state farm clubs have been started in the villages. In all the large industrial centers there have been established "Houses of Soviet Culture," equipped with fine auditoriums, gymnasiums, sport grounds, lecture halls, rest rooms, reading rooms, scientific laboratories and the like. Such "houses" have been built in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sormovo, the Donetz Basin, and other places. There are altogether 1,000 of them. At the present time there are 620 professional theaters in the Soviet Union, whereas previous to the revolution there were not more than 150. A rich development of the national theaters is also taking place, the national minorities are developing their own dramatics, their own directors, actors and artists. There has been a special development of children's theaters, of which there are now over 65. Motion picture houses increase from year to year.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of all of the cultural growth of the U.S.S.R. is the growth of the the press in the country. The

pre-revolutionary Russian press consisted of 859 papers with a total circulation of 2,500,700 copies. The Soviet press consists of about 7,000 papers with a circulation of about 40,000,000. Newspapers have won for themselves a solid place in the daily lives of Soviet citizens. They disappear from the news stands the moment they are issued. Special papers are published for different sections of the population: for workers, agricultural collective members, young people, Red Army men, students, engineers, doctors, trade union functionaries, and so on. Hundreds of newspapers are printed directly at industrial enterprises, in collectives, state farms, machine and tractor stations. Most of the nationalities of the Soviet Union have newspapers printed in their own language—newspapers are published in 83 languages.

Book publishing has developed to an almost incredible extent under the Soviet government. Book production in pre-revolutionary Russia did not exceed above 600,000,000 "sheets"\* a year, whereas in 1932 over 5 billion "sheets" were printed and 1,300,000,000 copies of books were published as against 133,562,000 in 1912. The Soviet Union now holds first place in the world in the extent of book production. In 1932 there were more scientific books published in the U.S.S.R. than in Germany, France, England and Italy taken together.

\*A "sheet" is a Russian printing term meaning sixteen large book pages containing about 8,000 words.



Winter sport season in full swing at Lenin Hills near Moscow.

Sovfoto



*Newly established copper foundry and workers' colony in Kafansky Region, Armenia.*

*Sovfoto*

## 16 Years of Geological Exploration

ACCORDING to a recent report made by Academician Gubkin, geological exploration work in the Soviet Union has revealed far greater natural resources than were dreamed of in old Russia. Up to 1917 Russia occupied seventh place among the countries of the world with regard to iron ore supplies. At the present time estimates of the known resources of iron ore place the Soviet Union first on the list. Fifty-five per cent of the world resources of iron are in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet iron ore reserves are four times the reserves of all Europe. In separate districts of the U.S.S.R. as, for instance, Krivoy Rog, the reserves are more than five times as great as earlier estimates and are now fixed at 1,142,000,000 tons. This does not include 21,300,000,000 tons of ferrous quartz, containing 40 per cent iron. Experiments made with these quartzites have already pointed the way towards their industrial usage. In the Urals, where Professor Bogdanovich previously estimated that the stock of iron amounted to 280,000,000 tons, the actual quantity has now been fixed at 1,340,000,000 tons.

Giant metallurgical "combinats," of which Magnitogorsk is the outstanding example, have already been built up on the basis of these resources. Geological exploration on a scale more extensive than ever before undertaken in the Soviet Union, preceded the building of the plant.

The iron reserves of the Kola Peninsula were estimated before the revolution at approximately 2,000,000 tons. They are now known to amount to 300,000,000 tons. Geological exploration carried on between 1926 and 1933 in the Kerch Peninsula, Crimea, have brought its iron ore sup-

plies up to 2,726,000,000 tons, a three-fold increase over pre-revolutionary times.

But the outstanding achievement of recent years in this field has been the discovery of the ore of the famous Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. According to preliminary tests its total reserves amount to more than 200,000,000,000 tons with an average of 30 to 40 per cent iron content. During 1931 and 1932 rich iron ore with a content of 50 to 67 per cent has been found in the region of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. The industrial reserve of these ores—which are of the Krivoy Rog type—are estimated at 250,000,000 tons. At the present time the first mine for the industrial exploitation of this ore is being constructed at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly.

In Western Siberia, in Eastern Siberia, in Central Asia, in Kazakstan and in the North Caucasus region the estimated stores of iron ore have increased many times in comparison with pre-war times, as a result of the geological survey work of the last few years. At the geological congress in 1910 the question came up of the possible early exhaustion of iron ore supplies—that question is no longer pertinent.

The Soviet Union is also first in manganese resources, controlling 65 per cent of the world supplies (588,700,000 tons out of 900,800,000 tons).

It is expected that the requirements of Soviet industry for non-ferrous metals will in the near future be completely satisfied, and at the end of the second *piatiletka* the U.S.S.R. can enter the world market as a seller in this field. As for the reserves of different kinds of non-ferrous metals,

it is necessary to point out that the stocks of copper in the ground during the past five years have increased ten-fold. Reserves of lead have increased 3.8 times, of zinc 4.3 times, and so on.

The coal resources of the Soviet Union are estimated at 1,113,000,000 tons, about nine times as much as was known in pre-revolutionary Russia. In world coal supplies the Soviet Union occupies third place, that is, it follows Canada, which controls 1,200,000,000 tons. But if the fact is considered that 70 per cent of the coal stocks of Canada consists of lignite, which does not make up more than 15 per cent of the Soviet supplies, then it would seem that in actual units of energy Canada should yield its second place, in which case the Soviet Union would be second only to the United States, where the total stocks of coal in the ground are estimated at 3,700,000,000 tons.

In oil reserves also, the Soviet Union takes a leading place. Oil resources of the U.S.S.R. have been estimated at 3,000,000,000 tons, but that figure is by no means final, since new reserves are constantly being discovered.

Geological survey work and prospecting for oil have not yet been developed to the needed extent. It is necessary to continue exploration and prospecting for the really countless stocks of oil buried in the depths of the land in the U.S.S.R. Work in this field has two aims: (1) Prospecting for deep levels within the old Baku oil-bearing region and (2) exploration and prospecting in new districts.

In carrying on the first of these tasks we have already discovered new, deep and still untouched layers in the Baku and Grozny districts. The supposition that the entire lower section of the old worked area is oil bearing, has been fully justified. At the present time almost the entire output of the old areas comes from this lower stratum.

The carrying out of the second task—searching for new areas and regions—has led to the discovery of new and very rich oil fields. The Soviet stock of oil is by no means limited to the Caucasus. Data gathered from the Ural-Emba oil bearing region, which extends for hundreds of kilometers between the Ural and Aral Sea, gives evidence of enormous quantities of oil. Especially fruitful have been the results of prospecting work on Neftedag Mountain in the Turcoman Republic. Extraordinarily interesting, too, are the prospects for the

development of the oil industry in the Bashkir Republic (Sterlitomak).

Vast deposits of other mineral wealth have also been noted in the past few years. The discovery of potassium salts in the Solikamsk district is of great importance. Here, in an area which was considered literally empty in pre-revolutionary times, are stores of potassium salts amounting to 16 billion tons. This guarantees the necessary supplies for the Soviet agriculture and chemical industry for hundreds of years. At the present time the potassium salts of Solikamsk are already being worked up industrially.

Another result of prospecting for new resources was the discovery of apatites in the *tundras* (frozen plains) of Khibin. In 1932 the reserves of apatite were estimated at 830,000,000 tons and as a result Khibin is fast becoming an important industrial center.

The fact should also be mentioned that a powerful raw material base for the aluminum industry has already been established through the discovery of large quantities of bauxites. The stock of bauxites (3,737,000,000) in the Tikhvin district of Leningrad Province, has made it possible to start construction of large plants for the manufacture of aluminum. Of these plants the Volkhov is already in operation and the second one, at Dniepropetrovsk, is about to start operations.

Finally the discovery of three billion tons of phosphorites under the Soviet period should be noted. These stores in 1917 amounted to nothing. The richest phosphorites are in Gorky (formerly Nizhni Novgorod) region, where the stocks amount to about a billion tons.



Sovfoto

A meteorological station near Mt. Elbrus in the Caucasus Mountains.



Geological exploration work in the past few years has brought to light great quantities of all kinds of building materials: sand, gravel, clay, limestone, sandstone, etc. At the present time when construction of workers' towns, cities, fac-

tories, plants, metallurgical giants, etc., is going forward, this type of material is enormously important and exploratory work is just as essential in this field as is prospecting for the basic minerals which form the foundation for our heavy industry.

## Some Results of the Stratostat Flight

THE special commission which has been engaged in studying the scientific data obtained in the ascent of the stratostat "USSR" on September 30 has announced that the examination of the instruments and materials has been concluded and that complete reports are being prepared which will be published in the near future. All the apparatus carried in the ascent was taken to the Central Geophysical Institute in Leningrad where the instruments were tested in advance.

Professor Vangenheim, chief of the hydrometeorological service board of the U.S.S.R., one of the scientists engaged in analyzing the data obtained in the flight, has announced that grounds for a new theory of the structure of the stratosphere have been provided by their findings.

Professor Vangenheim said that it is well known that cosmic rays in the lower spheres call forth very little ionization in the air, forming not more than one or two ions a second in each cubic centimeter. The records of the stratostat at an altitude of 12 kilometers show 226 ions in a cubic centimeter per second, at 15 kilometers, 342 ions, and at 17.7 kilometers, 360 ions.

These records confirm the findings of Professor Piccard and indicate the correctness of the hypothesis that the earth is subject to the influence of rays proceeding from outside the atmosphere; that is, rays of cosmic origin—the so-called cosmic rays. For this reason, ionization proceeds more rapidly in the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Among the other findings of the stratostat are:

That, at most, moisture of less than 0.7 per cent was found in the atmospheric samples taken in the stratosphere.

That these atmospheric samples show 20.95 per cent of oxygen, 78.13 per cent of nitrogen, and 0.92 per cent of argon and other rare elements.

Tests of the samples of air obtained by the stratostat were made in two laboratories—the Electro-Physical Institute and the Geological Research Institute, and the results were identical. The high oxygen content of the stratosphere, 20.95 per cent, only a little below the content at the earth's surface, which is 20.98 per cent, was a surprise, since scientists had previously calcu-

lated that the oxygen content of the stratosphere would be considerably lower.

The equipment with which the samples of air were taken, provided by the Central Geophysical Institute, proved very satisfactory. It consisted of a glass bulb suspended from the gondola at a sufficient distance to prevent gases from inside the stratostat's envelope from mixing with the stratosphere air samples. All air was pumped out of the bulb and it was then hermetically sealed before ascending. When the sample was to be taken an electric current switched on in the gondola opened the bulb and automatically sealed it again.

Awards in the form of cash bonuses and decorations have been given to the designers and builders of the stratostat and the participants in the flight. The Order of Lenin was given to George Prokofiev, organizer and commander of the flight; Constantin Godunov, chief of the construction bureau of the scientific research institute of the rubber industry and participant in the flight; Ernst Birnbaum, organizer and participant in the flight; Semion Margolin, director of factory 39 where the gondola was constructed; Vladimir Chizhevsky, for technical services in the construction of the gondola; Ivan Moiseyev for his work in the actual building of the gondola; Elena Kuzina of the rubber scientific research institute for her services in working out the technical processes and formula for the envelope. The Order of the Red Star was given to Vladimir Garakanidze for exceptionally efficient organization of the preparations for the actual flight. The Order of the Red Banner of Labor went to Geko Levitina, engineer, for her active part in preparing the formula for the envelope and careful checking of all materials.

In commemoration of the flight the People's Commissariat for Post and Telegraph has issued a new series of 5, 10 and 20 kopek postage stamps with a picture of the stratostat.

Due to the keen interest aroused in scientific circles regarding conditions of the stratosphere as a result of the recent flights in the U.S.S.R. and other countries the Academy of Sciences has decided to call an All-Union Conference on problems of the stratosphere, to meet during 1934.

# Krylenko on Soviet Law

**N**IKOLAY KRYLENKO, People's Commissar of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. reported on the amendments and alterations introduced in the laws of the R.S.F.S.R. since the third session of the VTSIK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee) at the session of the VTSIK held in Moscow on December 25.

"The period about which I am to report," said Krylenko, "covers the time from January 15 to December 15 of this year. The length of the period gives us the opportunity to establish the general direction of the work of our legal organs in carrying out Lenin's instructions that our laws should be simple, accessible, comprehensible and not too numerous.

"Let us take the figures for the past three years. In 1931, 518 new laws were published, in 1932, 404 and in 1933, 280. These figures show a definite tendency in the direction of reducing and, accordingly, of simplifying our laws. Most of our laws are of an economic or administrative nature, which shows evidence of concrete direction of the economic life of the country on the part of the Economic Council (the Republic branch of Gosplan) and the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars). There are far fewer decrees of a general nature. There is a definite tendency on the part of the juridical organs to make as few changes as possible in separate articles of the existing codes. During 1931, 151 articles were amended, during 1932, 53 and during 1933, 34. When the profound changes that have taken place in the life of our country and the great achievements of socialist construction necessitate changes in the laws affecting any special sphere, it is usually more expedient to draw up an entirely new code for the branch in question than to change or amend separate articles. The Criminal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Economic Code are, accordingly, being entirely rewritten at the present time.

"A number of the new laws were issued in order to include laws passed by Union government organs in the legislation of the R.S.F.S.R. These changes, as well as those which we introduced on our own initiative, fall into two categories. The first are of an editorial nature, the second are more serious and fundamental changes."

Mr. Krylenko here described a number of the less important changes in the labor and criminal codes and then went on to describe the correctional labor code which went into effect on August 1, 1933, in some detail.

"This code," continued Krylenko, "while introducing no new principles in the correctional-labor policy, outlines an entirely new set-up in its execution. The basic principles of correctional

labor methods set forth in the program of the party are observed in the code. But life moves forward, and we have rejected a great many of the old repressive methods.

"According to the present law our entire system of correctional labor measures is divided into two categories—the first relative to persons sentenced for a period of over three years and the second relative to persons sentenced for a period up to three years. The first group is made up of clearly dangerous elements who must be isolated. They are sent to correctional labor camps. In the case of persons sentenced for a period under three years, a special approach is necessary. We send them not to camps but to correctional labor colonies, to factory colonies, to colonies performing some kind of mass work. They are not deprived of their liberty—there are no bars, locks or guards. An effort is made to adapt them to conditions of communal labor, to implant in them habits of labor on the basis of socialist competition and shock troop work.

"An excellent example of the transforming of anti-social elements into useful citizens was carried on in the building of the Baltic-White Sea canal. This was tried out with the most hardened, socially dangerous elements. This principle may be applied with even greater success in connection with the merely unstable elements among the workers.

"In the party program there are instructions to the effect that at the basis of our legislation should be the transition from a system of punishment to a system of correctional labor training without deprivation of liberty. We are carrying out this principle in the following way. If a person is sentenced to compulsory labor for a period of six months, he serves his time in the place where he has been previously employed and is not taken away from his usual environment. Persons sentenced for a period of over six months are as a rule sent to correctional labor institutions where, however, they are not deprived of their freedom. Their right to dispose of their free time as they see fit is not limited. They have only one obligation—to fulfill in that period the work they are required to do, at regular wages. They are given food, clothing and the necessary working tools at the expense of the correctional labor institution.

"No one sentenced for a period of one month may be taken from his or her place of residence, and must be given work in a place not more than ten miles away. In cases of sentences from one to three months the offender is sent to a correctional labor institution within the district, in cases of sentences up to six months—within the oblast (province) or region.

"Every effort is made to create the most normal possible conditions for convicted persons. Persons skilled in factory work are customarily sent to factory colonies where they work under conditions with which they are familiar. There are also agricultural colonies where persons accustomed to agricultural work are sent, colonies of mass work, where class enemies and hostile elements are sent and special penal colonies for persons whose conduct makes it impossible to fit them in to the ordinary regime of the correctional labor colonies.

"We are especially proud of our success in organizing the work with juvenile offenders. We approach them not from the former philanthropical point of view but with the idea of making of them useful citizens and skilled workers. For

this purpose we have special schools where they are taught definite trades."

Describing the internal regime in the correctional labor institutions, Krylenko said that the best prisoners were chosen as guards, that there are no locked cells within the colonies, and the inmates are quite free. Sometimes they are permitted to work outside of the colonies for definite periods.

In conclusion Krylenko said:

"We have introduced a system of premiums and rewards. The inmates of our correctional institutions and colonies participate in the organization of their own lives. Supervisory Soviets made up of members of the colony have been established and they have the right to reduce sentences of prisoners who have proved themselves worthy of confidence by their work and conduct."

## Decree on Far Eastern Colonizers

**A** DECREE encouraging colonization of the Far Eastern provinces of the Soviet Union by the reduction of state grain collections, increased wages and other privileges to the inhabitants of these regions, was issued on December 11, signed jointly by Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The text of the decree follows:

### Decree on Privileges for the Population of the Far Eastern Region

In view of the large influx of colonists into the Far Eastern Region and the necessity of easing their economic arrangements under the difficult conditions of the sparsely inhabited districts of the region, and also in order to ease the conditions of work of the workers and employees of the region, who are working far from the cultural centers of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party hereby decree:

#### I

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to release the collectives and collective members of the whole Far Eastern Region from obligatory deliveries to the state of grain crops and rice for a period of ten years, and in the case of individual peasants for a period of five years.

#### II

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to release the collectives and collective members throughout the Ternei, Soviet and Olga districts of the Primorskaya (Maritime) oblast, in Komsomolsk district, in Nizhni-Amur, Okhotsk-Evensk, Koriak and Chukhotsky Okrugs, in Sakhalin and Kam-

chatka oblasts, from obligatory deliveries to the state of meat, potatoes, sunflower seeds, wool, milk and butter, and also from obligatory contracts with the state for soy beans, vegetables and flax, for a period of ten years, and individual peasants for a period of five years.

#### III

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to reduce the amount of obligatory deliveries to the government of meat, potatoes, sunflower seeds, wool, milk and butter and also the amount of obligatory contracts with the state for soy beans, vegetables and flax, to fifty per cent of the established norm for a period of ten years for the collectives and collective members of the Primorskaya Oblast, with the exception of those of the districts indicated in Paragraph II, and for the collectives and collective members of Amur Oblast, of Birobidzhan and Prigorod districts.

#### IV

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to increase by 20 per cent the price of fish sold to the state by the fishing collectives and collective members of the whole Far Eastern Region.

#### V

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to raise wages throughout the whole Far Eastern Region to the following extent:

(a) Workers and engineering and technical personnel of enterprises of the coal industry—by 30 per cent;

(b) Workers and engineering and technical personnel of shops, factories, transport and communications, crafts, state farms and machine and tractor stations and also teachers, adult education workers, medical personnel, agronomists, vet-

erinars, agro-technical workers and surveyors—by 20 per cent;

(c) Employees of institutions and all enterprises—by 10 per cent.

## VI

Beginning with January 1, 1934, to increase the pay of troops stationed in the Far East, as follows:

(a) Red Army men, and junior officers—by 50 per cent;

(b) Middle, senior and superior officers—by 20 per cent.

VIACHESLAV MOLOTOV. JOSEPH STALIN.

# Foreign Miscellany

## CONVENTION DEFINING AGGRESSION

ON December 4, 1933, Mr. Karl Tofer, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Esthonia to the U.S.S.R., deposited the ratification documents of the London Convention for the Definition of Aggression of July 3, 1933, signed by the head of the Esthonian Government, with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

On the same day Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Latvia to the U.S.S.R., deposited the ratification documents of the same convention, signed by the President of the Latvian Republic.

As a result of this, and also as consequence of the earlier entry into force of the convention between the U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, Afghanistan and Persia, this convention has entered into force between the above-mentioned states and Esthonia and Latvia.

On December 14, 1933, ratification documents of the convention on the definition of aggression signed in London between the U.S.S.R. and the Lithuanian Republic on July 5, were exchanged between Mr. M. M. Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and Mr. Yurgis Baltrushaitis, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Lithuania, bringing the convention into effect in the relations between the two countries on the date of the exchange.

On November 24 the convention defining aggression was unanimously ratified by the Turkish National Assembly. Congratulatory telegrams were exchanged on the occasion of the ratification between Tewfik Rushdi-Bey, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Maxim Litvinoff.

## NEW SOVIET-LATVIAN TRADE AGREEMENT

On December 4 the new Soviet-Latvian Trade Agreement was signed in Moscow. The Moscow *Izvestia* of December 5, commenting on the new trade treaty, said in part as follows:

"The relations between the Soviet Union and

Latvia have continued to develop and strengthen since the conclusion of the peace treaty in 1920, without any friction and on a consistently friendly basis. Connections between two neighboring countries are of an extensive nature and cover the most varied spheres of economic and cultural life. It is therefore natural that a series of the most varied agreements, settling many questions in the interests of both countries, have been concluded.

"The Soviet policy of peace, which has made itself felt in such a definite and clear form in all spheres of international relations, must naturally have special significance for the immediate neighbors of the Soviet Union and the small countries of Eastern Europe.

"This is not the first time that Latvia has displayed action and initiative in supporting and carrying out measures projected by the Soviet Union in the direction of consolidating peace. On February 5, 1932 in Riga, a treaty was signed between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia on non-aggression, non-participation in hostile groupings and the peaceful solution of conflicts. This treaty was the most important document on Soviet-Latvian relations since the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1920. Latvia's attitude toward the problem of consolidating peace on the Soviet-Latvian border was one of complete understanding and Latvia was the first of the nations bordering on the U.S.S.R. to make effective a treaty of non-aggression with the U. S. S. R. The treaty entered into effect on July 28, 1932. Later, when the convention for the definition of an aggressor was concluded in London, Latvia hastened to take part in that convention.

"The conclusion of the present trade treaty will undoubtedly be of great importance in the development of relations between the two countries. At the present time, after a prolonged break in the negotiations, they have been successfully completed, and the treaty has been signed. Thus the basis on which the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia have been built up, has been broadened and strengthened.

"The people of the Soviet Union unanimously approve of this act aiding in the development of relations between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia and strengthening peace in Eastern Europe."

The Soviet-Latvian Trade Treaty was unanimously ratified on December 19 by the Latvian Diet and on December 22 by the Central Executive Committee.

## SOVIET-ITALIAN TRADE TREATY EXTENDED

On December 5 in the Ministry of Corporations at Rome, the Trade Representative of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Levenson, and the Assistant Ministry of Corporations signed a protocol providing for the continuation during 1934 of the trade agreement concluded on May 6 of the present year between the Soviet Union and Italy.

# Calendar of Events, 1933

1932

## December\*

- 10—Soviet government accepts British proposal to commence negotiations for drawing up a new Soviet-British trade agreement.
- 12—Announcement at Geneva of resumption of diplomatic relations between China and the U.S.S.R.
- 13—Japan in verbal note postpones consideration of non-aggression pact proposed by U.S.S.R.
- 20—Decree of TSIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) and Party Central Committee replacing collections of milk, butter and cheese by a milk tax.  
—Opening of second All-Union Conference of VARNITCO (Association of Scientific and Technical Workers).
- 23—Exchange of ratification documents on non-aggression pact between Poland and the U.S.S.R., as a result of which pact enters into effect.
- 27—City of Ivanovo Voznesensk in the Ivanovsk industrial region renamed Ivanovo.  
—Organization of Chief Administration of Workers' and Peasants' Militia under OGPU.
- 28—Soviet government issues decree aimed to decrease labor fluidity by requiring a passport of every citizen over sixteen years.
- 30—Celebration of tenth anniversary of founding of U.S.S.R.
- 31—Boris Efimovich Stein appointed plenipotentiary representative of the U.S.S.R. in Finland.  
—First five-year plan ends in four-and-a-quarter years with broad general base for industrialization accomplished.

1933

## January

- 1—First year of second five-year plan begins.  
—Dmitri Vassilevich Bogomolov appointed plenipotentiary representative of the U.S.S.R. in China.  
—Lugansk Locomotive Works commences operations.  
—First Soviet blooming mill completed at Makayevka.
- 4—Soviet government gives verbal answer to Japanese note of December 13.
- 7—Combined plenum of Central Committee and Central Control Commission of Communist Party opens.  
—Report by Stalin on results of plateletka at joint plenum. Report by Molotov on plan for 1933. Report by Kuibyshev on technical reconstruction. Report by Kaganovich on organization of political departments in machine and tractor stations and collectives.
- 10—Resolution on first plateletka and plan for 1933 adopted by joint plenum of Central Committee and Central Control Commission of All-Union Communist Party, on basis of reports of Stalin, Molotov and Kuibyshev.
- 11—Decree establishing political departments for machine and tractor stations and state farms.  
—Speech by Stalin to joint plenum on party work in the village.
- 19—Joint decree of Sovnarkon and Party Central Committee, simplifying obligatory grain procurements.
- 23—Sixth TSIK convenes for its third session in the Kremlin, Moscow.  
—Molotov reports on international situation.
- 29—K. K. Yurenev relieved of post in Austria and appointed diplomatic representative to Japan in place of A. A. Troyanovsky.
- 30—TSIK adopts unified state budget for 1933.

## February

- 6—Litvinoff speaks at Disarmament Conference at Geneva on French security proposals and presents Soviet definition of "Aggressor."

\*For list of events up to 1933 see *Soviet Union Review* for January, 1933. The list for December, 1932, is here repeated since it was not given in full in last year's calendar.

- 11—President of French Republic ratifies Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact and convention on conciliation procedure.
- 14—TSIK of U.S.S.R. also ratifies above treaties.
- 15—Ratification documents exchanged in Moscow and pact goes into effect.  
—First All-Union Congress of agricultural-collective shock brigade workers opens in Moscow.
- 23—Organization of united hydrometeorological service under Narkomzem.
- 25—League of Nations invites U.S.S.R. to cooperate with Advisory Committee on Manchurian question.

## March

- 7—Soviet government declines League of Nations invitation to join the Advisory Committee on Manchurian question.
- 12—Arrest of British and Russian Metropolitan-Vickers employees in Moscow on charges of damaging and espionage.
- 14—Decree announcing international competition for a memorial to Karl Marx on grounds of Palace of Soviets.
- 17—Decree on restoration of civil rights to children of kulaks.
- 21—Gregory Sokolnikov appointed member of the collegium of the Narkomindel.
- 23—A. A. Troyanovsky, formerly Soviet diplomatic representative in Japan, appointed assistant chairman of Gosplan.
- 27—Decree on improved living conditions for Soviet scientists and writers.  
—Decree of VTSIK on raising of Soviet flag on Victoria Island.  
—Valerian Dvoglevsky speaks on British disarmament plan at meeting of general commission of Disarmament Conference in Geneva.
- 28—Signing of protocol prolonging by six months the Turkish-Soviet convention of August 6, 1928, on methods of settling border conflicts.
- 29—Adolph Petrovsky appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Austria.  
—Sergey Pastukhov appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Persia.

## April

- 11—First All-Union Geographical Congress opens in Leningrad under chairmanship of Prof. Samoilovich.
- 12—British engineers' trial opens in Moscow.
- 16—Statement by Karakhan to Japanese Ambassador Ōta regarding situation of Chinese Eastern Railway.  
—Publication in Moscow *Izvestia* of record of Litvinoff—Ovey conversations on British engineers' trial.
- 18—Court pronounces verdict in British engineers' trial.
- 21—Publication by *Izvestia* of Soviet Manchurian correspondence on Chinese Eastern Railway problems.
- 22—Decree on retaliatory restrictive measures taken by Soviet government in answer to British embargo on Soviet imports.
- 23—Rosenholtz, Commissar for Foreign Trade, reports on foreign trade situation.
- 24—Publication of further statement on Chinese Eastern Railway.

## May

- 1—Opening of sluices at Dnieprostroy, making the Dnieper River navigable for 1,000 miles.  
—Publication by *Izvestia* of further correspondence on Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 5—Exchange of ratification documents putting into force Protocol prolonging Berlin Treaty of April 24, 1926, and Soviet-German Agreement on Conciliation Procedure of Jan. 25, 1919.

- 6—New Soviet-Italian customs convention and credit agreement signed in Rome.
- 7—Rudyi, Manager of Chinese Eastern Railway, submits report to directors on condition of Eastern line of road.
- 10—Alexey Svidersky, Soviet diplomatic representative in Latvia, dies.
- 12—Publication by *Izvestia* of Litvinoff's statement re-proposed sale of Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 14—Decree on Internal State Loan for second platiletka.
- 19—Reply of Mikhail Kalinin to message sent by President Roosevelt to nations participating in the World Economic and Disarmament Conferences, made public at White House.
  - Decree granting special privileges to workers in Murmansk, and sections of Far Eastern Region.
- 25—Decree providing special exemptions to colonizers of gold districts of Yakutsk Republic.
  - New agricultural tax issued.
- 26—Gregory Sokolnikov appointed Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
  - Ambassador Ota delivers Japanese reply to Soviet statement of April 16.
- 27—Decree on former Russian citizens.
- 29—Soviet-Norwegian trade agreement signed.
  - Ota informs Narkomindel of Japan's willingness to act as intermediary in sale of Chinese Eastern Railroad.
- 31—Sokolnikov makes further statement to Ota on Chinese Eastern Railroad.

#### June

- 1—Cheliabinsk tractor plant starts mass production of caterpillar tractors.
- 3—Polish-Soviet convention on order of investigating and settling border incidents and conflicts signed.
- 4—Sokolnikov transmits protest to Ota against illegal acts of Manchukuo officials on Chinese Eastern Railroad.
- 5—S. S. Alexandrovsky appointed Soviet diplomatic representative in Czechoslovakia to replace A. Y. Arosiev, transferred to other work.
- 14—Litvinoff addresses World Economic Conference in London.
- 15—Decree guaranteeing right of members of agricultural communes to own their own cows, small animals and poultry.
- 20—Draft protocol on economic non-aggression submitted by Soviet delegation to World Economic Conference.
  - Office of Public Prosecutor of U.S.S.R. established.
- 23—Decree abolishing People's Commissariat for Labor and turning over its functions to All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.
- 26—First Session of Soviet-Manchuokuoan Conference on sale of Chinese Eastern Railway in Tokio, with Japan acting as intermediary.
- 27—Decree on improving and coordinating planning of new Socialist cities and settlements.
- 29—Plenary session of Central Council of Trade Unions.

#### July

- 1—British government lifts embargo on Soviet goods; Soviet retaliatory measures revoked; prison sentences of two British engineers commuted to amnesty; British government proposes resumption of negotiations for trade agreement.
  - Feodor F. Raskolnikov freed of duties in Esthonia and appointed diplomatic representative of U.S.S.R. in Denmark in place of Mr. Mikhail V. Kobetzky, transferred to other work.
- 3—Soviet proposed terms of settlement set forth at session of conference on sale of Chinese Eastern Railroad.
  - Convention on definition of aggression signed at the Soviet Embassy in London by representatives of U.S.S.R., Afghanistan, Esthonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania, Turkey.
  - Decree on railroad reorganization.
- 4—Second convention defining aggression signed in London with Turkey and countries of Little Entente.

- 5—Soviet-Lithuanian pact defining aggression signed.
  - Litvinoff visits Premier Daladier of France and confers with Foreign Minister Paul-Boncour.
- 7—Decree providing improved living conditions for writers.
- 10—Decree establishing political departments for railroads.
  - Final report on spring sowing campaign shows 98 per cent fulfillment of program.
- 12—The "Cheliuskin," semi-icebreaker, begins trip through Northeast passage.
- 13—Second Soviet memorandum on sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway presented at Tokio conference.
- 22—Finland joins pact defining aggression.
  - Soviet protests statements threatening integrity of Soviet territory by German delegates at London.
- 28—Establishment of diplomatic relations between U.S.S.R. and Spain by exchange of telegrams.

#### August

- 2—Official opening of Baltic-White Sea Canal.
- 4—Decree granting amnesty to prisoners who worked on Baltic-White Sea Canal.
- 11—Telegram from Uruguay announcing intention of establishing permanent diplomatic mission in U.S.S.R.
- 12—Telegram to Uruguay announcing that Soviet diplomatic mission would in turn be established in Uruguay.
- 15—All-Union Colonization Committee organized, with Alexander Muralov as chairman.
- 16—Decree reducing party and trade union dues.
- 18—Aviation day celebrated—10th anniversary of founding of Osoaviakhim (Soviet civil aviation society).
- 20—Anatole Lunacharsky appointed Soviet diplomatic representative in Spain.
- 26—M. Herriot arrives in Odessa with group of leading Frenchmen to visit U.S.S.R.
- 28—Decree on meat deliveries to state in 1934.

#### September

- 2—Soviet-Italian treaty of friendship, non-aggression and neutrality signed in Rome.
- 4—Decree on All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine.
- 8—Temporary trade agreement signed in Athens between U.S.S.R. and Greece.
- 13—Decree on trade missions and trade agencies of the U.S.S.R. abroad.
- 15—Pact defining aggression ratified by Poland.
  - Rumania ratifies London pact defining aggression.
  - Pierre Cot, French Air Minister, and group of French aviation officials, fly to Moscow.
- 16—Soviet Central Executive Committee ratifies convention defining aggression of July 3.
  - Afghanistan ratifies convention defining aggression.
- 18—Persia ratifies London pact defining aggression.
- 20—Franco-Soviet trade negotiations open.
- 21—Sokolnikov delivers warning to Japanese Ambassador Ota against violation of treaties on Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 22—The Lindberghs arrive in Leningrad for a visit to the Soviet Union.
  - Joseph Unshlikht appointed Chief of the Head Administration of the Civil Air Fleet.
- 28—Soviet Ambassador Yurenev makes statement to Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota enumerating illegal actions on Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 29—Karakhan visits Persia on invitation of Persian government.
- 30—Soviet Red Army Stratostat, U.S.S.R., makes successful ascension, reaching 19 kilometers.
  - Completion of 5,800 mile Moscow-Kara Kum-Moscow autorun by 20 automobiles of Soviet make.

#### October

- 2—Decree on improved living conditions for composers.
- 7—Decree placing librarians in same categories as teachers with regard to supplies, etc.

- 9—Tass summary of secret Japanese documents outlining plans for seizure of Chinese Eastern Railway published by Soviet press.
- 10—President Roosevelt invites President Kalinin to send a representative to explore outstanding questions between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R.  
—Stefan Brodovsky appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Latvia.
- 16—Ratification documents of pact defining aggression delivered on behalf of Poland and Rumania.
- 17—President Kalinin accepts invitation and designates Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs to talk with President Roosevelt.
- 20—Ratification documents on pact defining aggression delivered on behalf of Afghanistan.
- 29—Soviet delegation of twenty-one persons headed by Climentl Voroshilov, attends celebration of 10th anniversary of Turkish independence at invitation of Turkish government.
- 31—Decree on obligatory payments by industrial enterprises for support of day nurseries and kindergartens.

#### November

- 6—Lord Chilston, new British Ambassador to Moscow, presents his credentials.  
—Speech by Molotov at Moscow Soviet reviewing international and domestic affairs.  
—Raisky, Chief of Polish military aviation and aides visit Moscow.
- 7—Maxim Litvinoff arrives in the United States.
- 9—Decree permitting free sale of grain by collectives.
- 14—Latvian Diet ratifies London pact defining aggression.  
—Telegram from Afghanistan with assurance of Afghan desire to continue friendly relations under new King.
- 16—Normal diplomatic relations established between the United States and the Soviet Union by an exchange of notes between President Roosevelt and Commissar Litvinoff at the White House.  
—Persia's ratification of pact defining aggression delivered at Narkomindel.  
—Herr Nadolny, new German Ambassador, arrives in Moscow.
- 17—President Roosevelt officially announces resumption of relations and makes public the documents exchanged. Appointment of Mr. William C. Bullitt as first American Ambassador to the Soviet Union announced.  
—Property of old Russian embassy in Washington delivered to representatives of the Soviet Union.  
—Litvinoff speaks at National Press Club in Washington.  
—Finnish Diet ratifies pact defining aggression.
- 19—Appointment of Alexander Troyanovsky as Soviet Ambassador to the United States announced. Boris E. Skvirsky, formerly head of Soviet Union Information Bureau in Washington, appointed Charge d'Affaires pending Troyanovsky's arrival, thereafter to serve as counselor to the Embassy of the U.S.S.R.
- 24—Litvinoff makes farewell speech at dinner given in his honor in New York by American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.
- 25—Litvinoff sails from New York.

#### December

- 2—Litvinoff arrives in Rome on invitation of Italian Government.
- 3—Litvinoff confers with Mussolini.
- 4—Soviet-Latvian Trade Agreement signed in Moscow, and Latvian ratification of convention defining aggression deposited.  
—Estonia deposits ratification of convention defining aggression.
- 5—Protocol providing for continuation during 1934 of the Soviet-Italian Trade Agreement concluded May 6, 1933, signed in Rome.
- 9—Litvinoff returns to Moscow.
- 11—Decree providing privileges for population of Far Eastern Region.

- 13—William C. Bullitt, first United States Ambassador to Moscow, presents his credentials and exchanges friendly speeches with President Kalinin.
- 14—Lithuania deposits ratification of convention defining aggressor.  
—State grain deliveries completed ahead of plan.
- 15—Soviet-Italian non-aggression pact enters into effect with exchange of ratification documents.
- 19—Latvian Diet unanimously ratifies new Soviet-Latvian Trade Treaty.  
—Opening of IV session of R.S.F.S.R. Central Executive Committee.
- 20—New Soviet-Finnish timber floating convention ratified by Finnish Diet.
- 24—Bobriki chemical plant completed ahead of schedule.  
—Turkish National Assembly ratifies pact defining aggression.
- 22—Soviet-Latvian Trade Agreement ratified by TSIK.
- 26—Anatole Lunacharsky dies in France.
- 27—The city of Bobriki renamed Stalinogorsk.
- 28—Session of TSIK opens in Moscow.
- 29—Litvinoff addresses TSIK.
- 30—Publication of basic figures and outline of second five-year plan.

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## ANATOLE LUNACHARSKY

Anatole Lunacharsky, recently appointed Soviet Ambassador to Spain, died at Mentone, France, on December 26, after a prolonged illness.

Born in 1875, Lunacharsky began his revolutionary activities at the age of fifteen. He joined the Bolsheviks at the time of the split with the Mensheviks in 1903. He lived abroad until the February revolution, and joined the Russian Communist Party in August, 1917. Lunacharsky, one of the most versatile and beloved of the Soviet leaders, always took a keen and active interest in education, literature and art and was the first Commissar for Education after the October revolution, holding this position until 1929. He then became Chairman of the Scientific and Educational Institutions of the Soviet Union which position he held until his appointment to Spain.

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## BOOKS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 24)

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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.
- "First To Go Back," by Irina Skariatina. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1933. \$2.75.
- "Red Medicine—Socialized Health in Soviet Russia," by Sir Arthur Newsholme and John A. Kingsbury. Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, 1933. \$2.50.
- "The Great Offensive," by Maurice Hindus. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, New York, 1933. \$3.00.
- "The United States and the Soviet Union," Committee on Russian-American Relations. The American Foundation, New York, 1933.
- "Woman in Soviet Russia," by Fannina W. Halle. Translated from the German. The Viking Press, New York, 1933. \$4.50.
- "Soviet Russia 1917-1933," by Vera Micheles Dean. Published jointly by the World Peace Foundation, Boston, and the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1933. Cloth, \$5.00; paper, \$2.25.

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*The following list is given in chronological order.*

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- "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 Abraham 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 Dobbs. 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.
- "Soviet Union Year Book," by A. A. Santalov and Louis Segal. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, England, 1930 (May be obtained from Amkniga Corporation, 258 Fifth Avenue, New York City. \$2.50).
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(Continued on page 23)



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◆ In This Issue ◆

SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

STALIN'S REPORT

THE STRATOSTAT DISASTER

XVII PARTY CONGRESS

ANATOLE LUNACHARSKY

LITVINOFF ADDRESSES TSIK

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Stalin's Report .....	26	Litvinoff Addresses TSIK .....	58
The Second Five-Year Plan .....	38	Foreign Miscellany:	
Resolution on Second Five-Year Plan.....	50	New Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement.....	68
State Budget for 1934 .....	51	Franco-Soviet Trade Agreement .....	68
TSIK and Party Congress Meet .....	52	Ratification of Italian-Soviet Customs Con- vention .....	68
Anatole Lunacharsky .....	55	Finland Ratifies Pact Defining Aggression..	68
The Stratostat Disaster .....	56	Hungarian-Soviet Relations .....	68
Privileges for East Siberian and Buryat-Mon- golian Settlers .....	57	Soviet Credits to Turkey .....	68
		Recent Diplomatic Appointments.....	68

## Stalin's Report

*At the opening session of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. on January 26, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Party, made a four-hour report on the international, economic and political situation in the U.S.S.R. during the three-year period since the last congress of the Party. The report was published in the Soviet press of January 28. We publish below, as fully as space permits, a translation of the second section of the report, dealing with the economic situation.*

### Continued Rise of the National Economy and Internal Situation of the U.S.S.R.

FROM the point of view of the internal situation of the U.S.S.R., the period reported on presents a picture of dynamic progress both in the field of national economy and in the field of culture.

This progress has not been simply a quantitative accumulation of forces. It has been remarkable in that it has wrought a radical change in the structure of the U.S.S.R., and has fundamentally transformed the aspect of the country.

During this period the U.S.S.R. has been completely reorganized, and has thrown off its backwardness and medievalism. Instead of an agrarian country it has become an industrial country. Instead of a country of petty individual agriculture, it has become a country of collective, large-scale, mechanized agriculture. Instead of a country dark, illiterate and uncultured, it has become—or more truly, is becoming—a country lit-

erate and cultured, covered with an enormous system of higher, middle and lower schools carried on in the languages of all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

New branches of industry have been established: machine building, an automobile industry, a tractor industry, a chemical industry, motor construction, airplane construction, combine construction, the manufacture of powerful turbines and generators, of high quality steel, iron alloys, synthetic rubber, nitrates, artificial fiber, etc., etc.

During this period there have been built and put into operation thousands of new and entirely modern industrial enterprises—such industrial giants as Dnieprostroy, Magnitostroy, Kuznet-skstroy, Cheliabstroy, Bobriki, Uralmashstroy, Krammashstroy. Thousands of old enterprises have been reconstructed on the basis of new technique. New enterprises have been built and industrial centers created in the national republics and on the outskirts of the U.S.S.R.: in White Russia, in the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus, in

Remains of Soviet Socialist Republics  
1918-1926

Transcaucasia, in Central Asia, in Kazakstan, in Buriat-Mongolia, in Tartary, Bashkiria, in the Urals, in East and West Siberia, in the Far East, etc.

Over 200,000 collectives and 5,000 state farms with new district centers and industrial points for them have been established.

Large new cities with large populations have grown up where there was only empty space before. The old cities and industrial centers have undergone colossal development.

The foundation has been laid for the Ural-Kuznetsky *combinat*\*—uniting the coking coal of the Kuznetsk Basin with the iron ore of the Urals. The new metallurgical base in the East may thus be considered transformed from dream to reality.

The foundation has been laid for a new and powerful oil base in the regions of the western and southern slopes of the Ural mountain range—in Ural Region, Bashkiria and Kazakstan.

It is obvious that the enormous capital investment of the state in all branches of the national economy, which has amounted to more than 60 billion rubles during the period covered by the report was not spent in vain and is already beginning to show results.

As a result of these achievements the national income of the U.S.S.R., increased from 29 billion rubles in 1929 to 50 billion rubles in 1933, while during the same period there was an appreciable

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

decrease in the national income in all capitalist countries without any exception.

How was it possible that such vast changes could take place in a matter of three or four years on the territory of such a huge country with its backward technique and its backward culture? Was this not a miracle? It would have been a miracle if such a development had taken place on the basis of capitalism and petty individual economy. But it cannot be considered a miracle if it is realized that this development took place on the basis of developing socialist construction.

Clearly, this tremendous advance could have taken place only on the basis of successful socialist construction, on the basis of the socialized labor of tens of millions of people, on the basis of the predominance of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist and the individual peasant system.

It is not therefore surprising that the great economic and cultural advance of the U.S.S.R., during the period reported on has meant at the same time the liquidation of the capitalist elements and of the individual peasant farms. At the present time the socialized sector amounts to 99 per cent in the sphere of industry, and 84.5 per cent in agriculture, if we have in view the area under grain crops, while only 15.5 per cent falls to the share of the individual peasant farms.

It is evident therefore that capitalist economy in the U.S.S.R. has already been liquidated, and that the individual peasant sector in the village has taken a position in the background.



Joseph Stalin reviewing a workers' parade

Sovfoto

Lenin said on the introduction of the NEP that our country contained the elements of five social and economic systems; (1) patriarchal economy (to a large degree natural economy); (2) petty commercial production (the majority of the peasants who sell their grain); (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; (5) socialism. Lenin considered that of all these systems the socialist would prevail in the end. We can now say that the first, third and fourth of the social-economic systems no longer exist, the second has been pushed back into a position of secondary importance, and the fifth—the socialist system—has become the unquestionably predominant force in our whole national economy.

### I. Industrial Progress

Of all the branches of the national economy industry has grown the most rapidly. During the period reported on, that is, since 1930, the output of industry has more than doubled, while in comparison with the pre-war level, it has almost quadrupled.

The result of the rapid growth of industrialization has been that the output of industry has occupied the dominating place in the entire production of the national economy. This is shown in the following table:

#### SHARE OF INDUSTRY IN THE GROSS PRODUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

	Percentage to total in prices of 1926-27					
	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Industry .....	42.1	54.5	61.6	66.7	70.7	70.4
Agriculture .....	57.9	45.5	38.4	33.3	29.3	29.6

This means that our country has become solidly and finally an industrial nation.

Of decisive importance in the matter of industrialization is the growth of the manufacture of the instruments and means of production in the general development of industry. The figures for the period under report show that these articles have occupied the dominating position. This is shown in the following table:

#### SHARE OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE TWO BASIC BRANCHES OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY

	Gross production in billions of rubles, prices of 1926-27				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
All Large Scale					
Industry .....	21.0	27.5	33.9	38.5	41.9
Group A—Means of Production .....	10.2	14.5	18.8	22.0	24.3
Group B—Articles of Consumption .....	10.8	13.0	15.1	16.5	17.6
Share, in percentage					
Group A—Means of Production .....	48.5	52.6	55.4	57.0	58.0
Group B—Articles of Consumption .....	51.5	47.4	44.6	43.0	42.0

This table needs no explanation.

In our country, still so young technically, industry has special problems. Not only must all branches of industry itself be reconstructed on a new technical foundation, including light industry, the food industry, the lumber industry. All forms of transport and all branches of agriculture must be reconstructed as well. But these problems can only be solved if machine construction — the keystone of the reconstruction of the national economy — occupies the predominant place. The facts for the period of the report show that machine construction has won for itself a leading role in industry as a whole, as may be seen in the following table:

#### PRODUCTION OF SEPARATE BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY

	U.S.S.R.			
	1913	1929	1932	1933
Coal .....	2.9	2.1	1.7	2.0
Coke .....	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.6
Oil Production .....	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4
Oil Refining .....	2.3	2.5	2.9	2.6
Ferrous Metallurgy .....	4.5	3.7	4.0	4.0
Non-Ferrous Metallurgy .....	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2
Machine Construction .....	11.0	14.8	25.0	26.1
Basic Chemicals .....	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.9
Cotton Goods .....	18.3	15.2	7.6	7.3
Wool .....	3.1	3.1	1.9	1.8

This means that our industry is developing on a healthy foundation and the key to its reconstruction — machine building — is entirely in our hands. It is only necessary that it be utilized wisely and efficiently.

An interesting picture is presented by the development of industry for the period of the report in the socialized sector as shown by the following table:

#### PRODUCTION OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY

	Gross production in millions of rubles, prices of 1926-27				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Entire Production .....	21,025	27,477	33,903	38,464	41,968
Divided as follows:					
1. Socialized					
Industry .....	20,891	27,402	33,903	38,436	41,940
Divided into:					
a. State Industry..	19,143	24,989	33,903	35,587	38,922
b. Cooperative					
Industry .....	1,748	2,413	2,413	2,894	3,008
2. Private					
Industry .....	134	75	75	28	28
				In percentage	
1. Socialized					
Industry .....	99.4	99.7	99.7	99.93	99.93
Divided into:					
a. State Industry..	91.1	90.9	90.9	92.52	92.76
b. Cooperative					
Industry .....	8.3	8.8	8.8	7.41	7.17
2. Private					
Industry .....	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.07	0.07

From this table it is evident that we have already finished with the capitalist elements in industry and that the socialist system of economy is now the single and dominant system in our industry.

But of all the successes that have been won by industry during the period under report, most important of all is the fact that during that period it has been able to train and forge thousands of new workers and new directors of industry, large numbers of new engineers and technicians, hundreds of thousands of young skilled workers who have mastered the new technique, and are pushing forward our socialist industry. There can be no doubt that without these people our industry could not have achieved the successes which it has achieved, and of which it is justly proud. During the period under report industry has received from the factory and shop apprentice schools, about 800,000 more or less highly skilled workers, and from the higher technical schools, colleges and technicums, more than 580,000 engineers and technicians. If it is true that the problem of skilled labor forces is the most serious problem of our development, then it must be recognized that our industry has started seriously to overcome this problem.

Such are the main achievements of our industry.

It would, however, be incorrect to assume that industry has had only successes. On the contrary, it has its shortcomings as well, of which the main ones are the following:

(a) Continued lagging behind of ferrous metallurgy;

(b) Disorganization in non-ferrous metallurgy;

(c) Underestimation of the grave importance of the development of the mining of local coal as part of the general fuel balance of the country (the coal of the Sub-Moscow District, the Caucasus, the Urals, Karaganda, Central Asia, Siberia, the Far East, the Northern Region, etc.);

(d) Lack of sufficient attention to the question of organizing new oil bases in the Ural, Bashkiria and Emba Districts;

(e) Lack of serious concern for the development of the manufacture of goods for mass consumption, both in the light industry, the food industry and the lumber industry;

(f) Lack of sufficient attention to the development of local industry;

(g) An entirely impermissible attitude to the question of improving the quality of production;

(h) Continued backwardness in the matter of raising labor productivity, lowering costs, and introducing economic accounting;

(i) Continued failure to liquidate faulty organization of labor and wages, lack of individual responsibility, and equalization of wages;

(j) The persistence of bureaucratic methods of management in the economic commissariats and their organs, including the commissariats

for light industry and for the food industries.

It would be superfluous to point out again the absolute necessity for the immediate liquidation of these shortcomings. Ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, as is well known, failed to fulfill their plans throughout the first *piatiletka* (five-year plan). They have not even fulfilled them for the first year of the second *piatiletka*. If they continue to fall behind, they may become a brake on all industry, and the cause of a breakdown. As regards the creation of a new base for the coal and oil industries, it is not difficult to understand that if we fail to carry out this urgent problem both industry and transport may go on the rocks. Nor is it necessary to elucidate further the question of consumer's goods, and the development of local industry, nor such questions as the improvement of the quality of production, an increase in labor productivity, lowering of costs, and introduction of economic accounting. As regards faulty organization of labor and wages, and bureaucratic methods of management, this dangerous illness has infected all branches of industry, hampering their development, as has been shown in the case of the Donbas, as well as the enterprises of light industry and the food industries. If this is not liquidated industry will be crippled completely.

## II. Agricultural Progress

The development in the sphere of agriculture has been somewhat different. The progress of the basic branches of agriculture has gone much slower than industry, but at the same time has been more rapid than during the period when individual economy predominated. In the case of livestock we even have the opposite process—a decrease in the number of cattle, and only in the year 1933 have there been noticeable signs of increase, and that in the case of hogs alone.

It is obvious that the tremendous difficulties attendant upon combining small peasant farms into collectives, the arduous task of creating in an almost empty place a large number of big grain and livestock farms and in general the whole reorganization period of changing over individual peasant economy to collective economy, requiring much time and expense — all these factors have inevitably predetermined both a slower rate of progress for agriculture and a comparatively long period of decline in livestock development.

Actually the period of the report was for agriculture not so much a period of swift progress and mighty advances as it was a period of creating the prerequisites for such advances in the near future.

If we take the figures on the growth of the seeded area for all crops and then for the technical crops in particular, then the development of



Workers' apartment houses in Kiev *Sovfoto*



New Government buildings in Minsk, White Russia *Sovfoto*

agriculture during the period in question is pictured as follows:

SEEDED AREA FOR ALL CROPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>In millions of hectares</i>					
	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Entire Seeded Area	105.0	118.0	127.2	136.3	134.4	129.7
<i>Divided as follows:</i>						
(a) Grain Crops	94.4	96.0	101.8	104.4	99.7	101.5
(b) Technical Crops	4.5	8.8	10.5	14.0	14.9	12.0
(c) Vegetable Gardens	3.8	7.6	8.0	9.1	9.2	8.6
(d) Fodder	2.1	5.0	6.5	8.8	10.6	7.3

SEEDED AREA UNDER TECHNICAL CROPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>In millions of hectares</i>					
	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Cotton	0.69	1.06	1.58	2.14	2.17	2.05
Flax (long fibre)	1.02	1.63	1.75	2.39	2.51	2.40
Sugar Beets	0.65	0.77	1.04	1.39	1.54	1.21
Vegetable Oil Crops	2.00	5.20	5.22	7.55	7.98	5.79

These tables show the two main lines the development of agriculture has taken:

(1) The line of the greatest possible extension of the seeded area during the period when the reorganization of agriculture was at its height, when the collectives were being created by the tens of thousands, when the kulaks were being driven from the land, and land thus released was being taken over and put in order.

(2) The line of discontinuing the indiscriminate extension of the seeded area and concentrating instead on improved methods of working the land, on the introduction of correct crop rotation and summer fallow, on increasing crop yields and, if practical considerations required it, even in some cases temporarily reducing the existing seeded area.

As is well known, the second line—the only correct line in agriculture—was proclaimed in 1932 when the reorganization period in agriculture came to an end and the question of increasing crop yields became one of the most pressing questions in agricultural development.

But figures on the growth of the seeded area cannot be considered entirely adequate indices of the development of agriculture. It sometimes happens that the seeded area is extended but production not only does not increase, but on the contrary declines because the land is less well cultivated. Therefore, the figures on seeded area must be supplemented by figures on total production, as shown in the following table:

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF GRAIN AND TECHNICAL CROPS

	<i>In millions of centners</i>					
	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Grain	801.0	717.4	835.4	694.8	698.7	898.0
Cotton (raw)	7.4	8.6	11.1	12.9	12.7	13.2
Flax (fibre)	3.3	3.6	4.4	5.5	5.0	5.6
Sugar Beets	109.0	62.5	140.2	120.5	65.6	90.0
Vegetable Oil Crops	21.5	35.8	36.2	51.0	45.5	46.0

From this table it may be seen that the years when the reorganization of agriculture was at its height—1931 and 1932—were the years of the greatest decrease in the yield of grain crops.

From this table it may further be seen that flax and cotton, which were grown in districts where the reorganization of agriculture proceeded at a less rapid rate, hardly suffered at all and have progressed at a comparatively steady and consistent rate, maintaining the high level of their development.

From this table it may be seen in the third place that while the vegetable oil crops experienced only slight fluctuations, maintaining a high level of development in comparison with the pre-war period, sugar beets, which are grown in districts where the highest rate of agricultural reorganization may be observed and which entered last of all upon the reorganization period, showed the greatest decrease during the last year of reorganization, in 1932, when production fell below the pre-war level.

From this table it may be seen, finally, that 1933—the first year after the completion of the

reorganization period—marked the turning point in the development of grain and technical crops.

This means that grain crops first of all, and after them the technical crops, will from now on follow a course of great, steady and consistent progress.

The livestock branch of agriculture was the branch most adversely affected by the reorganization period, as shown in the following table:

## LIVESTOCK IN THE U.S.S.R.

	Millions of heads					
	1916	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Horses .....	35.1	34.0	30.2	26.2	19.6	16.6
Large horned cattle .....	58.9	68.1	52.5	47.9	40.7	38.6
Sheep and goats.....	115.2	147.2	108.8	77.7	52.1	50.6
Hogs .....	20.3	20.9	13.6	14.4	11.6	12.2

This table shows that in livestock raising there took place during the period under report not an advance but rather a steady decline in comparison with the pre-war level. Obviously the fact that the livestock branch of agriculture was for the most part in the hands of the large kulak elements on the one hand, and the intense kulak agitation for the slaughter of cattle, which reached its highest development in the years of reorganization, on the other hand, find expression in this table.

This table shows further that the decrease in livestock began with the first year of reorganization (1930) and continued right up to 1933, and further that the decrease reached the greatest proportions in the first three years, while in 1933, the first after the completion of the reorganization period, when grain yields started upward, the extent of decline in livestock was at its minimum point.

The table shows, finally, that in hog-raising the opposite process has set in, and in 1933 signs of an actual increase are apparent.

This means that the year 1934 must and will mark the transition to a period of increase in livestock raising.

How has the collectivization of agriculture developed during the period under report? The following table shows this:

## COLLECTIVIZATION

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Number of collectives (in thousands) .....	57.0	85.9	211.1	211.05	224.5
Number of farms in collec- tives (in millions).....	1.0	6.0	13.0	14.9	15.2
Percentage of collectiva- zation of peasant farms..	3.9	23.6	52.7	61.5	65.0

## SPECIAL NOTICE TO OUR READERS

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The index will be sent free on request.

And what has been the growth of the seeded area under grains in the different sectors? The following table shows this:

## SEEDED AREA UNDER GRAIN ACCORDING TO SECTORS

Sectors	In millions of hectares					Percentage of the area of 1933
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	
(1) State farms .....	1.5	2.9	8.1	9.3	10.8	10.6
(2) Collectives .....	3.4	29.7	61.0	69.1	75.0	73.9
(3) Individual peasants .....	91.1	69.2	35.3	21.3	15.7	15.5
Entire seeded area under grain in U.S.S.R. ....	96.0	101.8	104.4	99.7	101.5	100

What do these tables indicate?

They indicate that the reorganization period of agriculture, when the number of collectives and the number of collective members grew at a feverish rate is already over, was over in fact in 1932.

Consequently, the further process of collectivization will be a process of the gradual absorption and re-training of the remnants of the individual peasant farms by the collectives.

This means that the collectives have conquered finally and irrevocably.

These tables indicate further that the state farms and collectives together control 84.5 percent of the entire area under grain in the U.S.S.R.



Factory kitchen in Baku

Sovfoto

They indicate that the collectives and state farms together represent a force which determines the fate of all agriculture and of all its branches.

They indicate further that the 65 per cent of peasant farms united in collectives control 73.9 per cent of the entire area under grain, whereas the entire mass of remaining individual peasant farms, making up 35 per cent of the entire peasant population, control altogether only 15.5 per cent of the entire seeded area under grain.

If we add to this the fact that in 1933 the collectives delivered to the government altogether more than a billion poods\* of grain, and the individual peasants, fulfilling the plan by 100 per cent, gave to the government altogether about 130,000,000 poods, whereas in 1929-1930 the individual peasants delivered to the government about 780,000,000 poods, and the collectives not more than 120,000,000 poods, then it becomes clear beyond all question that during the period of the report the collectives and the individual peasants have completely exchanged roles. During that period the collectives have become the dominating force in agriculture and the individual peasants a secondary force compelled to be dependent upon and to adapt themselves to the collective structure.

It must be recognized that the working peasantry, our Soviet peasantry, have finally and irrevocably come under the red banner of Socialism.

The strength of the collectives and state farms is not represented, however, solely by the growth of their seeded area and production. It is expressed also in the growth of their tractor park and the extent of their mechanization. Undoubtedly in this respect our collectives and state farms have taken a long step forward. This is shown in the following table:

missariat for State Farms, the figures are shown in the following tables:

#### IN THE MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS

	1930	1931	1932	1933
Combines .....	7	100	2,200	11,500
Motors and traction engines ...	100	4,900	6,200	17,600
Complex and semi-complex threshing machines .....	2,900	27,800	37,000	50,000
Electrical motors for threshing .....	168	268	551	1,283
Number of repair shops in MTS .....	104	770	1,220	1,933
Light automobiles .....	200	1,000	6,000	13,500
Motor trucks .....	17	191	245	2,800

#### AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY IN THE STATE FARMS

	1930	1931	1932	1933
Combines .....	1,700	6,300	11,900	13,500
Motors and traction engines...	300	700	1,200	2,500
Complex and semi-complex threshing machines .....	1,400	4,200	7,100	8,000
Electrical motors for threshing .....	42	112	164	222
Repair shops:				
(a) Capital repairs .....	72	133	208	302
(b) Medium repairs .....	75	160	215	476
(c) Current repairs .....	205	310	578	1,166
Motor trucks .....	2,100	3,700	6,200	10,900
Light automobiles .....	118	385	625	1,890

I think these figures need no further elucidation.

Of no little significance in the improvement of agriculture have likewise been the organization of political sections in the MTS and state farms and the supplying of skilled workers for agriculture. Everyone now recognizes that the workers in the political sections played an enormous role in the matter of improving the work of the collectives and state farms. It is well known that during the period reported on the Central Committee of the Party sent to the village, in order to strengthen the ranks of the agricultural workers, more than 23,000 Communists of whom over 3,000 were land workers,

#### TRACTORS IN THE AGRICULTURE OF THE U.S.S.R.

(Including Amortization)

	In thousands of tractors					In thousands of horse-power				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total number of tractors.....	34.9	72.1	125.3	148.5	204.1	391.4	1,003.5	1,850	2,225	3,100
<i>Divided as follows:</i>										
(a) Tractors in MTS .....	2.4	31.1	63.3	74.8	122.3	23.9	372.5	848	1,077	1,782
(b) Tractors in all state farms	9.7	27.7	51.5	64.0	81.8	123.4	483.1	892	1,043	1,318

Thus we have altogether 204,000 tractors representing 3,100,000 h. p. for the collectives and state farms. A force, as you see, by no means small, and capable of rooting out each and every vestige of capitalism in the village. A force double that of the number of tractors of which Lenin in his time spoke as a far-off goal.

As for the amount of agricultural machinery in the MTS (machine and tractor stations) and in the state farms under the People's Com-

over 2,000 were state farm workers, over 13,000 workers for the political sections of the MTS, and over 5,000 workers for the political sections of the state farms.

The same must be said regarding the supply of new engineering, technical and agricultural forces for the collectives and state farms. As is well known, during the period covered by the report, over 111,000 workers of these groups were sent into agriculture.

Over 1,900,000 tractorists, combine operators and chauffers were trained during this period

\*A pood equals 36 lbs.



and sent out to enterprises under the Commissariat for Agriculture alone.

Over 1,600,000 persons were trained and re-trained during the same period for such positions as chairmen and administration members of the collectives, as brigade leaders for field work and livestock, and as bookkeepers.

As you see, the state has done everything possible to lighten the work of the organs of the Commissariat for Agriculture and the Commissariat for State Farms in the management of collectives and the establishment of state farms.

Can it be said that all these possibilities have been utilized as they should have been? Unfortunately, that cannot be said.

To begin with, the agricultural commissariats are infected to a greater degree than other commissariats with the disease of a bureaucratic attitude toward their work. They settle questions, but they do not think about checking up on their fulfillment, calling to order those who violate the instructions of the directing organs and promoting honest and conscientious workers.

It would seem that the presence of such a huge quantity of tractors and machinery would compel the land organs to see that these machines were kept in order, repaired on time and utilized in a more or less efficient manner. What has been done in this field? Unfortunately, very little. The care of tractors and agricultural machinery is not satisfactory. Repair work is also unsatisfactory, because they still do not wish to understand that the basis of repair work is current repairs and medium repairs and not capital repairs.

One of the current problems of agriculture is the introduction of correct crop rotation, the extension of summer fallow, and the improvement of the seeds used for all branches. What is being done in this sphere? Unfortunately, still very little.

The matter of seeds for grain and cotton is still so confused that it will take a long time to straighten it out.

One of the important means for increasing the yield of technical crops is the supply of fertilizers. What is being done in this sphere? Still very little. The fertilizers are there, but the organs of the Agricultural Commissariat do not understand how they should be used, and do not concern themselves sufficiently with seeing that they are delivered on time and used properly.

With regard to the state farms, it must be said that they have still not gotten hold of their problems. I am far from under-estimating the great revolutionary significance of our state farms. But if we compare the tremendous investments the state has made in these farms with present actual results in the work of the

farms, we find a great discrepancy on the side of the state farms. The chief cause of this discrepancy is the circumstance that our state grain farms are too unwieldy, the directors are not able to manage such huge farms, the state farms themselves are too highly specialized, do not use proper crop rotation or fallow land, and do not include livestock sections. It is obviously necessary to break up the state farms and to liquidate their excessive specialization. It might have been expected that the Commissariat for State Farms would have taken up this question and already have solved it. But this has not been the case. The question was taken up and considered on the initiative of persons who had no relation whatever to the Commissariat for State Farms.

Finally the question of livestock. I have already reported on the unfavorable situation in our stock breeding. It might have been thought that our land organs would have displayed the most intense activity in liquidating the livestock crisis, that they would have raised the alarm, mobilized their workers and begun an assault on the livestock problem. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind has taken place or is taking place. They not only do not raise the alarm, about the serious situation in livestock, but — on the contrary — attempt to gloss over the question, and sometimes in their reports even attempt to conceal from the public the real state of affairs, which is entirely impermissible for Bolsheviks. To hope, after this, that the land organs will be able to take hold of this problem and raise livestock breeding to the necessary level is to build on sand. The business of livestock must be taken into the hands of the entire Party, of all our workers, Party and non-Party, bearing in mind that the livestock problem is now a problem of such paramount importance as was yesterday the grain problem, which has already been successfully settled. It is not necessary to point out that our Soviet people, who have already removed more than one serious obstacle to their progress, will be able to remove this obstacle as well.

This is a brief and far from complete survey of the shortcomings which must be liquidated and of the problems which must be solved in the near future.

But even these problems do not tell the whole story. There are still other problems in our agriculture regarding which a few words should be spoken.

We must first of all bear in mind that the old division of our regions into industrial and agrarian has already been outlived. There are no longer regions exclusively agrarian, which supply grain, meat, and vegetables to the industrial regions, just as we have no longer any exclusively industrial regions which can count on

receiving all the necessary products from outside, from other regions. The development is taking the direction that all regions are becoming more or less industrial and will become more so as time goes on. This means that the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Central Black Earth region, and other former agrarian regions, are no longer able to send out as large quantities of agricultural products as was formerly the case, since they are compelled to feed their own cities and their own workers, whose number will continue to grow. But from this it follows that each region must develop its own agricultural base, in order to have its own vegetables, its own potatoes, its own dairy products, and to one degree or another its own grain and its own meat, if it does not wish to get into a difficult position. You know that this is entirely possible and is already being done. The question now is to use every means possible to complete this development.

Attention should also be directed to the fact that the well-known division of our regions into consuming and producing is already beginning to undergo modification. Such "consuming" regions as Moscow and Gorky delivered this year to the state about 80,000,000 poods of grain. That certainly is no trifle. In the so-called consuming belt there are about 5,000,000 hectares of virgin land covered with shrubbery. It is well known that the climate in this section is not bad, that there is considerable rainfall and droughts do not occur. If this land is cleared of brush, and a number of organizational steps are taken, it might be turned into an enormous grain growing section capable of producing a quantity of commercial grain, under the ordinarily high crop yields in this locality, not lower than we now receive from the lower and central Volga regions. This would be a great help for the northern industrial centers.

Finally the question of the struggle against drought in the Volga region. The planting of trees and a protective timber belt in the eastern Volga regions is of great importance. This work, as is well known, is already being carried on, although it cannot be said that it is being done with sufficient intensity. As regards irrigation of the Volga regions—and this is the most important thing from the point of view of combatting drought—it must not be permitted that this be postponed indefinitely. To be sure, it has been somewhat hampered by certain external circumstances which have diverted labor and funds in other directions. But there is now no basis for further postponement. We cannot do without a solid and entirely stable base for grain production on the Volga which will be independent of weather conditions and able to produce annually 200,000,000 poods of commercial grain. This is entirely necessary if we

consider the growth of cities on the Volga on the one hand and all the possible complications in the sphere of international relations on the other.

The problem is now to enter upon serious organization of the irrigation of the Volga region.

### III. Advance in the Material Condition and Culture of the Workers

Unemployment, the scourge of the working class, has disappeared. While in the bourgeois countries millions of unemployed are undergoing want and suffering because of lack of work, we have no longer any workers without jobs and wages.

With the end of kulak bondage, poverty in the village has disappeared. Any peasant, whether he be a collective member or an individual peasant, now has the chance to live as a human being, just so long as he wishes to work conscientiously, and not to live as an idler or tramp and not to squander collective property.

The elimination of exploitation, the elimination of unemployment in the city and of poverty in the village—these are achievements of historical importance in the material position of the workers of which the workers and peasants in even the most "democratic" of bourgeois countries cannot even dream.

The aspect of our large cities and industrial centers has changed. The inevitable sign of a large city in the bourgeois countries is always the slum district, the so-called workers' quarters on the outskirts of the city representing a cluster of dark, damp and for the most part rickety and half-ruined dwellings where ordinarily the propertyless people live . . . The revolution in the U.S.R.R. meant the disappearance of slums in our country. They have been replaced by the new workers' quarters, well built and light, which in many cases have a better appearance than the center of the city.

Still greater has been the change in the appearance of the village. The old village with its church in the most conspicuous place, its best houses occupied by officials, priests and kulaks, and its tumbledown huts occupied by the peasants, has begun to disappear. In its place is appearing the new village with its buildings for social and economic purposes, with its clubs, radio, cinema, schools, libraries and day nurseries, with its tractors, combines, threshing machines and automobiles. Gone is the old conspicuous figure of the kulak exploiter, the usurer, the speculator-merchant, the petty official. Now the conspicuous figures are the workers of the collectives and state farms, the schools and clubs, the head tractorists and combine operators, the brigade leaders in field work and livestock and the best men and women shock troop workers from the collective fields.



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Old time dwellings in the foreground, new workers' apartments in the background—  
Minsk

The differences between town and country are disappearing. The city is ceasing to be a center of exploitation in the eyes of the peasants. The thread of the economic and cultural *smychka* (union) between town and country is growing ever stronger. The village is now receiving aid from the city and its industry in the form of tractors, agricultural machinery, automobiles, workers, funds. And the village itself has now its own industry in the shape of machine and tractor stations, repair shops, all kinds of industrial enterprises in connection with the collectives, small power stations, etc. The cultural chasm between town and country is being bridged.

Such are the chief achievements of the workers in the sphere of improving their material situation, living conditions and culture.

On the basis of the above, we can enumerate the following achievements for the period covered by the report:

(a) An increase in the national income from 35,000,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 50,000,000,000 rubles in 1933, and furthermore, since the share of the capitalist elements, including concessionaires, constitutes at the present time less than half of one per cent of the national income, almost the entire national income is distributed among workers and employees, the working peasantry, the cooperative system and the state.

(b) An increase in the population of the Soviet Union from 160,500,000 at the end of 1930 to 168,000,000 at the end of 1933.

(c) An increase in the number of workers and employees from 14,530,000 in 1930 to 21,883,000 in 1933. Furthermore the number of persons engaged in physical labor increased during this period from 9,489,000 to 13,797,000; the

number of workers in large scale industry, including transport workers, increased from 5,079,000 to 6,882,000; the number of agricultural workers from 1,426,000 to 2,519,000; and the number of workers and employees in trading organizations from 814,000 to 1,497,000.

(d) An increase in the total wage fund of workers and employees from 13,597,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 34,280,000,000 rubles in 1933.

(e) An increase in the average annual wages of industrial workers from 991 rubles in 1930 to 1,519 rubles in 1933.

(f) An increase in the social insurance fund for workers and employees from 1,810,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 4,610,000,000 rubles in 1933.

(g) The introduction of the seven-hour working day throughout all above-ground industry.

(h) State aid to the peasants in the form of the organization for them of 2,860 machine and tractor stations representing an investment of 2,000,000,000 rubles.

(i) State aid to the peasants in the form of credit to the collectives to the extent of 1,600,000,000 rubles.

(j) State aid to the peasants in the form of seed and food loans amounting to 262,000,000 poods of grain during the period of the report.

(k) State aid to the weaker peasants in the form of tax exemption and insurance to the extent of 370,000,000 rubles.

With regard to the cultural development of the country, we may record the following achievements during the period covered by the report:

(a) Introduction throughout the entire U.S.S.R. of universal obligatory primary education and an increase in literacy from sixty-seven per cent at the end of 1930 to ninety per cent at the end of 1933.

(b) An increase in the number of pupils in schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933; the increase in primary education being from 11,697,000 to 19,163,000; in grammar and high school education from 2,453,000 to 6,674,000; in higher education from 207,000 to 491,000.

(c) An increase in the number of children undergoing pre-school training from 838,000 in 1929 to 5,917,000 in 1933.

(d) A growth in the number of higher educational institutions, both general and specialized from 91 in 1914 to 600 in 1933.

(e) A growth in the number of scientific-research institutes from 400 in 1929 to 840 in 1933.

(f) A growth in the number of institutions in the nature of clubs from 32,000 in 1929 to 54,000 in 1933.

(g) A growth in the number of cinema theaters, cinema projectors in clubs and traveling cinemas from 9,800 in 1929 to 29,200 in 1933.

(h) A growth in the total circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933.

Worth noting as a gratifying fact and as a sign of the cultural growth of the village, is the increased activity of the women collective members in social and organizational work. We know, for instance, that at the present time there are about 6,000 women collective members holding the post of kolhoz president, over 60,000 women are members of the administration of collectives, 28,000 are brigade leaders, 100,000 are section organizers, 9,000 are directors of commercial collective farms, and 7,000 are tractorists. Obviously these figures are not complete, but they are sufficient to bespeak clearly the tremendous cultural growth in the village. This circumstance, comrades, is of tremendous importance. It is of tremendous importance because women make up half the population of our country, they

make up a huge labor army, and they are called upon to bring up our children, our future generation, that is, our own future. That is why we cannot permit that this great army of workers should vegetate in darkness and ignorance! That is why we must welcome the growing social activity of working women and their promotion to leading positions as an indubitable sign of our cultural growth.

Finally, still another fact must be noted, this one of a negative character. I have in view the impermissible situation that the pedagogical and medical faculties are still kept in the background. This is a great defect bordering on injury to the interests of the state. We must absolutely put an end to this situation and the sooner the better.

#### IV. Improvement in Goods Exchange and Transport

We have thus:

(a) An increase in industrial production, including production of consumers' goods;

(b) An increase in agricultural production;

(c) An increase in the requirements and demand for products and goods on the part of the working masses of town and country.

What more is required in order to weld together all these factors and to guarantee to the whole mass of consumers that they shall receive the necessary goods and products?

Certain comrades consider that the mere presence of these conditions is sufficient so that the economic life of the country will rush ahead on its own momentum, like water released from a dam. That is a serious delusion. One might imagine a situation where all these conditions were present but if the goods do not reach the consumer, economic life will not only fail to rush ahead by its own momentum, but on the contrary will be shattered and disorganized to its very foundation. It must finally be understood that goods, in the last analysis, are produced not for the sake of production but for consumption. There have been instances in our country when there were considerable goods and products, but they not only did not reach the consumer but continued for years to travel about in the bureaucratic corners of the so-called trade system far away from the consumers. It is understandable that under such conditions both industry and agriculture should lose every stimulus to increase production. The trade apparatus was glutted with goods, but the workers and peasants remained without goods and products. As a result the economic life of the country was disrupted in spite of the presence of goods and products. In order that the economic life of the country should have the necessary momentum and that industry and agriculture should have the necessary stimulus for the further growth of



In a Kalmyk kolhoz day nursery

Sovfoto

their production, still another condition is necessary, namely, the development of goods exchange between town and country, between the districts and regions of the country, between the different branches of the national economy. It is necessary that the country should be covered with a rich system of trade bases, stores, and selling points. It is necessary that along these canals there should flow a steady stream of goods from the point of production to the consumer. It is necessary that the state trading system, the cooperative trading system, local industry, the collectives and the individual peasants should all participate in this.

(Stalin here outlined a number of measures taken by the government to improve the situation of Soviet trade, and continued as follows.)

As a result of these measures, the following achievements for the period reported on may be noted:

(a) An increase in the number of stores and trading points from 184,662 in 1930 to 277,974 in 1933;

(b) A newly established system of regional trade bases amounting to 1,011 units and of district trade bases amounting to 864 units;

(c) A newly established system of workers' supply points amounting to 1,600;

(d) A growth in the system of commercial stores for the selling of bread embracing at the present time 330 cities;

(e) A growth in the system of socialized restaurants, which serve at the present time 19,800,000 persons;

(f) A growth in trade turnover both through state and cooperative stores, including the socialized restaurants, from 18,900,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 49,000,000,000 in 1933.

It would be a mistake to think that this development of Soviet trade is sufficient to satisfy the requirements of our economy. On the contrary, it is now clearer than ever before that the present condition of goods exchange does not meet our needs. Therefore, the problem is the further development of Soviet trade, drawing local industry into it, strengthening collective and peasant trade.

It is necessary, however, to note that this problem is not limited solely to the development of Soviet trade. If the development of our economy is dependent on the development of goods exchange, on the development of Soviet trade, then the development of Soviet trade in its turn, is dependent on the development of our transport by rail, by water and by automobile. It might happen that there are plenty of goods, that there is ample opportunity to develop goods exchange, but that transport has not kept up with the development of trade, and refuses to carry the freight. As is well known, that is just what has frequently happened with us. Therefore, trans-

port is the "narrow place" in which our whole economic system and first of all our goods exchange, may come to grief and, in fact, has already begun to do so.

To be sure, railroad transport has increased the amount of freight carried from 133,900,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1930 to 172,000,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1933. But this is little, far too little, for us, for our economic system.

Water transport has increased the amount of freight carried from 45,600,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1930 to 59,900,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1933, but this also is too little.

I shall not here dwell on automobile transport except to say that the number of automobiles has increased from 8,800 trucks and light cars in 1913 to 117,800 at the end of 1933. This is so little for our national economy that I am even ashamed to mention it.

There can be no doubt that all these forms of transport could have worked very much better if the transport organs had not suffered from a certain illness, from bureaucratic methods of management. Therefore, in addition to helping transport with workers and with funds the problem is to root out from the transport organs this bureaucratic attitude and to make them more efficient.

Comrades! We have succeeded in solving correctly the fundamental problems of our industry and industry is now firmly on its feet. We have also succeeded in solving correctly the basic problems of agriculture and agriculture—we can now say decisively—is also firmly on its feet. But we shall be deprived of the fruits of these successes if our goods exchange begins to limp and transport becomes a dead weight. Therefore, the problem of developing goods exchange and decidedly improving transport is the current and urgent problem without the solution of which we cannot make further progress.



Music hour in a Moscow school

Sovfoto

# The Second Five-Year Plan

*A translation of the most important sections of the report made by Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., at the February 3 session of the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.*

## I. COMPLETION OF TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

During the first *piatiletka* (five-year plan) the main emphasis in our country was on the policy of industrialization. On the basis of the policy of industrialization, which insured the creation of a powerful heavy industry, we were able to achieve great progress in our whole national economy.

In the second five-year plan the policy of industrialization will find its expression in a still further increase in the share of industry in the general production of the national economy:

### SHARE OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IN TOTAL PRODUCTION (in percentage)

	1932	1937
1. All industry .....	76.8	79.5
2. Agriculture .....	23.2	20.5

Thus at the end of the second *piatiletka* the production of industry will make up almost 80 per cent of the entire output of the national economy. That means the U.S.S.R. will have reached the level of the most industrialized countries of the world—Germany and the United States.

The program of the Party for the second *piatiletka* provides for a great increase in industrial production. This production must increase from 43,000,000,000 rubles at the end of the first *piatiletka* to 103,000,000,000 rubles in the last year of the second *piatiletka*. That means that industrial production must increase by 2.4 times during the second *piatiletka* or by nine times in comparison with the pre-war level.

Now as to the rate of industrial production. Contrary to the situation in the first *piatiletka*, when the main mass of production fell to the share of the old or renovated enterprises, the technique of which had already been mastered, in the second *piatiletka* the bulk of production will come from the new enterprises, the technical organization of which in their initial stages has been accompanied by considerable difficulties. From this it follows that along with the tasks of new construction the problem of mastering new technique and new industries is of exceptional importance. From this it also follows that the rate of growth of industrial production in the second *piatiletka* will be somewhat slower than during the first *piatiletka*. That is to say, the average rate of growth per year will be about 19\* per cent instead of 21-22 per cent.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten

\* This rate of increase was subsequently reduced to 16 per cent by the Party Congress, in order to allow for greater qualitative improvement.

that each per cent of increase of industrial production in the second *piatiletka* will be incomparably higher than the corresponding per cent of growth in the first *piatiletka*. Actually one per cent of growth of industrial production at the end of the first *piatiletka* amounted to 386,000,000 rubles whereas one per cent of growth at the end of the second five-year plan will amount to 825,000,000 rubles. That is why, whereas in the last years of the first *piatiletka* the annual growth of production amounted to four or five billion rubles, in the last year of the second *piatiletka* it will reach a sum of more than 20,000,000,000 rubles. This increase alone in industrial production will almost double the entire production of large scale, or rather census, industry of Tsarist Russia in 1913.

As is well known the January combined plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee of the Party established last year that the plan for the total production of industry for the last year of the first *piatiletka* had been fulfilled in 1932 by 93.7 per cent. Such were the preliminary estimates. During 1933, however, exact and detailed reports were received from all industries on the basis of which more complete estimates have been worked out of the results of the first *piatiletka*. These estimates show more favorable results than the preliminary ones, as is shown by the following table:

### PRODUCTION OF CENSUS INDUSTRY

(in prices of 1926-1927)

	All Industry	Industry of Group A	Industry of Group B
1. Plan for 1932-1933 (according to the plan of the first <i>piatiletka</i> ) in billions of rubles.....	36.6	17.4	19.2
2. Production of 1932, preliminary estimate			
(a) In billions of rubles.....	34.3	18.0	16.3
(b) In percentage to plan 1932-33 .....	93.7	103.4	84.9
3. Production for 1932, according to final reports			
(a) In billions of rubles.....	35.3	19.1	16.2
(b) In percentage to plan for 1932-33 .....	96.4	109.8	84.4

Thus it has now been established that in industrial production the plan for the last year of the first *piatiletka* was fulfilled not by 93.7 per cent but by 96.4 per cent and in the industries producing the means for production (Group A) not by 103.4 per cent but by 109.8 per cent.

The chief characteristic of the second five-year plan will be the change in the rate of development between the manufacture of means of pro-



*Sovfoto*

Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman Council of People's  
Commissars

duction (Industrial Group A) and the manufacture of consumers' goods (Industrial Group B). In the first *piatiletka* the industries manufacturing means of production developed at a relatively more rapid rate, but in the second *piatiletka* the industries producing consumers' goods will develop more rapidly.

In the second *piatiletka* the following change in the share in production of the two basic groups of industry, A and B, is planned:

CHANGE IN RELATIVE OUTPUT OF THE BASIC  
GROUPS OF ALL INDUSTRY IN THE  
SECOND PIATILETKA  
(in percentage)

	1932	1937
Group A, means of production.....	53.3	47.1
Group B, consumers' goods .....	46.7	52.9
	100	100

Thus Group A and Group B will change places. This will be due to the fact that the rate of growth in the manufacture of consumers' goods in the second *piatiletka*—22 per cent, is considerably higher than the rate of growth in the output of means of production—16 per cent. This rate of growth of consumers' goods is also higher than the rate of growth in the first *piatiletka*, which was 17 per cent.

Our task consists not only in guaranteeing a further rapid advance to large scale state industry. In the second five-year period we must achieve a further strengthening of local industry

as well and must give it state help. The task involves maximum utilization of local sources of raw materials and local forms of fuel, especially for increasing local production of consumers' goods. It is necessary that a large share of the profits of local industry should be put at the disposal of local executive committees to be used for the further development of local industry.

It is incorrect to ignore the tremendous possibilities of the further growth of the handicraft industries. Notwithstanding the great progress of state industry, the handicraft industries can and must give no small share of supplementary production to the local markets, and also to provide industry with certain types of goods and building materials.

### A. Industrial Advance and Reconstruction

I shall now take up the development of the separate branches of industry in the second *piatiletka*. The following table shows our main tasks:

GROWTH IN THE TOTAL OUTPUT OF INDUSTRY,  
GROUP A

	1932	1937	1937 in % 1932
Output of Means of Production (billion rubles—prices 1926-27) .....	23.1	48.4	209.4
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
1. Machine Construction (billion rubles) .....	9.3	21	227
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
(a) Lathes for metal industry (thousands) .....	15	40	267
(b) Heavy machine construction (millions of rubles).....	148.3	415.0	280
(c) Tractors (thousands) (calcu- lated in 15 h. p.) .....	51.7	167	323
(d) Combines (thousands) .....	10	25	250
(e) Locomotives (number of both freight and passenger) .....	828.6	2900	350
(f) Freight cars (two-axle cars— thousands) .....	22.2	128	576
(g) Automobiles (thousands) .....	23.9	200	837
(h) Textile machine construc- tion (million rubles).....	60.1	360	599
(i) Machinery for food industry (million rubles) .....	47.7	140	294
2. Electric Power (billion kilowatt hours) .....	13.4	38	283
Including Regional stations .....	8.3	25	302
3. Coal (million tons) .....	64.3	152	235
4. Oil with gas (million tons) .....	22.1	47	213
5. Pig iron (million tons) .....	6.2	18	292
6. Steel (million tons) .....	5.8	19	323
7. Rolled steel (million tons) .....	4.2	14	326
8. Copper (thousand tons) .....	46.7	155	332
9. Chemicals (billion rubles) .....	1.9	5.7	307
10. Timber (million cubic meters) .....	24.4	43	176

In the last year of the second *piatiletka*, 80 per cent of the entire industrial production will come from the new enterprises constructed or completely reconstructed during the first and second *piatiletka*, whereas at the end of the first *piatiletka*, only 35 per cent of industrial production came from new enterprises.

We are setting ourselves the problem of carrying out the technical reconstruction of the national economy with machinery of Soviet make. In this respect the second five-year plan will dif-



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V. I. Mezhluk, Vice-Chairman State Planning Commission

fer radically from the first. During the first five-year plan we imported from abroad different kinds of equipment amounting to 1,500,000,000 gold rubles. This was necessary in order to lay the necessary technical foundation for the various branches of industry as well as agriculture, and particularly in order to make possible an increased tempo for Soviet machine construction. At the beginning of the second *piatiletka* our machine construction industry had already made great advances. In comparison with 1913 machine construction had increased ten-fold in 1932. Furthermore, in the world output of machine construction the share of the U.S.S.R. has grown from 4 per cent in 1928 to 21.4 per cent in 1933. In the second *piatiletka* our machine construction industry will have far more difficult tasks in providing machinery for all branches of the national economy and the share of highly complex machinery will be greatly increased.

The completion of the technical reconstruction of our industry is closely tied up with the process of mechanizing the more laborious and heavy processes in industry. This concerns particularly such important branches of industry as coal mining, lumbering, the peat industry and ferrous metallurgy.

Of paramount importance in the reconstruction of national economy is electrification. The production of electrical power must be increased in the second *piatiletka* almost three-fold. In the output of electrical power the U.S.S.R. will exceed all the countries of Europe and will take

second place in the world. The fuel industry will also advance considerably in the second *piatiletka*. The lag in the ferrous metallurgy industry must be liquidated so that it can fully satisfy the growing requirements of the country. Of particular importance is the development of the production of high quality steel and of iron alloys. Another of the most important tasks of the second five-year plan is to liquidate the backwardness of non-ferrous metallurgy. The chemical industry will play a very important role in technical reconstruction in the second *piatiletka*. A large number of new chemical enterprises will be put into operation for the chemical working up of coal, peat, shale; new types of paints and dyes; synthetic rubber, etc. The manufacture of mineral fertilizers is to be increased ten-fold.

I will now take up the industrial production of consumers' goods, the main indices for which are found in the following table:

GROWTH IN THE OUTPUT OF CONSUMERS' GOODS,  
GROUP B

	1932	1937	1937 in % 1932
Manufacture of Consumers' Goods (billion rubles, prices 1926-27).....	20.2	54.3	268.8
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
1. People's Commissariat for Light Industry .....	6.7	20.5	308
2. People's Commissariat for Supplies....	4.6	12.9	283
3. People's Commissariat for Heavy In- dustry (consumers' goods section)...	0.96	2.9	300
4. Producers' cooperatives .....	1.9	6	310
5. State Grain Purchasing Commis- sion (flour (cereals, etc.) .....	1.0	2.5	251
6. Consumers' goods produced by other economic organizations.....	4.8	8.6	181
Production of separate branches of light industry—			
(a) Cotton cloth, including (un- bleached goods) .....	2719.7	6250	229.8
(b) Woolen goods (million meters)...	91.3	270	295.7
(c) Shoes (million pairs) .....	81.9	205	250.3
(d) Glass (thousand tons) .....	396.4	1033	260.6
(e) Soap (in terms of 40% fat) .....	357.2	1300	363.9
Production of separate branches of food industry			
(a) Meat (thousand tons) .....	435	1250	287.4
(b) Fish (thousand tons) .....	1333	1900	142.5
(c) Vegetable fats (thousand tons) ..	65.1	180	276.5
(d) Canned goods (million cans) ....	716	2400	335.2

From this table may be seen that in the five-year plan the manufacture of goods for mass consumption by light industry will be more than tripled and the production of the food industries will increase more than 2.8 times.

In the technical equipment of its light industry the Soviet Union will occupy a place among the most advanced countries in the world at the end of the second *piatiletka*. (Molotov here described in detail the technical equipment and improved processes to be introduced in the various branches of industries producing consumers' goods and stressed measures to be taken to improve their quality).



### B. Advance and Reconstruction of Agriculture

The progress of agriculture in the first *piatiletka* was not as rapid as that of industry. While there was considerable advance in the production of grain and technical crops, there was at the same time a decline in our livestock industry.

The magnitude of the task we have undertaken in agriculture for the second *piatiletka* is shown in the following figures for increasing production:

#### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN SECOND PIATILETKA

Crops	(million centners)		
	1932	1937	1937 in % 1932
1. Total grain crops	698.7	1005.6	158.2
2. Technical crops.			
(a) Cotton	12.7	22.5	177.7
(b) Flax (fibre)	5.0	9.0	180.0
(c) Sugar Beets	65.6	276.0	420.7
(d) Sunflower seeds	22.6	35.7	158.0

The carrying out of this program for agricultural production will completely satisfy our requirements for grain crops and will in the main meet our requirements for technical crops. A particularly rapid growth is set for sugar beets, production of which declined in 1932.

The five-year plan does not provide an extensive increase in the seeded area, as the following table shows:

#### SEEDED AREA IN FIRST AND SECOND PIATILETKA

	(thousand hectares)		
	1932	1937	1937 in % 1932
Entire seeded area	134,435	140,000	104.1
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
(a) Grain	99,711	104,800	105.1
(b) Technical crops	14,877	14,050	94.5
(c) Vegetable gardens	9,215	9,600	104.2
(d) Fodder crops	10,632	11,550	108.6

The plan provides for the increase of the entire seeded area by only 4 per cent in the five-year

period. In the case of technical crops where the tendency to increase the seeded area in the last few years has sometimes been too great, a reduction in the seeded area of 5.5 per cent has been provided. Only in the central consuming section and also in Siberia and in the Far East are we faced with the problem of a further marked increase in the seeded area.

The main task for agriculture in the second *piatiletka* is that of increased crop yields as shown by the following table:

#### CROP YIELDS IN THE FIRST AND SECOND PIATILETKA

	(centners per hectare)		
	Average for 1928-32	1937	1937 in % to average to 1928-32
All grains	7.5	10.6	141.4
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
(a) Winter wheat	8.6	12.0	139.6
(b) Spring wheat	6.1	8.5	139.4
(c) Rye	8.0	11.5	143.8
(d) Oats	8.3	11.2	134.8
(e) Barley	8.2	10.5	128.1
(f) Corn	8.9	14.5	162.8
Technical Crops—			
<i>Divided as follows:</i>			
(a) Cotton—raw	7.5	12.0	160.0
(b) Flax—long fibred	2.2	3.7	165.8
(c) Sugar beets	120.1	200.0	166.6
(d) Sunflower seeds	5.5	8.5	154.6

In the field of livestock we have also set ourselves very great tasks for the second *piatiletka* as shown in the following table:

#### CATTLE IN THE U.S.S.R.

	(million head)				
	1916	1928	1932	1937	1937 in % to 1932
1. Horses	35.1	33.5	19.6	21.8	111.2
2. Large horned cattle	58.9	70.5	40.7	65.5	160.9
3. Sheep and goats	115.2	146.7	52.1	96.0	184.3
4. Hogs	20.3	25.9	11.6	43.3	374.1

From this table it is evident that even at the end of the *piatiletka* we shall not reach the high points of the past in regard to horses. In large horned cattle we shall approach the highest level of the past (1928). In sheep and goats we have set ourselves the task of practically doubling the number, but even then we will not reach the 1928 level. The five-year plan sets an increase of almost 400 per cent for our hog industry and in this field we should by 1937 more than double the highest point ever reached.

This plan for the increase in livestock can only be carried out by the most persistent efforts for the improvement of our livestock state farms and collective farms. The individual collective farm members must receive the greatest possible support in livestock raising.

To a large extent the fulfillment of the problems we have set ourselves in agriculture will depend on the technical reequipment of the state farms and collectives. The question of the further mechanization of agriculture in the second *piatiletka* is of utmost importance.



Sovfoto

The Dynamo factory sports stadium in Moscow

The plan for increasing the tractors for agriculture may be seen from the following table:

TRACTORS FOR AGRICULTURE  
(including amortization)

Year	Thousands of horse power
1932 .....	2,225
1933 .....	3,100
1934 .....	4,400
1935 .....	5,575
1936 .....	6,675
1937 .....	8,200
1937 in % to 1932 .....	368.5

From this table it will be seen that the number of tractors in agriculture will increase rapidly each year. Most of the tractors will go to the MTS (machine and tractor stations) which means a tremendous strengthening of the tractor base of the collectives.

Of particular importance is the fact that instead of 5,000 caterpillar tractors given to agriculture in the first five-year plan, over 100,000 caterpillar tractors will be provided in the second. The advantage of these tractors (deeper and earlier plowing) will greatly lighten the campaign to raise crop yields. In addition 35,000 cultivating tractors will be provided which will simplify the problem of increasing the yield of technical crops.

The total number of MTS will increase to 6,000 and they will embrace all the collectives at the end of the second *piatiletka*. The number of state farms will also be increased, mainly by the breaking up of the present excessively large state farms into smaller areas.

The general increase in mechanization planned for agriculture will be further seen from the following table:

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY FOR ALL BRANCHES  
(Sovhozes, MTS, kolhozes)

	1932	1937
Combines (thousands) .....	15.5	100
Complex and semi-complex threshers (thousands) .....	47.7	80
Electrical dynamos (thousands of kilowatts) .....	65.9	425
Repair shops .....	2320	6920
Motor trucks (thousands) .....	14.5	128
Light automobiles (thousands) .....	1	42

All this will guarantee the almost complete mechanization of agriculture. In 1934 plowing will be mechanized by 80 per cent, cultivating by 70 per cent, grain harvesting by 60 per cent and threshing by 100 per cent.

It is thus apparent that our agriculture at the end of the second *piatiletka* will be utterly unlike the agriculture of a few years back. We may say with complete justification that agricultural labor is being transformed into industrial labor.

### C. Progress and Reconstruction of Transport

The development of our whole national economy is dependent in the growth of transport, not

to mention the fact that the problems of the economic and cultural developments of new districts far from the center are insoluble apart from transport development.

In the second five-year plan freight carriage will increase as follows:

FREIGHT TURNOVER IN SECOND PIATILETKA  
(billion ton kilometers)

	1932	1937	1937, % to 1932
Rail Transport .....	169.3	302	178.4
River Transport (by barges) .....	26.1	64	245.2
Ocean Transport (in Soviet ships) .....	18.2	51	280.2

There can be no doubt that a great deal depends on the improvement in the management of rail transport. The technical backwardness in railroad equipment is also a big factor in the unsatisfactory work of our railroads. (Molotov here gave a detailed analysis of reasons for the unsatisfactory conditions of the railroads and measures necessary for their improvement.)

In the second *piatiletka* 5,000 kilometers of railroad lines are to be electrified. Double-tracking is being carried on in the most important main lines and especially on the Ural-Kuzbas, Donbas, Transbaikal and Ussurisk lines, covering altogether a distance of 9,500 kilometers. Oil-burning locomotives are also being introduced. Automatic blocking will be instituted in 8,300 kilometers of lines as against 582 kilometers at the end of the first *piatiletka*.

Of great importance are the measures to be taken with respect to rolling stock as shown by the following table:

INCREASE IN RAILROAD ROLLING STOCK

	1932	1/1, 1938	1937, % to 1932
1. Locomotives .....	19,475	24,600	126.5
(a) Freight locomotives .....	16,350	19,720	120.6
(b) Total traction power of freight locomotives, thousand tons .....	196.2	297	151.3
(c) Passenger locomotives .....	3,125	4,880	155.8
(d) Traction power of passenger locomotives, thousand tons .....	26.4	46.5	176.1
2. Electrical engines .....	10	410	.....
3. Diesel engines .....	6	276	.....
4. Railroad cars (thousands) .....	536.9	686	127.8
Divided as follows:			
(a) Freight cars (thousands) .....	507.9	644	126.7
(b) Capacity of freight cars (million tons) .....	9.5	15.8	166.3
(c) Passenger cars (thousands) .....	29	42	144.8

The actual traction power of the locomotives will increase to a much greater extent than the number of locomotives since more powerful types of locomotives are to be built according to the plan. The carrying capacity of the freight wagons will also increase much more than the actual number of cars because the program calls for a larger type of car. The entire car system

will be equipped with automatic brakes and at least half of them with automatic coupling.

Of all the new railroad construction the most ambitious project is the Baikal-Amur line—1,400 kilometers in length. This will unite the Transbaikalian region with the lower reaches of the Amur River and will assist in drawing into economic life a huge territory which has formerly been largely inaccessible to man.

All these measures have a single aim. To liquidate the backwardness of railroad transport in comparison with the general growth of national economy.

The importance of water transport will grow considerably in the second *piatiletka*. In the first year of this period the construction of the Baltic-White Sea Canal, 227 kilometers in length, has been completed. Construction work has already begun and is going forward rapidly on the Volga-Moscow Canal, 127 kilometers in length—a canal which will transform the capital of the Soviet Union into a port city and make it accessible to large river boats. Finally, the Volga-Don Canal, of 100 kilometers, will be constructed. The building of these new canals, uniting the White Sea with the Baltic, the Baltic with the Black Sea, Moscow with the Volga, in connection with the strengthening of the existing water systems (the Mariinsk and Moscow Rivers), will create a mighty water system throughout the European section of the U.S.S.R.

The economic importance of motor transport and the construction of new highways is growing rapidly, and has a great future in our country.

Air transport will play a tremendous role in connection with the outlying regions and the large industrial centers.

The organization of communications will also play an important role in carrying out the problems of the second *piatiletka*, especially the development of radio, which is acquiring growing importance in the management of all branches of the national economy as well as of cultural construction.

#### D. The Problem of Mastering Technique

The carrying out of technical reconstruction means an intensive struggle for the mastery of the new technique. We all remember very well Lenin's words to the effect that "in the reconstruction period technique decides everything."

Our successes in the mastering of the new technique and in improving the organization of all production will be measured by the practical results of our work. These results must find their expression first of all in a tremendous increase in labor productivity and in a considerable decrease in production costs. We are faced with the task of increasing the productivity of labor in industry by 63 per cent and lowering costs of

industrial production by 26 per cent in the second five-year plan.

(Molotov here outlined in detail the measures necessary to insure greater labor productivity and lower production costs—improved technical methods, more efficient use of working time and better labor organization, increased part taken by the workers in socialist competition, shock troop work, developing "counter-plans" in industry, and finally increased numbers of engineers, technicians and skilled workers.)

In the first *piatiletka* 460,000 workers completed the factory and shop apprentice schools and swelled the ranks of productive workers. In the course of the second five-year plan it is proposed that 2,700,000 skilled workers for the national economy including transport, complete the courses of the factory and shop apprentice schools. In addition 1,500,000 skilled workers for agriculture will be trained—tractorists, combine operators, brigade leaders, etc. Finally, 700,000 chauffeurs will undergo training for motor transport work. Thus altogether about 5,000,000 skilled workers will be trained in the second *piatiletka*.

For technical jobs requiring higher qualifications, the number of students graduated from industrial technicums will increase from 69,000 in the first *piatiletka* to 172,000 in the second; the number graduated from higher technical schools is to grow from 60,000 to 112,000. In transport the number completing technicum courses is to increase from 28,000 to 97,000 and higher technical schools, from 8,000 to 28,000. In agriculture the number of students graduating from the technicums is to increase from 57,000 to 153,000, and the number completing the higher technical schools, from 29,000 to 54,000. The number of specialists with middle and higher education in industry will increase from 123,000 in 1932 to 300,000 in 1937. In transport the same groups of specialists will be increased from 10,000 to 41,000.

The development of scientific-technical work in the U.S.S.R. should also be mentioned. We have had to learn a great deal from foreign technique, from foreign specialists. But now we already have our own forces of scientific and technical workers. In the second *piatiletka* we shall depend to a large extent on the achievements of Soviet technique. The combining of scientific and technical work with practical problems of socialist construction is growing ever closer.

#### II. CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM AND NEW DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES

The distinctive feature of the plan for capital construction in the second five-year period is the new and more correct distribution of the productive forces of the U.S.S.R. In this respect the program of the Party and the government for a

more equalized distribution of industry throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R., for bringing industry nearer to the sources of raw material and power, for guaranteeing a more rapid economic and cultural development for the backward national republics and regions and for important steps in the direction of eliminating the differences between town and country will be fully realized.

The extent of the new construction in the second five-year plan is shown by comparison with the first. Capital construction in the first planned period amounted to 50,500,000,000 rubles and in the second it will reach 133,400,000,000 rubles.

Of the capital expenditures, 69,500,000,000 rubles, or more than half, will go for the development of industry, and of this 53,400,000,000 rubles, or 40 per cent of all capital work, will go for the development of manufacturing means of production.

On the other hand, the rate of increase of capital expenditures in light industry and the food industries will be almost double the rate for heavy industry. Such expenditures in the first *piatiletka* amounted to 3,500,000,000 rubles and in the second will amount to 16,100,000,000 rubles.

Capital expenditures for agriculture (sovhozes, MTS, kolhozes) will also be greatly increased—from 9,700,000,000 rubles to 15,200,000,000 rubles. In this latter sum is not included the construction work which will be carried out by the collectives themselves, which will be no small addition to the plan of the construction for agriculture. Capital construction in the MTS will be increased more than five-fold, and as a result they will include in their work the entire seeded area of collectives. Construction work in the sovhozes must create all the prerequisites for transforming them into model enterprises in both crop production and livestock raising.

Capital expenditures in transport are to be above the average level for industry, as they will be tripled—increasing from 8,900,000,000 rubles in the first *piatiletka* to 26,300,000,000 rubles in the second.

The most important aspect of the construction program is the huge plan for bringing new enterprises into exploitation. While the general plan for capital construction calls for 133,400,000,000 rubles, the new and reconstructed enterprises which will be brought into exploitation represent a sum of 132,000,000,000 rubles, or almost three times the amount brought into exploitation in the first *piatiletka*. This is explained on the one hand by the tremendous construction work carried over from the first period and on the other hand by the fact that the experience accumulated in construction work guarantees a more rapid rate of construction in the future.

The capital investment in the various enterprises will grow from 85,000,000,000 rubles to

195,000,000,000 rubles during the second *piatiletka*, which means a three-fold increase in industry and a doubling of the basic capital in agriculture and transport.

#### A. New Construction in the Various Branches of Industry

In machine construction the program calls for 94 new plants in the second five-year plan. During this period construction will be completed on the Ural plant for heavy machine construction with a capacity of 100,000 tons, the Kramatorsky plant, with a capacity of 150,000 tons, and also a large plant for the manufacture of chemical apparatus in the Urals, which was started in the first plan period. The Lugansk locomotive works, with a capacity of 1,080 engines a year is nearing completion. The Orsk plant with a capacity of 500 locomotives and 500 oil burners, is being completed, as well as the Kashirsky plant for electrical engines. The Ural car building plant will be partly finished and construction of several other locomotive and car plants will be undertaken. The construction of a large group of shipyards for river and ocean vessels will be developed and such large shipyards as the Komsomolsk in the Far East will be completed. In the automotive industries existing plants will be enlarged and new ones built. Numerous factories producing turbines, electrical apparatus, laundry equipment, machinery for the food, lumber and paper industries, and highly complex machinery of all kinds are among those planned.

In the field of electrification the construction of 79 regional stations is provided for, including 48 new ones. Vast construction will be developed in the main industrial sections of the Union—Moscow, Leningrad, the coal and metallurgical base in the Ukraine and the Ural-Kuznetsky *combinat*. The uniting by high voltage lines of Moscow, Ivanovo, Gorky; in the east, the uniting of the northern and southern with the middle Ural regions; in the Ukraine—the Donbas with Dnieprokombinat, means the eventual establishment of a single high voltage system uniting the basic industrial regions of the U.S.S.R.

The Moscow power system will be greatly strengthened. Leningrad will be well supplied with electrical power. The coal and metallurgical base in the Ukraine will have all the power it requires. The combining of the Dnieper and Donbas power systems, and the inclusion with them of the coal and metallurgical district of the north Caucasus will mean the establishment of the most powerful system in the world, with a total power at the end of the second *piatiletka* of 2,000,000 kilowatts and a capacity of 9,000,000,000 kilowatt hours.

In the coal industry extensive mine construction will be undertaken, providing for putting into exploitation 178 coal mines with a capacity of

143,000,000 tons. The sinking of 65 new shafts is provided in the plan, which will assure the further development of coal mining in the first year of the third five-year plan.

In the oil industry capital construction will develop at a higher rate than in heavy industry as a whole. Of particular importance is the construction of 46 refineries and 93 cracking plants. In the second *piatiletka* it is proposed to complete the construction of the following oil pipe-lines: Caspian-Orsk, Makhach Kala-Voronezh, Neftedag-Krasnovadsk, an extension of the Baku-Batum pipe-line and the construction of oil-product pipe-lines between Grozny and Armavir, and between Trudovaya and Dniepropetrovsk.

In ferrous metallurgy construction will be completed of Magnitogorsk with a capacity of 2,700,000 tons of pig iron, Kuznetsk with a capacity of 1,000,000 tons of pig iron, and 13 other large plants, construction of which has already been started.

In non-ferrous metallurgy construction will be completed of the Pribalkhash *combinat* for 100,000 tons of copper and the middle Ural plant for 50,000 tons of copper. Two old copper plants will be reconstructed and enlarged. Plants producing lead, zinc, aluminum, nickel and various rare metals will also be completed.

In the chemical industry the construction of new fertilizer plants, factories producing synthetic rubber, artificial fibre, aniline dyes and many other products will be developed.

In the light industry 15 large new textile *combinats* are to be built, 5 of which have a capacity of 200,000 spindles each. Twelve large woolen factories are to be constructed, 12 linen goods factories, 18 stocking factories, 13 cotton goods factories, 11 silk factories, 21 shoe factories, 54 clothing factories, 19 glass works, 9 enterprises producing musical instruments and many others.

In the food industry the rate of construction is also much higher than previously. In the second *piatiletka* construction will be completed of 17 meat *combinats* already under way and 23 new ones will be built. In addition, 14 sugar plants, 21 canning factories, 59 large refrigerating plants, 47 milling *combinats* and many others will be built.

In the lumber industry the program calls for a large number of sawmills, wood chemical plants and veneer factories. Construction of a number of cellulose and paper *combinats* will be completed. New furniture factories are under construction, etc.

We are proud of the fact that our industry has reached a high degree of concentration and that the main branches of industry are represented by giant plants. We must continue in the future to make use of all the advantages of large-scale enterprises equipped according to the most modern and first-class technique. This is guaranteed in the plan for the second *piatiletka*. However, the

tendency to concentrate in industry must not be permitted to develop into the illness of so-called "gigantomania" in construction. We must be particularly vigilant in this respect at the present time, when one of the most urgent tasks of new construction is the development of industry in new regions, the establishment of industrial enterprises in non-industrial regions and the approaching of industry to the sources of raw material and fuel. On this basis we have recognized, for example, the necessity of developing the construction not of one or two automobile plants, but of four such plants in different sections of the U.S.S.R. In this connection the decision of the Central Committee on the breaking up of the state farms into smaller units should be remembered.

In addition to the swift growth of industry, city construction and the building of new towns is stressed. In the second *piatiletka* hundreds of industrial centers will be transformed into well-built cities.

Our capital, Moscow, will serve as an example of what is being done in this respect. In the first five-year plan much was done in the direction of improving the streets. This work, however, is still far from finished and will be continued. But in the second *piatiletka* Moscow must carry out far more complex problems; first, the construction of a mighty canal uniting Moscow with the Volga, and second, the completion of the first subway in the U.S.S.R.

The construction work going on in Leningrad should also be noted particularly. Of outstanding scientific importance is the construction, to be completed in the second *piatiletka*, which will establish a new foundation for the work of the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine, which has undertaken the all-around study of the human organism in health and sickness and the development of medicine as a science.

### B. New Distribution of Construction

In the construction program for the second *piatiletka* the new distribution of construction throughout the territory of the country is of great importance. This new distribution is based on two considerations: In the first place the greatest possible utilization of the natural resources of the country in those districts which in the past were extremely backward and which must become new centers for the development of industry, and in the second place increased economic and cultural progress for the backward national republics and regions which are still suffering from the heritage of the Tsarist regime.

Our country is extremely rich in natural resources. In such basic natural wealth as iron, coal, oil, non-ferrous metals as well as timber and water power, we occupy one of the foremost places in the world. The work of our geologists has produced important results in the last few

years and must be supported in every possible way.

The total stores of iron ore in the U.S.S.R. are estimated at about 240,000,000,000 tons, which makes up almost 50 per cent of the entire world stock of iron ore. Our known coal resources have increased five-fold since the revolution and we now stand next to the United States in this respect. The oil stocks in the Soviet Union are set at 3,000,000,000 tons, a third of the world resources. We have been very backward in exploration work in the field of non-ferrous metal. In copper, lead, zinc and nickel our resources at present constitute only from 5 to 10 per cent of the world stocks. But in the past few years, due to increased exploration work, the known resources of these metals have increased as well as the stocks of wolfram, molybden, bismuth, beryl and other rare minerals. Our timber resources are still used only to the most negligible degree and here our possibilities are practically unlimited. Our water resources were formerly made little use of. Only under the Soviet regime has the construction of great hydroelectric stations been commenced.

How badly explored and used were the natural riches of the country in the past is apparent from the following: In old Russia, if we consider the present boundaries, the working up of iron ore was confined almost exclusively to the south and to a very small degree to the Ural regions. The Donetz Basin produced 86 per cent of all the coal. Oil came only from Baku and Grozny.

Since that time, the situation has radically changed. Along with the old regions we have brought into exploitation new regions for iron ore and non-ferrous metals, for coal and for oil. We have opened up such vast iron-bearing areas as the rich region of the Kursk magnetic anomaly, Magnito Mountain, the Kemerovo-Zigazian iron fields in Bashkiria, the Khalilov beds in the Central Volga region and also the iron regions in West and East Siberia, in Kazakstan, in the North Caucasus region and in North Leningrad region. In the coal industry we have already set ourselves the task of transforming Kuzbas into a new Donbas and rapidly developing such coal regions as the Karaganda, the Kizelovsk, Cheliabinsk, the Sub-Moscow district and also coal-bearing regions in East Siberia, in the Far East, in Trans-Caucasia, in Central Asia and in the Northern Region. In addition to Baku and Grozny such new oil regions as Maikop, Emba, Krasnovodsk in Turkmenistan, Bashkiria and others have been opened up.

In connection with the presence of the above-mentioned natural resources and their distribution we are faced in the second *piatiletka* with the problem of creating new important industrial centers, especially in the eastern regions of the country—the Urals, West and East Siberia, Bashkiria, the Far Eastern region, Kazakstan and Central

Asia. The creation of these new industrial centers in the East is already taking form in the increasing development of metallurgy, the coal industry and machine construction.

First place in the development in the industrialization in the Far East belongs and will continue to belong to the Ural-Kuznetsky *combinat* on the construction of which one-fourth of the entire capital investment in the national economy will be expended in the second five-year plan. One-half of the entire capital investment designed for new construction work in heavy industry will be directed toward these new centers of industrialization in the eastern regions which I have indicated, for the development therein of metallurgy, coal, oil, machine construction and electrical power development.

On the other hand, the light industries and the food industries are being brought closer to the sources of agricultural raw material. This also refers first of all to the eastern regions and to certain of the more industrially backward sections of the central and northern belt. Of the 15 cotton textile *combinats* to go up in the second *piatiletka*, 10 are placed in Central Asia, Siberia and Trans-Caucasia. In the linen industry the new factories are to be built mainly in the Western Region, Gorky Region and White Russia. Sugar plants are to be built for the most part in West Siberia, in Kirghizia, the Far Eastern Region and Trans-Caucasia. In the eastern regions will also be developed many other types of textile factories, clothing factories, leather and shoe factories, meat *combinats*, slaughter houses, etc.

Special attention in industrial construction will be directed to those regions most backward industrially in the past, such as the Central Volga Region, the Tartar Republic, the Central Black Earth Region, the North Caucasus, Trans-Caucasia, Karelia, the Murmansk Region, the Far Eastern Region and Eastern Siberia.

In the sphere of agriculture we must guarantee the development of the chief grain-growing regions and must see that the production of grain and particularly of wheat is developed intensively in the consuming belt and in Siberia. The consuming belt, where the seeded area must be increased by 3,700,000 hectares, has every chance of being developed into one of the most important wheat sections when it is cleared of underbrush.

The program for combatting drought in the Volga regions is developing on a large scale. The irrigation program has started with the establishment of a preliminary irrigated area of 130,000 hectares and a plan for the irrigation of the whole of the Volga Region is being carried out.

Transport must, of course, play a large and active role in carrying out the new distribution of productive forces. Thus new railroad lines must be built to such industrial enterprises as Balkhash (copper), Ridder (copper, zinc, lead), Sterlitamak (oil), Chulym (timber) and others.

Thus the program for the distribution of our productive forces guarantees not only the rapid development of our national economy as a whole, but a rapid rise in the economic and cultural level of the backward sections.

### III. RISE IN THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKERS

In the first five-year plan we succeeded in bringing about a radical improvement in the condition of the workers. The elimination of unemployment and the confidence of all our workers in tomorrow, in the security of their jobs, is in itself proof of this. A complete revolution has also taken place in the condition of the peasantry in the past few years. Collectivization swept away the great mass of kulaks and guided the great mass of poor and middle peasants along the road of real progress. Instead of a country-side growing more poverty-stricken from year to year, we now have a country-side in which conditions are actually growing better each year. The best proof of the basic improvement in conditions of life for the peasantry is the fact that, in spite of the increased well-being of the workers, we still in many instances have a shortage of workers in the towns at a time when in all capitalist countries measures are being taken against the influx of half-starved farmers into the cities to look for work.

The efforts of the second five-year plan will be in the direction of improving the well-being of all the toilers at a still more rapid rate.

I shall begin with the situation of the workers.

With us, of course, there is absolutely no danger of the recurrence of unemployment among the workers. On the contrary, the number of workers and employees for the second five-year period is to increase from 22,900,000 in 1932 to 29,600,000 in 1937, that is, an increase of 29 per cent. The number of workers and employees engaged directly in industry is to increase by almost 3,000,000, i. e., by 40 per cent. Of the greatest importance is the fact that the young people growing up in the families of workers and employees are guaranteed work, and when they have completed their definite courses of training, will enter the ranks of the workers of the Soviet state.

The workers in our country are not threatened with the danger of any lengthening of the working day. On the contrary the working day in our industry has already been reduced to seven hours, and in the more difficult types of work, to six hours and less. And the state demands only one thing, honest and thorough work during the course of that short working day.

With regard to the income of the workers and employees the emphasis in the second five-year plan will be on the raising of *real* wages, in comparison with the level of 1932, real wages

are to be increased by 2.1 times in the five-year period. That means that the general level of the material and cultural requirements of workers and employees (exclusive of the agricultural branches of labor) must be more than doubled.

The growth in the real wages of the workers and employees is to be based on the following:

(a) A considerable growth in the cash income of the workers' family;

(b) A great increase in the free services received by the workers and employees from state and other funds for cultural, social and similar services;

(c) A very great reduction in prices of goods for mass consumption.

The total amount of wages in all branches of the national economy is to increase during the five-year period from 32,700,000,000 rubles to 51,800,000,000 rubles, that is, an increase of 59 per cent. The money income of workers and employees is to increase during the *piatiletka* by 40 per cent, and the average wage of workers and employees by 22.5 per cent. We consider it incorrect to advocate a more general increase in money wages during the second *piatiletka*. Wage increases will come about as a result of increased productivity of labor and raising of the skill of the workers, and also in connection with the increased wages which have already been established in the first year of the second five-year plan. Finally, the cash income of the workers will further be increased as a result of the increased number of working members in the workers' families, and the increased number of the population receiving stipends, pensions, etc.

An important contribution to the growth of real wages are the expenditures of the state for free social and cultural services. These expenditures, together with the expenditures of the trade unions, will increase during the second *piatiletka* from 4,300,000,000 rubles to 9,300,000,000 rubles, i. e., will be more than doubled. These funds go to increase pensions and social insurance payments, to increase expenditures for the education and training of both children and adults, for medical treatment, for day nurseries, for rest homes, sanatoria, and other measures to improve the social and cultural conditions of the lives of the workers and employees.

Of decisive importance in the growth of real wages is the reduction in retail prices for consumers' goods by 35-40 per cent provided by the *piatiletka*. As is well known, in the past years we have more than once been forced to adopt a policy of increased prices for goods. Now our industry has strengthened, agriculture has completed its reorganization period, our labor forces have grown and therefore we have all the prerequisites for lowering production costs and cutting down unproductive expenses in order to lower prices decisively. The reduction of prices by

35-40 per cent is no small task, but it is a task that we are now in a position to carry out and therefore must carry out, whatever happens. This is the keystone of further progress in the well-being of the workers of town and country in the second *piatiletka*.

The village has entered upon a period of rapid progress. The well-being of the collective members is growing right before our eyes. It was by no means accidental that just at the time when the collectives had already passed the reorganization period and had achieved stability, we gathered a record grain harvest; it is also well known that the grain harvest was highest of all in those places where the collectives were best organized, where they had grown strongest.

In order to improve their standards of life rapidly, the collective peasants need remember only one thing, the necessity for conscientious work in the collective and a careful regard for collective property. The state not only helps the peasantry with tractors, automobiles, combines, agricultural machinery, repair shops, and other technical equipment, but it is carrying on intensive training of agricultural specialists, and is organizing also training of whole armies of tractorists, combine operators, brigade heads, and directors for the collectives and MTS (machine and tractor stations). For the improvement of livestock the state is not merely rendering aid to the collectives and state farms, but is in every way possible trying to see that there are no collective families without cows, through organizing credit, distributing calves, etc. This year, i. e., the second year of the second *piatiletka*, there will already be very large sections where all collective families will be supplied with either a cow or a calf. Our state farms play a large role in supplying collectives with pure-bred cattle, selected seeds, etc.

And so all the prerequisites have been created to make the collectives truly Bolshevik and to make their members cultured and prosperous. This slogan launched by Stalin must be carried out in the first two or three years of the second *piatiletka*. Thus, finally, the many millions of peasants will live as human, civilized beings.

With regard to cultural development, the U.S.S.R. is advancing with giant strides.

In the second *piatiletka* we must carry out in this sphere the following tasks:

(a) Liquidation of the illiteracy of the entire population. This task is fully realizable even in the next two or three years;

(b) The introduction of universal compulsory polytechnical education through the first seven years, not only in the city but in the country. In accordance with this program, the attendance of the seven-year schools must increase from 21,700,000 pupils to 28,800,000. This must be the central task of the second *piatiletka* in the development of our schools;

(c) The increase in the total number of teachers in our schools during the *piatiletka* from 628,000 to 834,000. The schools are guaranteed teachers with higher and middle education, which in addition to guaranteeing to the schools and the pupils the necessary text-books, school materials and other equipment, to a very large extent raises the standards of the workers' schools. The improvement in the quality of the teaching in carrying out the polytechnical reorganization of the schools on a Marxist-Leninist basis is a question of paramount importance to the party and the government;

(d) An increase in the total number of pupils (in the lower and middle schools, workers' faculties, factory and shop schools, technicums, colleges and higher technical institutions) from 24,200,000 in 1932 to 36,000,000 in 1937;

(e) The system of socialized and pre-school training of children up to seven years of age is to embrace 16,000,000 children in 1937 as against 5,200,000 in 1932—more than a three-fold increase. In this field the most important task is the guarantee of sufficient number of teachers and directors for pre-school institutions;

(f) An increase in the number of pupils in the general schools and in the higher courses to 10,500,000 persons, which is linked up with the great thirst for culture apparent in the wide masses of the population;

(g) An increase in the system of clubs, houses of culture, village reading rooms, etc., from 49,300 to 76,900;

(h) An increase in the system of public libraries in the five-year plan from 15,000 to 25,000, and a three-fold increase in their book deposits;

(i) An increase in the number of radio broadcasting stations during the five-year plan from 57 to 93, and in the number of receiving sets per thousand of the population in the U.S.S.R. from 13 to 57 in the country as a whole, and to 100 in the cities;

(j) An increase in the number of scientific workers in the scientific research institutes (exclusive of technical workers and *aspirants*) in the five-year plan, from 52,600 in 1932 to 59,000.

The highest rate of increase in all branches of the cultural construction will take place in the national republics and regions. Never before have there been created such favorable conditions for the expansion of national culture, and for the development of new cultural forces from among the workers of all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Great tasks are before us in the improvement of health protection for the workers in the second *piatiletka*. The extent of these tasks is evident from the fact that the expenditures for health protection, rest and recreation, and physical culture is to be increased from 5,400,000,000 rubles in the first *piatiletka* to 20,500,000,000 rubles in the second *piatiletka*. The number of hospital



beds in cities is to be increased by 44 per cent and in the villages by 98 per cent. The number of medical workers will also increase considerably.

Of paramount importance for workers is improvement in the housing situation. In the second five-year plan the housing facilities are to be increased altogether by 33 per cent. In view of the great growth in the population, the average amount of housing space per person will be increased, however, only by 15 per cent, but in certain branches of industry, the increase will be much greater; thus in the machine construction industry the housing norm will grow by 22 per cent, in ferrous metallurgy by 33 per cent, and in the coal industry it will be doubled.

Finally, as to the improvement in the matter of supplying goods to the workers of town and country and developing our internal trade.

What is the goods fund which we shall have at our disposal in the second *piatiletka*? We already know at what rate light industry, the food industry and other branches producing objects of mass consumption are to increase in the second *piatiletka*. Thus the amount of consumers' goods which we shall have at our disposal will increase rapidly in accordance with this program. In 1932 the entire mass of manufactured goods produced by state industry, including food, amounted to 14,500,000,000 rubles (in unchanging selling prices of 1932) whereas by 1937 the production of goods will grow to 41,500,000,000 rubles (in the same prices), i. e., by 186 per cent. Somewhat slower will be the increase in production of consumers' goods by the handicraft co-operatives, but on the other hand the non-market fund will grow much slower than the market fund. As a result the market fund of consumers' goods will increase in the *piatiletka* by 205 per cent. Thus the market production of consumers' goods will have more than tripled by the end of the *piatiletka*. The marketable production of agriculture will also increase rapidly, while at the same time a great increase in the amount of products consumed by the collective members will also take place.

The increase in the amount of marketable agricultural products will come firstly from the basic state receipts (from taxes, payment in kind to the MTS, from the state farms), in the second place from suburban farms, and in the third place from collective trading and decentralized procurements. All these sources increasing the commercial production of agriculture will make it possible almost to double the supplies of such products as grain, potatoes, and vegetables, and to increase supplies of meat and milk by about two-and-one-half times.

As a result we shall have a rapid growth of general retail trade in both state and cooperative goods as well as an increase in socialized catering.

The following table gives the figures for the increase in retail trade during the second five-year plan:

GROWTH OF RETAIL TRADE IN THE SECOND PIATILETKA

	In retail prices of 1932, in millions of rubles		1937 in percentage to 1932
	1932	1937	
(1) Consumers' goods including cloth, clothing footwear, soap, books, and other manufactured goods .....	16,970	54,280	319.9
(2) Food products, including bread, meat, eggs, fats, sugar, fish, etc.....	10,145	26,385	260.1
(3) Socialized catering .....	4,800	13,920	290.0
Total (exclusive of tobacco and alcohol products) .....	31,915	94,585	296.4

From this table it may be seen that retail turnover will grow with special rapidity in consumers' goods (320 per cent). Trade in food products will increase somewhat more slowly (260 per cent). Midway between them is the rate of growth of socialized catering (290 per cent). As a whole, the trade turnover will almost triple by the end of the five-year plan (296 per cent)—



*Sovfoto*  
The opera house at Kiev—According to a recent decision the Ukrainian capital is to be transferred from Kharkov to Kiev in the fall of 1934.

going more slowly in the city (283 per cent), more rapidly in the village (329 per cent).

The average individual consumption of the most important products will, of course, grow correspondingly. In the second five-year plan this average individual norm will double in the case of meat and animal fats, will increase about two-and-one-half times in the case of eggs, sugar and bakers' goods, about five times in the case of canned goods, and the demand will be fully satisfied in the case of bread, potatoes and vegetables.

The average individual norm of consumption for all industrial goods will also increase on the average by 2.8 times.

All this makes possible an increased level of consumption for the toilers of from two-and-one-half to three times in the *piatiletka*. In addition to this great increase in the volume of retail trade a considerable improvement in its structure must be guaranteed by increasing the share of the more important group of food articles and consumers' goods, and by improving the quality and assortment of goods.

This tremendous increase of trade in the state and cooperative trade system and the reduction of prices for manufactured goods by 35-40 per cent by the end of the *piatiletka*, make it possible to guarantee a reduction in market prices for agricultural products, and to complete the campaign for wiping out speculative elements in trade. The "scissors" in the prices of industrial and agricultural goods will draw together and gradually close completely. We have already begun to lower prices in commercial goods, and

have achieved considerable results in reducing the market prices of agricultural products. In the second *piatiletka* we must guarantee a sufficient increase in trade turnover and establish such a policy of reduced prices on industrial goods and agricultural products as to prepare for an era of normal trade.

For this purpose a further extensive development of our retail trading system is necessary. This refers to consumers' cooperatives, especially in the village, and to state trade, including commercial, and to the workers' supply cooperatives of all the commissariats, and finally to socialized catering. Kolhoz trade will also undergo considerable development.

Only by developing all forms of state and cooperative trade and guaranteeing to it a huge system of stores and selling points properly adapted technically to both large scale and small trading and only by a real improvement in the whole organization of our state and cooperative trading and the selection of labor forces for our trading system can we expect to handle the tasks before us in the second *piatiletka*.

The measures of the state and government are directed toward improving from day to day the conditions of labor of the workers, toward making it easier for them to increase their skill and to raise their general cultural level. And this, in its turn, will make it possible for the whole working class, steadily increasing its labor productivity, to progress more rapidly than ever in the direction of improving their material well-being and their cultural growth.

## Resolution on Second Five-Year Plan

AT the closing session of the XVII Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the program for the completion of the technical reconstruction of Soviet National Economy, and for the growth of production in the second *piatiletka*, as presented by Molotov on the basis of the report drawn up by the State Planning Commission, was ratified unanimously. There were a few minor modifications in the direction of slightly decreasing the rate of advance of industrial production, so that the goal set would be surer of realization and the quality of work higher.

Thus production in all branches of industry in 1937, i. e., at the end of the first *piatiletka*, is to amount to 92,700,000,000 rubles (in prices of 1926-27) as against 43,000,000,000 rubles at the end of the first five-year plan. This means an

average annual growth of 16.5 per cent (the proposed program as presented by Molotov called for an average annual increase of 18.9 per cent), and an increase in industrial production by 2.1 times over that at the end of the first *piatiletka* and about eight times over the pre-war level. In manufacture of articles for mass consumption a more rapid rate of development is planned not only in comparison with the first *piatiletka* (the average rate of increase is to be 18.5 per cent against 17 per cent in the first five-year plan) but also in comparison with the rate of the development of manufacture of means of production in the second plan (average rate of growth, 18.5 per cent against average rate of growth of means of production of 14.5 per cent).

Following are the final production figures adopted for industry as a whole:

## PRODUCTION FIGURES FOR SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

	Goal for 1937	
	Absolute	In percent-age to 1932
All industry, in prices of 1926-27 (billion rubles)	92.7	214.1
<i>Divided as follows:</i>		
Means of production	45.5	197.2
Consumers' goods	47.2	233.6
People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry (billion rubles)	33.5	234.6
People's Commissariat for Lumber (billion rubles)	3.6	200
People's Commissariat for Light Industry (billion rubles)	19.5	248.8
People's Commissariat for Supplies (billion rubles)	11.9	256.1
Machine construction and metal working industry, in prices of 1926-27 (billion rubles)	19.5	207
<i>Including:</i>		
Lathes for metal working industry (thousands)	40	267
Tractors (calculated in 15 h. p., in thousands)	167	323
Combines (thousands)	20	200
Locomotives (calculated conditionally on "E" and "SU" models)—units	2800	337
Freight cars, two-axle (thousands)	118.4	531
Automobiles (thousands)	200	837
Electric power (billions of kilowatt hours)	38	283
<i>This includes:</i>		
District stations of Glavenergo	24.5	296
Coal (million tons)	152.5	237
Oil, crude, with gas (million tons)	46.8	210
Pig iron (million tons)	16	260
Steel (million tons)	17	289
Rolled steel (million tons)	13	303
Chemical industry, prices of 1926-27 (billion rubles)	5.5	280
Timber (million cubic meters)	43	176
Cotton cloth (million meters)	5100	188
Linen cloth (million square meters)	600	461
Shoes (million pairs)	180	220
Sugar (thousand tons)	2500	302
Fish caught (thousand tons)	1800	139
Meat—Commissariat for Supplies (million tons)	1200	276
Canned goods (million cans)	2000	335



American machine in operation at Krivinskaya cannery, North Caucasus

## State Budget for 1934

ACCORDING to preliminary figures of the realization of the state budget of the U.S.S.R. in 1933, the total revenues amounted to 39,200 million rubles and the expenditures to 36,000 million rubles. There was thus a surplus of 3,200 million rubles. The budget estimates for the year provided for revenues of 35,000 million rubles. Thus both revenues and expenditures exceeded the estimates, and the reserve fund was increased by 3,200 instead of by the anticipated 1,780 million rubles.

This very successful realization of the 1933 estimates and the further growth of the national economy of the Soviet Union planned for the current year augur well for this year's budget, which is estimated at 48,700 million rubles—an increase of more than 24 per cent over the actual results in 1933. The expenditure is estimated at 47,000 million rubles.

In 1933 out of a total revenue of 39,200 million rubles, the profits of state and cooperative organizations accounted for 31,800 million rubles, or 81.3 per cent of the total. The estimates for the current year provide for 41,000 million rubles, or 84.2 per cent from this source.

## REVENUES

The following table shows the estimated revenue in 1934, in 1,000 rubles:

I.—INCOME OF SOCIALIZED ECONOMY:	
1. Turnover Tax	29,227,790
2. Special Merchandise Fund	6,300,000
3. Tax on Non-Merchandise Operations	225,000
4. Agricultural Tax of Collective Farms	300,000
5. Deductions from Profits	1,521,020
6. Contributions from Turnover Capital of Socialized Organizations	15,800
7. Revenue from Transport and Communications	2,921,600
<i>Including:</i>	
(a) Railway Transport	2,633,500
(b) Water Transport	5,200
(c) Other Transport	4,000
(d) Communications	278,900
8. State 8 per cent Internal Loan	445,000
9. Revenue from Issue of Currency	10,000
10. Customs, etc.	2,000
11. Income Tax of Socialized Enterprises	137,100
12. Tax of State Farms	19,900
Total Socialized Economy	41,125,210
II.—1. RESOURCES OF THE POPULATION	3,880,000
(a) Loans	3,580,000
(a) Loans of the Savings Banks	300,000
2. TAXATION	2,646,030
III.—OTHER INCOME	1,228,176
Total Income	48,879,416

As can be seen from the above figures, the principal revenue item in this year's budget will again be the turnover tax, which is estimated to yield more than 29,000 million rubles, as compared with 23,000 million rubles in 1933. Including profits

from trading, the revenue from these two sources is estimated to amount this year to 35,000 million rubles.

### EXPENDITURES

The following table shows the principal allocations on the expenditure side of the budget, in 1,000 rubles:

I.—INVESTMENTS IN NATIONAL ECONOMY:	
1. Heavy Industry .....	11,360,850
2. Light Industry .....	1,157,760
3. Cinematographic Industry .....	79,870
4. Timber Industry .....	957,530
5. Other Industry .....	1,199,100
6. State Farms .....	1,905,560
7. Collective Farms .....	3,974,374
8. Food Industry of the Commissariat for Supplies .....	636,750
9. Internal Trade .....	3,824,660
10. Foreign Trade .....	96,100
11. Municipal Development and Housing .....	203,050
12. Railway Transport .....	3,736,000
13. Water Transport .....	913,100
14. Road Construction and Motor Transport .....	562,330
15. Civil Aviation .....	225,390
16. Northern Sea Route .....	85,200
17. Communications .....	301,500
18. Reserve Funds of Council for Labor and Defense .....	1,300,000
19. Hydro-meteorological Service .....	72,700
20. Other Investments in National Economy .....	791,630
<b>Total National Economy .....</b>	<b>33,383,364</b>
II.—SOCIAL AND CULTURAL:	
(In addition to the funds supplied by the local budgets, 4,398 million rubles, the social insurance fund, 3,390 million rubles, and from other sources, 2,852 million rubles.)	
1. Education .....	2,668,655
2. Health .....	212,870
3. Physical Culture .....	24,877
4. Labor Protection and Social Welfare .....	112,465
<b>Total on Social and Cultural Needs .....</b>	<b>3,018,867</b>
III.—NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ADMINISTRATION:	
1. Commissariat for Army and Navy .....	1,665,000
2. Special Troops .....	130,600
3. Administration, Social and Cultural Work, etc. ....	1,078,295
<b>Total on National Defense and Administration .....</b>	<b>2,873,295</b>
IV.—EXPENDITURES ON STATE LOANS .....	1,702,070
V.—APPROPRIATIONS FOR LOCAL BUDGETS .....	3,697,965
VI.—ADVANCES TO FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS:	
1. Social Insurance .....	126,275
2. State Bank .....	1,000,000
3. Funds granted to State Insurance .....	30,000
<b>Total Advance to Financial Institutions .....</b>	<b>1,156,275</b>
VII.—OTHER EXPENDITURES:	
1. Government Reserve Fund .....	1,369,800
2. Other Funds .....	196,780
<b>Total Expenditures .....</b>	<b>47,398,416</b>
<b>Government Reserves .....</b>	<b>1,571,000</b>
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>48,879,416</b>

The expenditure in connection with the financing of national economy is estimated to amount to 33,383 million rubles, which is more than seventy

per cent of the total expenditure and an increase of thirty-four per cent over 1933.

The expenditure on social and cultural undertakings will show an increase over 1933 by 28.8 per cent. In addition to the amount assigned in the budget for social and cultural activities, a considerable proportion of the local budgets, as well as sums from the social insurance fund and other sources, are spent on educational and cultural requirements.

## TSIK and Party Congress Meet

**D**URING the past two months two very important congresses have met in Moscow. The first of these, the fourth session of the Sixth Convocation of the Central Executive Committee (TSIK) of the U.S.S.R., met from December 28 to January 4, the second, the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party, from January 26 to February 10.

At the TSIK reports were made summing up the international situation and progress and plans in the various branches of the national economy. The most important internal problem under discussion was the report submitted by Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and V. I. Mezhlauk, Assistant Chairman of the State Planning Commission, on the program for 1934, second year of the second five-year plan, which was approved by the TSIK. Of great importance, too, was the budget for 1934, as presented by G. F. Grinko, Commissar for Finance, and the report by Y. A. Yakovlev, Commissar for Agriculture, on agricultural achievements for 1933 and the spring sowing program for 1934. The report of Maxim Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, is printed elsewhere in this issue.

### The XVII Party Congress

The Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party was the first Party Congress to be held in three years (Party conferences and plenary sessions are held between the congresses). Representation at the congress was on the basis of one delegate with a decisive vote for 1,500 Party members, and one delegate with a consultative vote per 3,000 candidates. In making the arrangements for this congress the mandate commission took the total membership as of January 1, 1934, taking into consideration the number of members excluded in the districts where the Party cleansing was completed by that date. On this basis, 1,961 delegates attended the congress, 1,225 with decisive votes, 736 with consultative votes, representing 1,872,488 Party members, and 935,298 candidates.

Among the most important items on the agenda

were Stalin's report on the work of the Central Committee of the Party since the last congress, the reports of Molotov and Kuibyshev on the second five-year plan, and Kaganovich's report on problems of Party and government organization. The discussion on Stalin's report was participated in by representatives in all the fields covered in the report, and the report as a whole was fully endorsed by the congress. The program for the second *piatiletka* was accepted with some slight modifications and additions.

### Organizational Changes

The resolution passed by the congress on questions of Party and Soviet structure, based on the report submitted by Kaganovich, outlined several far-reaching changes. The most important of these, the aim of which is to improve control over the execution of decisions of the government and to strengthen Soviet discipline, contains the following provisions:

(a) To reorganize the Commission of Fulfillment under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. into a Commission of Soviet Control under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. nominated by the Congress of the Party, and approved by the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars, with its own apparatus in the center and permanent representatives appointed and subject to recall by the Commission of Soviet Control.

(b) To liquidate the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, which has outlived its usefulness, and to transfer its apparatus to the Soviet

Control Commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

(c) To appoint as administrator of the Soviet Control Commission one of the vice-chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Similarly to improve the control over the fulfillment of the decisions of the Party and the Central Committee of the Party and to strengthen Party discipline, it was decided to carry through the following organizational measures:

(a) To reorganize the Central Control Commission into a Commission of Party Control attached to the Central Committee, elected by the Congress of the Party, its own apparatus in the center and permanent representatives in the republics and provinces appointed and subject to recall by the Commission of Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

(b) To transfer the apparatus of the Central Control Commission to the Commission of Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

(c) To appoint one of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party director of the Commission of Party Control.

According to the resolution, conditions for full membership in the Party are to be made somewhat stricter than in the past. Non-Party persons who have shown in their work that they are in sympathy with Party policies and willing to carry them out, but who are not yet prepared for membership, are to be formed into groups of sympathizers by the lower Party organizations. The old type of Party cells in factories, transport, agricultural collectives, etc., are to be transformed into Party organizations with a Party committee at their head, and the cells in shops and departments, into shop organizations, with Party organizers at their head.

The present functional departments in the Central Committee and regional committees of the Party are to be replaced by production departments, as follows:

In the Central Committee of the Communist Party: (1) agricultural department, (2) industrial department, (3) transport department, (4) planning-financial-trading department, (5) political and administrative department, (6) department of leading Party organs, (7) department of culture and propaganda of Leninism, (8) a Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and two sectors: sector of business management and special sector.

In the provincial and regional committees: (1) agricultural, (2) industrial and transport, (3) Soviet-trading, (4) culture and propaganda of Leninism, (5) leading Party organs (urban and rural) and special sector.

The work of the district Party committees is to be brought closer to tasks of production. Political sections, which have proved successful in the machine and tractor stations, state farms and railroads are to be continued, and are also to be formed in all the lagging sectors of socialist construction.



*Soofoto*

V. V. Kuibyshev, Chairman State Planning Commission

All Soviet administrative and economic apparatus is to be reorganized on the regional and production basis in place of the functional system, the chief organs of the People's Commissariats are henceforth to be the central and regional production administrations. Economic organs are to be in more direct contact with the economic enterprises, intermediary bodies are to be eliminated, personal responsibility of executives and officials is to be increased, office staffs are to be reduced in favor of practical work, and drastic steps taken to eliminate bureaucracy in every form. All administrative organs are to be subjected to severe criticism on the part of the public particularly in respect to bureaucratic shortcomings. The rights of the lower organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are to be transferred to the trade unions, and women are to be brought into more active work in the Soviets.

The resolution further outlines conditions for admission into the Communist Party and the duties of Party members; the principle of democratic centralism on which the organizational structure of the Party is based; the functions of the Party Congress and the central and local organizations of the Party; the functions of the Party organization in the Red Army and in non-Party organizations; inner Party democracy and discipline, and the financial resources of the Party.

### Party Elections

At the concluding session of the congress, the following were elected members of Central Committee of the Communist Party:

P. A. Alexeyev, A. A. Andreyev, N. K. Antipov, A. E. Badayev, V. A. Balitsky, K. Y. Bauman, L. P. Beriya, A. S. Bubnov, M. A. Chernov, V. Y. Chubar, M. E. Chuvyrin, M. S. Chudov, R. I. Eikhe, Y. B. Gamarnik, V. I. Ivanov, Akmal Ikramov, I. D. Kabakov, L. M. Kaganovich, M. M. Kaganovich, M. I. Kalinin, M. M. Khatayevich, N. S. Khrushchev, S. M. Kirov, V. G. Knorin, I. F. Kodatsky, A. V. Kosarev, I. V. Kossior, S. V. Kossior, A. I. Krinitsky, N. K. Krupskaya, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. V. Kuibyshev, L. I. Lavrentev, D. Z. Lebed, M. M. Litvinoff, I. E. Liubimov, S. S. Lobov, D. Z. Manuilsky, V. I. Mezhlauk, A. I. Mikoyan, L. I. Mirzoyan, V. M. Molotov, K. I. Nikolayeva, I. P. Nosov, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, G. I. Petrovsky, P. P. Postyshev, Y. L. Platakov, I. A. Platnitsky, M. O. Razumov, Y. E. Rudzutak, I. P. Rumiantsev, M. L. Rukhimovich, K. V. Ryndin, J. V. Stalin, A. I. Stetsky, D. E. Sulimov, N. M. Shvernin, B. P. Sheboldayev, K. V. Ukhonov, I. M. Vareikis, K. E. Voroshilov, G. G. Yagoda, I. E. Yakir, Y. A. Yakovlev, E. G. Yevdokimov, N. I. Yezhov, A. S. Yenukidze, I. A. Zelensky, A. A. Zhdanov, I. P. Zhukov (71 members).

The following were elected candidates to the Central Committee of the Party:

V. P. Shubrikov, F. P. Griadinsky, G. N. Kaminsky, N. I. Pakhomov, I. G. Eremin, Y. D. Isayev, G. Mussabekov, P. I. Smorodin, V. M. Mikhailov, P. I. Struppe, I. P. Tovstukha, I. S. Unshlikht, V. K. Bluecher, V. I. Kuritsyn, N. A. Bulgannin, Y. V. Bykin, A. S. Bulin, B. A. Semenov, A. S. Kalygina, M. M. Kulkov, M. I. Kalmanovich, A. K. Lepa, S. A. Lozovsky, M. D. Bagirov, M. N. Tukhachevsky, I. G. Makarov, M. E. Mikhailov, B. P. Pozern, S. Z. Eliava, N. M. Goloded, T. D. Deribas, A. P. Zaveniagin, V. V. Ossinsky, K. K. Strievsky, N. N. Popov, P. Schwartz, E. I. Veger,

T. A. Yurkin, N. F. Gikalo, L. Z. Mekhlis, V. V. Ptukha, A. I. Ugarov, S. A. Sarkisov, G. I. Blagonravov, A. P. Rosenholtz, A. I. Sedelnikov, A. I. Yegorov, A. P. Serebrovsky, S. M. Budenny, N. N. Demchenko, A. N. Poskrebyshv, V. P. Zatonsky, A. M. Shteingardt, N. A. Filatov, N. P. Komarov, I. P. Pavlunovsky, G. Y. Sokolnikov, G. I. Broldo, N. I. Bukharin, V. I. Polonsky, I. P. Uborevich, N. A. Kubiak, G. D. Weinberg, G. F. Grinko, A. I. Rykov, P. P. Liubchenko, M. P. Tomsy, E. K. Pramnek (68 candidates).

At the first meeting of the newly elected Central Committee of the Communist Party, it elected the following executive organs:

(1) Political Bureau of the Central Committee: J. V. Stalin, V. M. Molotov, L. M. Kaganovich, K. E. Voroshilov, M. I. Kalinin, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, V. V. Kuibyshev, S. M. Kirov, A. A. Andreyev, S. V. Kossior.

Candidates: A. I. Mikoyan, V. Y. Chubar, G. I. Petrovsky, P. P. Postyshev, Y. E. Rudzutak.

(2) Secretariat of the Central Committee: J. V. Stalin, L. M. Kaganovich, S. M. Kirov (who remains secretary of the Leningrad Provincial Committee), A. A. Zhdanov (who is relieved of the post of secretary of the Gorky Regional Committee).

(3) Organization Bureau of the Central Committee: J. V. Stalin, L. M. Kaganovich, S. M. Kirov, A. A. Zhdanov, N. I. Yezhov, N. M. Shvernin, A. V. Kosarev, A. I. Stetsky, Y. B. Gamarnik, V. V. Kuibyshev.

Candidates: A. I. Krinitsky, M. M. Kaganovich.

In accordance with the resolution of the congress on organizational measures, the following members were elected to the Commission on Party Control:

L. M. Kaganovich, N. I. Yezhov, M. F. Shkiriatov, Em. Yaroslavsky, I. A. Akulov, Y. K. Peters, D. A. Bulatov, P. D. Akulinushkin, I. M. Bekker, N. S. Berezin, V. S. Bogushevsky, S. K. Brikke, A. T. Zalikin, K. I. Bukharin, S. V. Vassilev, V. L. Volkov, E. B. Genkin, M. L. Granovsky, V. Y. Grossman, R. E. Davidson, B. A. Dvinsky, S. B. Zhukovsky, F. I. Zaitsev, A. S. Zashibayev, N. N. Zimin, P. N. Karavayev, M. I. Kakhiani, I. I. Korotkov, T. F. Kubar, N. V. Kuibyshev, A. A. Levin, I. A. Lychev, Z. I. Meerzon, P. G. Moskatov, I. V. Murugov, N. M. Osmov, P. N. Pospelov, L. A. Papparde, K. F. Pshenitsyn, A. N. Petrovsky, N. N. Rabichev, R. G. Rubenov, M. I. Rubenshtein, P. F. Sakhara, M. M. Sakhianova, V. P. Stavsky, M. T. Stepanov, S. A. Saltanov, M. L. Sorokin, M. M. Temkin, A. A. Frenkel, S. T. Khavkin, Y. A. Chubin, S. K. Shaduntz, V. F. Sharangovich, M. A. Shaburova, V. I. Sheshtakov, A. P. Shokhin, A. Y. Shustin, E. I. Yurevich, A. I. Yakovlev (61 members).

The following members were elected to the Commission on Soviet Control:

V. V. Kuibyshev, N. K. Antipov, Z. M. Belenky, N. M. Antselovich, A. I. Gaister, G. E. Prokofiev, G. I. Lomov, A. M. Tsikhon, R. S. Zemliachka, I. M. Moskvina, B. A. Roizenman, I. A. Bogdanov, G. D. Blednikov, Y. Y. Bauer, A. A. Bukhanov, S. M. Balakhnin, V. L. Bukaty, A. P. Bogat, N. A. Voznesensky, E. I. Veinbaum, R. S. Vengerova, M. I. Gemmervert, Y. I. Gindin, K. V. Gei, Y. M. Gladstein, L. E. Goldich, M. A. Deich, A. I. Dogadov, V. N. Egorov, D. A. Zhuchayev, N. I. Ilin, N. G. Ivanov, A. A. Ivanov, V. I. Karpov, A. I. Karlik, R. Y. Kissis, M. G. Krivin, A. Y. Kozlovskaya, V. S. Kalashnikov, I. E. Korostashvsky, K. P. Soms, K. A. Maltsev, S. A. Manfred, I. I. Miroshnikov, G. Melamed, N. S. Morgunov, I. I. Mez-

lauk, A. M. Nazaretian, S. G. Uralov, A. N. Gusev, M. K. Oshvintsev, I. G. Perekatov, G. N. Pylayev, I. A. Petrunichev, I. S. Pronin, N. A. Paskutsky, A. G. Remeiko, A. R. Rozit, M. P. Remizov, V. I. Romanovsky, F. V. Sulkovsky, G. M. Streltsov, S. K. Sudin, M. A. Trilisser, R. Y. Terekhov, M. I. Ulianova, V. G. Feigin, P. S. Tsarev, G. V. Shabljevsky, G. D. Khakhanian.

The following were elected members of the Revision Commission:

M. F. Vladimírsky, E. I. Riabinin, A. S. Kiselev, I. S. Shelekhes, S. E. Chutskayev, M. D. Orakhelashvili, G. M. Krutov, V. V. Adoratsky, M. I. Khlopliankin, K. V. Sukhomlin, Y. S. Agranov, L. N. Aronshtam, Y. G. Soifer, I. I. Alexeyev, E. S. Kogan, A. G. Khandzhian, V. K. Fomin, Y. A. Popok, M. N. Erbanov, P. M. Pevzniak, S. F. Redens, N. M. Yanson.

## Anatole Lunacharsky

**I**N the death of Anatole Lunacharsky on December 26 at Mentone, France, just as he was about to enter upon his duties as first Soviet ambassador to Spain, the Soviet Union has sustained a great loss.

The body of Lunacharsky was brought back to Moscow and lay in state in the Great Hall of Trade Unions, while thousands of the most varied sections of the Soviet population—workers, teachers, artists, writers, scientists—came to pay tribute to the great leader of proletarian culture.

On January 2 a state funeral was held and his ashes, borne by Litvinoff, Bubnov, and other Soviet leaders, were placed in the Kremlin wall where heroes of the revolution are buried.

Speaking at the funeral on behalf of the government and the central committee of the Party,

Andrey Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education, said in part:

"In the loss of Anatole Vassilevich Lunacharsky, the Soviet Union, the working class and the Party have lost an old and tested revolutionist—one of the foremost builders of Socialist culture.

"Lunacharsky was the connecting link between the Party and the artistic intelligentsia. His unique work in this respect was started long before the revolution and continued while he held the post of Commissar for Education. He was able to enlist the best writers and artists of our country in the creation of the new Socialist culture, as well as friends of the proletarian revolution from the ranks of the left revolutionary intelligentsia of the West. All his vast education, his knowledge of science and art, he gave enthusiastically in the service of building Socialist culture."

Then Maxim Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, with whom Lunacharsky had been closely associated at recent international conferences, spoke a few words of tribute to his colleague and friend:

"To his exceptional services Anatole Lunacharsky has in the past few years added yet another. He took part in that work to which the Party and the Soviet Government attribute special importance—the struggle for peace. He participated with me in the disarmament conferences, where he mercilessly exposed the enemies of peace in his speeches.

"Anatole Vassilevich put all his gifts, all his brilliance, all his genius into whatever he undertook, whatever commissions he carried out. We shall remember him not only as a revolutionary fighter, but as a person of great sensitivity and fineness, as a wonderful comrade and friend. Anatole Vassilevich will live only in our memories but in our hearts."

Among the many articles about Lunacharsky's life and work published in the Soviet press at the time of his death, was one by Nadezhda Krupskaya, widow of Lenin, who knew Lunacharsky well in pre-revolutionary days and worked side by side with him when he was Commissar for Education. Among other things, she wrote:

"One of the outstanding characteristics of Anatole Vassilevich was his great gift of expression. Sometimes it would happen in the collegium of the Narkompros that someone would begin to develop



A. V. Lunacharsky discussing educational problems with a group of factory workers when he was Commissar for Education

some perfectly correct idea, but would speak so dully, so tritely—Anatole Vassilevich would listen and listen, then he would take the floor—begin to develop the same idea, but at once it would take on such dimensions, open up such perspectives that the author himself would listen with amazement to Anatole Vassilevich and be carried away by his enthusiasm. This quality in Anatole Vassilevich was especially valued by Vladimir Ilyich, who loved him for this, was always partial to him, and esteemed him most highly.”

Lunacharsky was born in Poltava in 1875. He studied in the Kiev high school. At seventeen he became a member of the Social Democratic organization and began his literary work on behalf of the party. Because of his revolutionary activities he was not permitted to continue his studies in Russia, so went abroad. In Zurich and Paris he attended universities where he studied natural history, philosophy, art and social science. During this period he came in touch with Plekhanov, Axelrod and others. In 1896 he returned to Russia, carried on revolutionary activities in Mos-

cow and Kiev and was arrested and exiled several times. At the time of the split with the Mensheviks in 1903 he joined the Bolshevik section of the Party.

Lunacharsky's field of interest and knowledge was of the widest. He was richly versed in world culture, both Western and Russian and was a fine critic of painting, sculpture, the theater, music. One of the leaders in developing the new Soviet culture, he expended great efforts to insure that the workers, in creating their own art should preserve and utilize all the best artistic wealth of the past. He endeavored to support and organize artistic expression in its most varied forms—from academic theaters to workers' dramatic circles. He encouraged and helped many young artists, musicians and writers.

As critic, publicist and orator Lunacharsky was untiring. He maintained his enthusiastic interest in cultural matters through his long illness, and had high hopes for building up cultural as well as diplomatic relations as ambassador to Spain—a post which his death kept him from filling.

## The Stratostat Disaster

THE stratostat "Osoaviakhim I" which ascended from the airdrome at Mazilovo, eight miles from Moscow, on January 30, crashed tragically about seven-and-a-half hours later after having reached the record height of 70,400 feet. The members of the crew, whose bodies were found in the gondola, were Paul F. Fedoseyenko, commander and organizer of the flight, and one of the best known civil pilots of the U.S.S.R., Andrey B. Vasenko, designer of the stratostat and Ilya Usyskin, a young scientist of the Institute of Physical Science.

The stratostat took off at about 9 o'clock in the presence of a few officials, the plans having been kept secret until the last minute.

There were frost and fog at the time the start was made. The balloon was more inflated than in previous flights because of the lower expanding power of the winter sun, and it rose swiftly. A little more than an hour after the ascent an altitude of 45,337 feet was reported, at 10:50 a height of 62,335 feet and at 11:59 a. m. the radio announced that having reached a record height of 67,835 they were prepared to descend. The external temperature was reported as 45 degrees below zero and the temperature in the gondola as 20 above. The balloon's apparatus at that time was reported to be functioning perfectly and the air in the gondola was being cleansed of carbon dioxide by a purifying device.

After the 11:59 report, connection with the

earth ceased and only late at night, after anxious waiting and search, did the news arrive that the stratostat had met with disaster between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, on the territory of the Mordvian Autonomous Region.

On February 1 the cause of the disaster of the stratostat was revealed by a special inquiry commission, which also announced on the basis of records found in the wreckage that the stratostat had actually reached a height of 70,400 feet before the fatal descent began.

The cause of the catastrophe as stated by the commission, was the excessive, progressively accelerated velocity of the stratostat's descent, beginning at 4:10 p. m. at a height of 70,400 feet, resulting in the snapping of some of the trusses and a disturbance of the equilibrium of the whole structure of the stratostat, which caused the severance of the gondola from the balloon.

The time of the disaster was established as 4:23 on the basis of a pocket watch belonging to Vasenko, which stopped at that time, and the record of the broken barograph, which stopped at 4:21 p. m. Entries were made in the diary regularly until 4:07 p. m., at which time the commission considered the disaster must have started.

Most of the flying and scientific apparatus in the gondola was smashed, but part was not completely destroyed and is available for further scientific study. The diary of the three men and the barograph readings are intact. These show that at





Soefoto

Funeral of the stratostat heroes. Carrying the urns (left to right) are Voroshilov, Stalin and Molotov

12:33 the stratostat reached the height of 70,400 feet at which it remained until 12:45, when the descent began.

The commission disagreed strongly with theories brought forward at the time to the effect that the disaster was caused by the stratostat being weighed down by ice.

The records show, the commission adds, that from the beginning of the ascent until 4:10 p. m. the crew were in the best of spirits and had every hope of a good landing.

The news of the disaster, which was first announced at the session of the XVII Party Congress then meeting in Moscow, on January 31, stunned the whole population. Messages of condolence were received from all over the world.

On the evening of February 1 the train bearing the dead bodies crept slowly into the Kazan station to the strains of the Soviet funeral march. On the platform there stood a guard of honor, the relatives and comrades of the dead men, and Osoaviakhim officials. A vast crowd of workers watched the coffins being born from the red and black draped car. After the cremation the urns containing the ashes were placed in the large hall of the building of the TSIK, where tens of thousands came to do honor to the heroes.

On February 2 an impressive funeral ceremony was held in the Red Square. Prokofiev, Birnbaum and Godunov, who made the first Soviet stratosphere flight, carried the urns out of the hall and Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov carried them to the Red Square, which was filled with workers and members of all sections of the population. Speeches were made in honor of the scientific achievements and high courage of the three

flyers, Fedosyenko, Vasenko and Usyskin, and the urns containing their ashes were sealed in the Kremlin wall.

### PRIVILEGES FOR EAST SIBERIAN AND BURYAT-MONGOLIAN SETTLERS

**F**OLLOWING the decree of December 11 encouraging colonization in the Far Eastern provinces of the Soviet Union by reducing taxes and granting certain privileges, a similar decree was issued on February 5 to ease conditions for settlers in the Trans-Baikal section of the East Siberian Region and in the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic. The introduction to the decree, which is signed by Viacheslav Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Joseph Stalin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, states that the decree is designed to ease economic conditions in view of the considerable influx of new settlers into these sparsely populated regions.

The decree, which went into effect February 15, contains the following provisions:

1. Twenty-three districts \* of the Trans-Baikal section of the East Siberian Region and twelve villages of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic are to be exempt from obligatory grain deliveries for a period of six years for the collective farms and farmers and three years for individual farmers.

2. Ten East Siberian districts and five Buryat-Mongolian villages are to be exempt from obligatory deliveries of meat, potatoes, milk and butter for the same periods.

3. Government delivery quotas for 1934 in meat, milk, potatoes and butter are to be reduced by 50 per cent as against 1933 for the remaining districts of the Trans-Baikal section of East Siberia and the Trans-Baikal villages of Buryat-Mongolia.

4. Three villages of Buryat-Mongolia are to be exempt from obligatory deliveries of wool during the same period.

5. The average obligatory quotas of grain and potato deliveries are to be reduced by one-third for all the districts of East Siberia not included in the twenty-three first mentioned.

6. Wage increases are to be made in the districts of East Siberia and the villages of Buryat-Mongolia mentioned in the first paragraph, as follows:

(a) For workers and engineering and technical personnel in the coal industry—by 30 per cent.

(b) For workers and engineering and technical personnel of the plants, factories, transport, communications, industry, state farms and machine and tractor stations, and also for teachers,

\* The districts and villages are named in the decree.

adult education workers, medical staffs, agronomists, veterinaries, agriculturists and surveyors—by 20 per cent.

(c) For employees in institutions and enterprises—by 10 per cent.

7. Increases in pay beginning January 1, 1934,

for army divisions stationed in the Trans-Baikal section of the East Siberian region, as follows:

(a) For Red Army men and the Junior command—by 50 per cent.

(b) For intermediate, senior and higher commanding staffs—by 20 per cent.

## Litvinoff Addresses Tsik

*Following is the report on the international situation of the Soviet Union made by Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on December 29, at the fourth session of the Sixth Convocation of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. The address was published in the Soviet papers of December 30.*

I am appearing before you at a time of feverish and heightened activity in international diplomatic circles. Without touching upon its qualitative features, it may be asserted that this activity has been caused by important changes in international relations, in international groupings which have taken or are taking place, and by the ripening and shaping of new diplomatic plans and combinations. If it is possible to speak of diplomatic eras, it is certain that we are now at the point of transition between two eras. . . .

After the World War, in which some forty states participated, including every great power without exception, the whole capitalist world became for a time pacifist. The pacifism of the vanquished countries which were deprived of practically every means for the conduct of war needs no explanation, but even the victor states which had in a large measure satisfied their imperialist aspirations, were not, for a certain time, interested in further wars. True, the capitalist contradictions among the victor countries themselves remained unsolved, but they were too exhausted to engage in fresh wars immediately. They attempted to turn the remnants of their war energy against the new international force which had grown up in the shape of the Soviet republics, but for this war their weapons proved to be blunted and they wisely hastened to put an end to the military discussion with us in good time.

Besides, the proletariat in the capitalist states had begun to awaken from the effects of the war hashish and to present for payment the bills issued by the bourgeoisie during the war. The war caused a powerful reaction and anti-war sentiments among the petty bourgeoisie as well. It further became necessary to put the war-shattered finances and economy into some order. All this, taken together, created the era of bourgeois pacifism and pacifist diplomacy, which continued until very recently. An endless number of international conferences and meetings were held, the League of Nations was created, which arranged meetings of foreign ministers and prime ministers

several times a year. These meetings and conferences took place publicly, under the control of the public, and they were devoted to talk of peace and friendship among the nations. There was, of course, no lack of meetings behind the stage and secret conversations, but they had an "illegal," "underground" character. In any case, for twelve years, they zealously discussed and wrote about peace and disarmament and drafted corresponding conventions.

### Pacifism and War Preparations

But while the foreign ministers diligently discussed peace, the war and naval ministries and the general staffs were not idle and quite as diligently replaced the stocks of arms and ammunition depleted by the war, adding to them the products of the new military inventions. Meanwhile, the international capitalist contradictions widened, deepened, sharpened and began to assert themselves more and more markedly. The economic crisis, unprecedented both in force and duration, further intensified the existing contradictions and added new ones to them. The Social Democratic parties, led by the Second International, which had believed in the omnipotence and everlastingness of democracy and its ability to protect peace, and which therefore rejected and became divorced from any revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, were dislodged from all their positions in a number of countries. Together with these parties, the radical intellectual and pacifist sections of the petty bourgeoisie also sustained considerable losses.

Meanwhile, a new generation of people had grown up who had not known or experienced the horrors of the World War, and had not been infected with the anti-war sentiments to which the governments had been forced, until recently, to pay some lip-service at least. Nor has it been possible, any longer, to pay even this service, as the actions of the governments were too much in discord with it. The era of bourgeois pacifism thus came to an end.

The bourgeois press, instead of peace problems, openly began to discuss war problems in all their ugly details. In Geneva and at the diplomatic meetings and conferences, disarmament, which had held the central place, gave place to questions of armament and re-armament. Where the old ruling parties and cliques had not succeeded in adapting themselves to the new military spirit of the times, they were replaced by new parties, new cliques, new people, with a new ideology, untainted and uncompromised in the past by any pacifism. Any form of pacifism, any desire for international peace, was proclaimed to be an embodiment of all the mortal sins, a betrayal of the ideals of humanity. The true ideals of humanity, according to them, are an eternal struggle among the peoples, a struggle among the races, among religions, their mutual extermination. War alone can again ennoble, renovate, rejuvenate humanity. The youth must be reared in this spirit. The press, literature, science and art must serve this doctrine. This new ideology, to be sure, smacks of the ancient days, is covered with medieval mould, revives the images and methods of the holy inquisition, but in the name of its triumph, in the name of this new "civilizing mission," a crusade is proclaimed against Marxism, against Communism, against radicalism. . . .

The struggle against world Communism, however, is merely a sham or a far-removed objective. Under cover of this struggle, an attempt is being made to realize more modest, purely national aims which, in their bare form, are known as revision of treaties and capture of lands whether mentioned or unmentioned in the treaties to be revised. It is sufficient to study the literature of the prophets of this "new" ideology to realize that should the fortune of war begin to smile at them, they will be none too fastidious, will not limit themselves solely to territories under the control of the hated Marxists, but will have no objection to a strip of bourgeois land as well, or even to territory in which ideas akin to their own predominate. Such at any rate is the case in one of the European countries.

There is also another country which has proved to be even more "advanced," or perhaps more prepared and which, without resorting to complex ideology and theoretical preparation, replaced without much ado the revision of treaties by a revision of borders and entrusted this revision, not to diplomats, but to generals, under whose command whole armies are freely marching over the vast Asiatic continent in all directions, ignoring any borders and anybody's rights. To be sure, even here a certain amount of ideology has been used. But this ideology has not yet been finally crystallized, it still bears a somewhat timid, experimental character, assuming the form now of the defense of European "civilization" against Communism, now of a theory of a new, all-Asiatic race which would benefit by being placed under

the rule of the authors of this theory. But even in this case, the ideology covers up altogether prosaic national annexationist, imperialist aims. The political rapprochement beginning to develop between the advocates of these two new ideologies which have common roots and common objectives, is not to be wondered at.

I consider it necessary to explain beforehand to those who might decide to wax nobly indignant over my frank criticism of the theories embodied in the policy of certain countries with which we are maintaining normal, diplomatic relations, that they are themselves sufficiently abusing their right to pass open judgment on our Communism, which, in addition, they distort, to entitle me to make certain remarks concerning the theories preached by them, the essence of which is now well understood by everybody, and which enjoy a somewhat doubtful popularity throughout the world.

I have dealt with the fundamental characteristics of that new era of diplomacy to which I referred at the beginning of my report. The new problems of diplomacy must have new forms to fit them. That is why the more or less open and public international conferences are already proving to be an antiquated method of international intercourse and are giving place to the more limited, private meetings of four, three or two ministers, and one state after another is turning away from the existing international organizations. Peace and disarmament may be discussed publicly; war and armaments can be discussed with greater convenience *tête-à-tête* or among three or four people.

#### Attitude of the U.S.S.R. to Treaty Revision

You would get an incorrect idea of the international situation, however, were you to conclude from what I have said that all capitalist states are now anxious for war and are preparing for it directly. This is far from being the case. Side by side with the very few countries which have already either substituted diplomacy by military operations or, not being yet ready for this, are preparing to do so in the near future, there are those which are not yet pursuing such objects. They have their own antagonisms with other countries, which they do not hope to remove by any means other than war. But these antagonisms have not yet become sufficiently acute to make war imminent. Considering war to be inevitable and unavoidable, however, and on the other hand, not being too interested in the maintenance of universal peace, they do not bind themselves and avoid making commitments as far as possible which might unnecessarily consolidate peace, such as non-aggression pacts, aggression definitions and so on. They might, perhaps, have no objection to a little fight between other states in which they themselves would not be involved

and from which they might derive certain benefits, particularly if our Union might suffer from such fights.

Finally, there are also bourgeois states—and they are quite numerous—which are interested, for the immediate future, in the maintenance of peace and are prepared to pursue a policy directed towards the maintenance of peace. I am not entering into an estimation of the motives for such a policy, but am merely stating a fact which is highly valuable to us.

I have taken, of course, only the basic group of countries, the conflicts among whom now fill the international arena. This struggle can easily be traced in all international developments, at all congresses, conferences, international organizations. In the League of Nations this struggle assumes its most striking forms. It may be assumed, however, that in the League of Nations, that tendency will win which is interested in preserving peace and this, perhaps, explains the deep changes which are taking place in the composition of the League. The revision of treaties, disarmament, re-armament, the Four-Power Pact, the reorganization of the League—all these are manifestations and functions of the struggle between the three fundamental groupings of states described by me.

Such is the complex international situation in which Soviet diplomacy has had to act. The responsibility resting on our diplomacy is great and is becoming ever greater, as all, or nearly all the international problems which I have named affect or may affect the interests of our Union. Take, for instance, the revision of treaties. This question would seem scarcely to concern us as we did not participate in the drafting of these treaties, either formally or morally, as we did not approve them. Moreover, we have made no secret of our sympathies for those nations to whom clear injustices were done by these treaties and it is consequently not for us to object to the revision of these treaties, but this is so only if such revision can be accomplished peacefully, on the basis of voluntary agreements, or if, in abolishing existing injustices they will not create other, perhaps greater injustices. But in reality, we know of such projects for "just" revision of treaties which provide for the satisfaction of the territorial appetites of the vanquished states at the expense of countries such as the Baltic states, for instance, or even the U.S.S.R. which took no part in the Versailles Treaty and caused no injustices to anyone.

I do not know whether this is a Hottentot conception of morality and justice, or any other, but in any case it is not of Aryan origin. Regardless of its origin, however, any attempt at the application of such a morality, would be up against the entire power of our 170 million people. In any case, due to the appearance of such projects, we, against our will, find ourselves drawn into the

problem of the so-called revision of treaties, and this to no small extent, determines our attitude towards the other above-mentioned international problems, such as re-armament, the Four-Power Pact and so forth.

### The Guiding Principle of Soviet Foreign Policy

The guiding principle of our foreign policy is outlined in Stalin's brief but expressive formula: we do not covet foreign land but not a single inch of our own will we yield. It follows that once we do not want foreign land we do not want war. And as far as our land is concerned we are perfectly capable of defending it and even the approaches to it, with the aid of our powerfully growing military forces.

These forces could teach a lesson to any near or distant neighbor who would venture beyond their own boundaries, a lesson they would remember for decades. That, however, would be an unproductive waste of means and energy, would temporarily divert our attention from our basic task of building socialism and we are therefore doing everything possible to defend our territory by peaceful methods, even if this is not exactly a drastic means of eliminating the threat of aggression against us.

We consider that even such military action as is begun beyond the immediate frontiers of our country might harbor grave dangers for us. That is why we not only continue but intensify our struggle for peace, which has always been and is still the main task of our diplomacy. As Comrade Molotov correctly pointed out here, this struggle corresponds with the desires of the masses of all countries.

During the past year we have extended the system of non-aggression pacts. Such pacts are now in force not only with all our neighbors, apart from China and Japan, but with France and Italy as well. We have made a further step in the direction of strengthening the significance and effectiveness of the non-aggression pacts by proposing an exhaustive definition of the very conception of aggression. This proposal of ours has already taken the form of agreements with a whole chain of our neighbors from Finland to Afghanistan, as well as with the three countries of the Little Entente. Our definition of aggression has earned universal recognition as a valuable contribution to the science of international law as well as to international practice and is, moreover, a splendid method for verifying the absence or existence of aggressive, annexationist aims on the part of the various countries. We will therefore continue to struggle for the universal recognition of this definition.

The maintenance of peace cannot depend upon our efforts alone. It demands the cooperation and assistance of other countries as well. By striving therefore toward the establishment and

maintenance of friendly relations with all countries, we devote particular attention to the strengthening of relations and maximum rapprochement with those countries which, like ourselves, furnish proof of their sincere desire to preserve peace and show that they are prepared to oppose any violators of peace.

We have never objected, and do not object, to organized international cooperation which aims at strengthening peace. Not being doctrinaires, we do not refuse to make use of existing or future international combinations and organizations, providing we have now or in the future reason to believe that they would serve the cause of peace.

### The United States

I shall begin with the event which, although chronologically last in this development, occupies by virtue of its importance one of the first places in it, namely, the establishment of relations with the great transatlantic republic. For fifteen years this republic, alone among the big powers, persistently refrained not only from formal recognition of the Soviet Union but from acknowledging its existence altogether. . . .

Once she had established her first contact with us, the United States immediately became convinced that antagonisms with our Union, either of a national or governmental nature, were non-existent, and that disputed questions could easily be settled. Moreover, being herself interested in preserving peace the United States recognized contact with our country as a powerful factor in this respect and has correspondingly valued cooperation with us in that direction.

We, on our part, also estimate the establishment of relations with America primarily from the standpoint of its significance in the cause of peace. I may mention here that the basic principles and postulates which we have consistently carried out in the establishment of relations with capitalist countries, have been retained unimpaired in the present case as well. This circumstance—that is, the absence of any sacrifices whatsoever on either side—is, indeed, an important guarantee of the further strengthening of our relations.

The frank exchange of opinions between President Roosevelt and myself convinced us both of the complete possibility of the very closest relations between our two countries. It is an indication of the perspicacity of President Roosevelt that soon after he assumed office, and perhaps even before that, he realized the futility of continuing the struggle against us and envisioned the advantages of relations with us to American government interests and the interests of world peace.

### Turkey

We consider our relations with the great Turkish Republic as a model of relations with foreign states. For a period of over ten years these relations have been improving from year to year, having attained sincere friendship, rendering complete satisfaction to both sides and instilling in them a feeling of complete security for the section of frontier which lies between them. The policy of friendship and mutual confidence has



Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

Sovfoto

provided a basis for fruitful cooperation on the international arena as well.

Each side in coming forward with a proposal aimed at strengthening peace can depend in advance on the support and assistance of the other side. We are glad in this connection to note the assistance rendered us by Turkey and her Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushti Bey, in carrying the proposal of the definition of aggression into international life.

The dispatch by our government of a delegation to Turkey headed by Comrade Voroshilov, our War Commissar, for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic and the hearty and enthusiastic reception it was accorded, not only by the head of the republic and the government but by the people of Turkey as well, represented another manifestation of that deep friendship of which I have just spoken. . . .

### France

In speaking of the gradual considerable improvement in our relations with other countries, we must first of all mention France. After the signing of the non-aggression pact, our relations with France during the past year have made rapid strides. This has been due partly to the absence of state political antagonisms between us and in particular to our common desire to work actively in the interests of preserving universal peace. We have the advantage of a stable government and a stable foreign policy, while in France governments change frequently with a possible change in political orientation.

Inasmuch, however, as the French people sincerely desire peace, and it is precisely that desire which unites us with France, we need not fear particularly that any change of government will hinder the successful development of our close relations. The recent visit to our Union of M. Herriot, one of the most prominent and brilliant representatives of the French people, and one who reflects their peace-loving sentiments, as well as the visit, following that of Herriot, of representatives of French aviation headed by M. Pierre Cot, the Aviation Minister, gave fresh impetus to Franco-Soviet rapprochement.

I should like to think that all this has been merely the introductory stage to the further development of our relations. I am confident that this movement will be accelerated as the factors menacing peace continue to accumulate. It must be remembered, however, that our relations with France are in need of some economic strengthening, which I hope will be effected by the trade agreement about to be concluded.

### Italy

Our relations with Italy continue to be distinguished by their particular stability. For the past ten years these relations have been subject

to no fluctuations, no conflicts either political or economic. During this period we have had not a few instances of valuable diplomatic cooperation on the part of Italy. We have also had occasion in certain branches of our construction to resort to Italian technical aid, while our economic relations have prospered to our mutual benefit.

My recent visit to Italy and the reception I met there bear witness to the aspirations of both countries for the further development of our mutual relations in all branches. This was the conclusion reached by M. Mussolini, the head of the Italian government, and myself, after exchanging opinions on questions of current policy and on the most effective methods of preserving universal peace. Our efforts simultaneously to support and develop relations with all the large countries is not an unimportant contribution to the cause of universal peace.

### Great Britain

Unfortunately, this effort of ours has not yet been realized, or fully realized, with regard to another big power—Great Britain. Our relations with this country, sad to say, cannot boast of stability or continuity. This is not at all the result of any objective reason and I am certain that the British people as a whole are anxious to live in perfect peace and friendship with us. But there are certain elements there which still cherish the fond dream of a general capitalist fight against the country of socialism. However, since they can neither destroy nor upset this country of socialism, it is rather astonishing that notwithstanding the renowned practical common sense of the British, there should still remain among them such quixotic snipers and partisans. As far as we are concerned we are ready and desirous of maintaining the same good relations with Great Britain as with other countries.

We are well aware that sincere and good relations between the Great Powers are not only an essential condition to but a guarantee of universal peace. The temporary trade agreement which is expected to be concluded shortly, by eliminating certain misunderstandings, will, we trust, make better relations possible between Great Britain and ourselves.

### Poland

Our most serious attention is, of course, devoted to our relations with our immediate neighbors, and particularly with the largest of these—Poland. Here too we can record considerable progress. The conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact and the signing of the Convention for the Definition of the Aggressor could not but strengthen mutual confidence and mutual understanding.

The political disturbances which have occurred in Europe during the past year have created a community of interests arising from the common danger and common anxieties. Even had we our-

selves not recognized the common nature of these anxieties, we would have been reminded of them. Common anxieties and common dangers are the best bonds between states.

We are particularly delighted with the greatly increased interest manifested by Polish public opinion toward our Union and this indicates that wide circles of Polish public opinion are also gradually coming to the conclusion which we arrived at long ago, that between the Soviet Union and Poland the closest cooperation is both possible and necessary and that there exist no objective causes to hinder its development.

This conviction gives rise to the demand for cultural ties and the past year has seen not a few manifestations of such a rapprochement.

### The Baltic Countries

What I have said with regard to the significance of non-aggression pacts and conventions defining the aggressor in our relations with Poland, can be applied also to our relations with other immediate neighbors to the West who are signatories to the above agreements, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These countries are becoming more and more convinced of the absolute sincerity of our peaceful aspirations, our good-will toward them and our interest in the preservation of their complete economic and political independence.

We are not merely interested, however, we are concerned about this. We watch not only for phenomena which augur external danger for these countries, but follow carefully the development of internal political processes, which might bring about the loss or the weakening of their independence. With Latvia we have recently concluded a new trade agreement, while with Esthonia we have extended last year's economic agreement, which we hope will also further the stability of our relations with our neighbors.

### Persia and Afghanistan

The London Convention for the Definition of Aggression was signed also by our Eastern neighbors—Persia and Afghanistan—with whom we are also bound by non-aggression pacts. The visit to Persia of L. M. Karakhan, Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and the very warm reception accorded him there afforded an opportunity of once again testing our mutual relations with Persia and establishing their unswerving friendly character.

### The Little Entente

The three countries of the Little Entente, with which we have not yet normal relations joined us in London in signing the Convention for the Definition of Aggression. The fact that this was done, although on the part of Rumania there still remain certain unsettled disputes of long standing, only serves to increase the significance of the

action. It expresses the unity of certain interests common to all its participants, their general efforts toward the pacification of Europe. Such a unity of interests represents a sufficient basis and affords the possibility of further rapprochement, without which the London Convention cannot be completely effective.

### Other Countries

Our relations with other countries have been maintained and developed normally; with Sweden with whom we have concluded and extended economic relations, with Denmark, Norway, Austria and Greece.

We willingly accepted the proposal of Uruguay regarding the actual establishment of diplomatic relations, a matter that had been decided a number of years previously. The Uruguayan envoy is already on his way to the U.S.S.R. and we are also taking steps to send our ambassador to Uruguay.

The re-establishment of our relations with Spain has already been mentioned by Molotov. To our great sorrow death has prevented our first Ambassador to Spain, A. V. Lunacharsky, who had hoped to do much to encourage cultural relations between our two peoples, from carrying out his plans. . . .

### China

It is with great satisfaction that I note that a year ago normal diplomatic relations were resumed between us and the great Chinese Republic. We have accepted the proposal of the Chinese Government to conclude a non-aggression pact, and have submitted a draft of such a pact to the Chinese Government which is now considering it. Unfortunately China is still suffering from the invasion of a foreign enemy and deep internal discord. While strictly adhering to the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of China, we are watching her struggle for independence and national unity with the greatest sympathy.

In giving a review of our relations with the external world I had no intention of ignoring such important states as Germany and Japan. I am devoting special attention in this review to them precisely because they hold such an important place in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The very latest phase in the development of relations between these two countries permits us to hope that they will not have any grievances against me for singling them out for special attention. If I am not mistaken they have even recognized a racial identity between them. This has become quite possible since race has ceased to be an ethnical and anthropological conception but has become something in the nature of the designation of a militant organization.

### Germany

For ten years we were connected with Germany by bonds of close economic and political rela-

tions. We were the only great country which did not want to have anything to do with the Versailles Treaty and its consequences. We renounced the rights and advantages which this treaty reserved for us. Germany assumed the first place in our foreign trade.

Both Germany and we, ourselves, derived extremely valuable advantages from the political and economic relations established between us. On the basis of these relations, Germany was able to speak more boldly and confidently to her victors of yesterday. She succeeded in freeing herself of some of the heaviest burdens of Versailles.

She sought a rapprochement with all the victors of yesterday, although she did not always succeed in this. She concluded with France the Locarno Treaty which is nothing but a pact of non-aggression and even more, since it also provides for outside guarantors. At Locarno, she also concluded with Poland an arbitration treaty which is also nothing but a non-aggression pact. Germany entered the League of Nations accepting its covenant, which is also a pact of non-aggression and which provides, in addition, for sanctions.

We, on our part, also concluded, as soon as this became possible, non-aggression pacts with France and Poland. These agreements and pacts on both sides were by no means intended to strain and did not strain our relations with Germany, which were by no means based upon hostility towards other countries. Nevertheless, our relations with Germany during the past year have changed beyond recognition, as it were. Statements, actions, and demonstrations have taken place in Germany, which were not only not in consonance with our former relations, but rather gave one cause to think that these relations have been completely reversed. And the causes for this were as follows.

In the change of governments in Germany, which took place in 1932, a political leader found himself in office and subsequently even at the wheel of the ship of the state, who at the time of our best relations with Germany openly opposed these relations, advocating a rapprochement with the West for a common offensive against the Soviet Union.

He created a political club from which this idea was propagated and he personally worked hard and diligently for its realization. Upon assuming power he made an attempt, which was unsuccessful to be sure, at a formal realization of this idea. Later a coup d'etat took place in Germany which brought to power a new party which had propagated extremist anti-Soviet ideas.

The founder of this party explained in detail, in a literary work, his conception of the foreign policy of Germany. According to this conception

Germany was not only to reconquer all the territories which had been annexed from her under the Versailles Treaty, not only to conquer lands in which there were any German minorities, but by fire and sword to carve the way for expansion in the East, without stopping at the borders of the Soviet Union, and to enslave the peoples of this Union.

Another prominent member of this party, a former Russian subject, not only preached these same ideas but, on instructions and in the name of his party, entered into relations and maintained close contact with Russian, especially Ukrainian, counter-revolutionary organizations. But perhaps these people, upon coming to power and assuming responsible posts, repudiated this conception? We know full well the difference between doctrine and politics in capitalist countries.

It sometimes happens that an opposition party on coming to power strives to forget the slogans which it had used in the struggle against political opponents. This was not the case in the present instance. At any rate, we are unaware of a single responsible statement that would have completely erased the above-mentioned conception. The literary work in which this conception is preached continues to circulate in Germany without any expurgations in new editions, including one dated 1934.

The same conception is openly discussed even now in the columns of the German press. Only about a half-year ago at the London International Conference, a member of the German Cabinet expounded in a memorandum the same idea of conquering the East. True, he was disavowed and we have no right to and will not consider this memorandum as an official document, but the disavowal of a minister does not destroy the fact itself of the submission of the memorandum, which shows that the ideas stated in the document are still current even in government circles.

There have been among persons, holding not, indeed, state posts, but, nevertheless, very responsible positions, a good many anti-Soviet negotiations and proposals emanating from the same basic ideas. We have information pointing also to official proposals of this kind. We cannot affirm that all this information is absolutely in keeping with the facts, but we cannot ignore it entirely as this information comes from various sources, including sources which are by no means interested in damaging our relations with Germany.

I shall not dwell at length upon the venomous practice, adopted by various German authorities, of systematically persecuting Soviet institutions and Soviet citizens not for any sort of crime but merely because they are Soviet, a practice which at one time forced our embassy in Berlin



to engage in the mass production of notes of protest. This practice appears to have been abandoned now, and, let us hope, will not be resumed. All this is what has made our former relations with Germany unrecognizable.

I considered it necessary to say this openly, since attempts have been made on the German side to ascribe to us the initiative in the change in relations and to explain it as the result of our dissatisfaction with the present German regime, the persecution of Communists, and so on.

We, of course, have our own opinion of the German regime. We, of course, are sensitive to the sufferings of our German comrades, but we Marxists are the last who can be reproached for permitting our feelings to dictate our policy.

The whole world knows that we can maintain and are maintaining good relations with capitalist states of any regime, including the Fascist. But this is not the point. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Germany, as we do not interfere in those of other countries, and our relations with her are determined not by her internal, but by her foreign policy.

In discussions on this subject, the Germans often point to the declarations made by the official representatives of the German Government on their desire to maintain good relations with us, and ask us: "Is it possible that you do not believe these declarations?" We reply that we of course cannot but take into account these official declarations, but, at the same time, we cannot ignore those speeches and facts which are contrary to these declarations, since there are already too many such speeches and facts. Even if an insignificant proportion of the information about them is true, it would be sufficient for us to be on our guard and to take our counter-measures.

The representatives of the German Government ask me, what is it really that we want from Germany, and what must she do in order that we should have no doubts about her loyalty? To this I usually reply: let her not do what she is doing, let the German Government look into what her numerous agents and emissaries are doing and let her tell them that they should not do it.

But we also declare the following: we desire to have with Germany, as with other states, the best relations. Nothing but good can result from such relations, both for the Soviet Union and Germany. We, on our side, are not striving for expansion, either in the West or the East, or in any other direction. We feel no hostility towards the German people, and are making no attempts either on her territory or her rights, and whatever we may do, we will never encourage other states to make such attempts. We would wish that Germany might say the same thing to us and that there should be no facts contradicting the statement. We should like these declarations

to refer not only to the present but also to the time when she will have greater forces for realization of those aggressive ideas which her present leaders preached before their advent to power, and which some of them preach even now.

### Japan

I shall not be mistaken in assuming that you are most of all interested at the present time in our relations with Japan. The attention not only of our Union, but also of the whole world is focused upon these relations, since the policy of Japan is now the darkest storm cloud on the international political horizon. I shall permit myself briefly to dwell upon the development of our relations with Japan. From the time of the conclusion of the Peking agreement right up to 1931, the best neighborly relations existed between Japan and ourselves.

There were no conflicts, no serious misunderstandings, and if such arose they were solved in a peaceful, diplomatic way. There was no talk of threats on the one side or the other. Our attitude to Japan was so trustful (since at that time there was no occasion for mistrust) that we left our Far Eastern border almost without any defense. The position began to change when Japan started her military operations in Manchuria. Together with the whole world, we could not but consider these operations as a violation on the part of Japan of numerous obligations which she voluntarily undertook in her international treaties.

The Japanese Government, as you remember, then offered explanations for her operations which explained nothing and convinced nobody. She simultaneously gave us official assurances that her troops would not proceed beyond a definite line in Manchuria itself and that, in any case, our interests, in particular the interests of the Chinese Eastern Railway, would under no circumstances suffer. These assurances were then continuously repeated as the Japanese troops advanced further, right up to the complete occupation of the whole of Manchuria and to the formation of the so-called Manchukuo. These actions, as you know, were characterized by the entire external world, including also the League of Nations, to which Japan herself belonged, as a violation of such agreements as the Washington Nine-Power Pact, the League of Nations Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

The occupation of Manchuria was, however, also a violation of the Portsmouth Treaty, confirmed by the Peking Agreement, by virtue of which Japan had no right to maintain troops in Manchuria beyond a defined minimum number. We refused to participate in international action at that time, firstly because we did not believe in the sincerity and consistency of the states which participated in these actions, and chiefly

because we did not seek, as we do not seek now, an armed conflict with Japan. We were only trying to obtain from Japan one thing: the observance of our commercial interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway, since we have no other interests in Manchuria. Despite all the solemn promises and assurances, the representatives of Japan in Manchuria nevertheless soon began a direct attack on these interests, endeavoring to make quite impossible the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway jointly with the Chinese or Manchurians, as provided for in the agreements, disrupting the work of the line itself and resorting for this purpose to provocative, violent acts and submitting to the Soviet part of the administration perfectly unfounded arbitrary claims. The whole world was surprised at our composure and our long patience, but we firmly decided not to digress from our policy of peace, refraining from any hostile acts and confining ourselves to protests, which remained, however, without any effect. But the more calm and patient our attitude, the more insolent and provocative became the actions of the Japanese forces in Manchuria. A definite impression was created that they were consciously trying to provoke us to stronger action than protests.

#### **Proposed Sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway**

Not desiring to lend ourselves to such provocation, we proposed to Japan, on May 2, 1933, that she purchase from us the Chinese Eastern Railway. The entire railway, track, rolling stock, station premises and other accessories of the line were built with the hard-earned money of the peoples of our Union and thus formed their inalienable property. We only desired one thing, to return the present value of the line to its real owners. It seemed as though Japan accepted our proposal for the purchase of the railway. When, however, we entered upon the concrete negotiations on the conditions of sale, it turned out that Japan did not want to buy the railway, but wanted to receive it as a present. She offered a paltry ridiculous sum, naively assuming that we wished to sell the railway just as a matter of form, but that in reality we were prepared to give it away for nothing. Such negotiations could not, of course, lead to anything concrete, although we fixed a minimum price for the line. Instead of verbal arguments, Japan's representatives started putting forward arguments of the fist; they began resorting to acts of violence for the removal of our agents from the line and their substitution by their own appointees—Manchurians and Russian White guards—in other words, they resorted to their own peculiar method of seizing the railway. We declared that we could not continue negotiations in a situation where, instead of arguments and commercial bargaining, they put into play the fist and where the negotiations

were being "assisted" in a peculiar manner by policemen and criminal elements from the Manchurian White guards.

The negotiations have not been resumed since that time and the unlawful acts on the railway continue. The work of the line is being paralyzed. Moreover, our declarations and protests against these unlawful acts remain without a reply from Japan, who is vainly trying to convince us that she is in no way involved in these deeds, for which only the "independent" Manchukuo is ostensibly responsible. We have our own opinion of the "independence" of Manchukuo, as, by the way, has the whole world. Manchukuo is not yet recognized by a single state and is considered by everybody as exclusively an agency of the Japanese Government and the Japanese command in Manchuria. If any perfectly objective proof were needed, it was recently provided by TASS, which published the well known documents, the authenticity of which is not open to doubt. It is clear from these documents that the forcible measures against Soviet employees of the railway, ostensibly taken in the name of Manchurian courts of justice, were dictated by the Japanese military and administrative agents, who, in this way, hoped to secure from us the railway for next to nothing. We therefore declared to the Japanese Government that we can not recognize her references to the Manchurian authorities nor can we recognize the responsibility of any one but the Japanese Government for the violation of our rights and interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway.

What is in question, however, is not the Chinese Eastern Railway alone. Side by side with the infringement of our rights on the line, the question of war against the Soviet Union for the seizure of the Maritime Provinces and the entire Far Eastern Region is being discussed by statesmen, including official representatives of the Japanese Government, as well as by the press.

The matter is not merely confined to conversations, but a considerable number of Japanese troops have been concentrated in Manchuria, near our frontier, war material is being brought up, roads and railways are being built. Thus, not only is the violent seizure of our line threatened by Japan, but there is a direct threat to our frontiers.

In such a state of affairs, there was nothing left for our Government to do except to start strengthening our frontiers, transferring there to the necessary forces for this purpose and taking other military measures. But while we are taking exclusively defensive measures, Japan, as is known, is feverishly preparing for war, which can be no other than aggressive, since no one is threatening the safety of Japan.

There is, of course, no lack of sensible people in Japan, influential people who perceive all the

dangers, all the risk for Japan of a war against a giant so full of power and energy as the Soviet Union, and who sensibly prefer to pay us the sum of a few hundred million yen, which the Chinese Eastern Railway is really worth, rather than spend billions of yen on an increased army and navy budget and in military operations, the result of which at best will be doubtful from their point of view.

There are, however, circles, particularly among the militarists, of a more adventurist frame of mind. Evidently their whole aim in life is war, without regard to what it may bring.

Regarding the attitude of the rest of the world toward a possible clash with Japan, we may say that Japan is morally isolated throughout the world. Her operations against China and her possible operations against us are condemned by the whole civilized world, by that very world whose civilization Japanese militarists would presume to protect against us. Japan began her military moves two years ago with the idea that it would be sufficient for her to declare that these moves were directed against the Soviet Government in order to win the whole capitalist world to her side and to obtain its blessing.

Here Japan miscalculated just, by the way, as the German Nazis miscalculated. In our argument with Japan even the capitalist world admits the correctness of our stand and attributes aggressive intentions exclusively to Japan.

The capitalist world does this, of course, not for love of us, but because it realizes that, if it were to approve Japan's operations and political methods and thus strengthen her position, then tomorrow it might find these same methods directed against its own interests.

To this it is necessary to add that Japan's feverish war preparations force her to increase her exports, leading to dumping on an unlimited scale, thus arousing against her even those countries which potentially might be reckoned as her friends.

Our policy is clear. We do not aspire to make use of a favorable situation, we do not aspire to wage war under any circumstance.

We say to Japan: "We do not threaten you, we do not want your land or other territories lying on your side of our boundaries, we want to live in peace with you as we have done up to the present, respecting your rights and interests and asking only that you adopt the same attitude toward our rights and interests. Your first step to prove your peaceful disposition should be a cessation of repressive police measures on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the restoration of our violated rights and then a calm continuation of the negotiations for a fair commercial price for the railroad."

The second step in demonstrating Japan's desire for peace should be the signing of the Pact of Non-Aggression which we proposed two years

ago. We entertain the hope that Japan will proceed in accordance with the counsel of her level-headed patriots and not with that of militarist adventurers.

### The Disarmament Conference

After my exposition of the relations of the Soviet Union with other countries, it remains for me to say a few words about our relation to an international organization of which the Soviet Union is a member—the Disarmament Conference. This conference is still formally reckoned among the living. The appellation of corpse, which I applied to it in America, is nevertheless no exaggeration. The question now is whether to sign its death certificate or to try and galvanize the corpse. Such galvanization is possible and the conference may come to life again, but it will no longer be a disarmament conference but a conference for additional armaments.

We went to the conference to take part in the framing of guarantees of peace, of common safety, but the re-armament of any state whatever can in no sense be considered such a guarantee. When they tell us additional armaments for some and disarmament for others, we fear that only the first part of this formula will be carried out, without the second; for it is quite clear that they will not succeed in disarming to any extent precisely those nations which are already making practical use of their arms and openly threatening to employ them on a still larger scale in the near future.

It will be impossible to demand that only those governments shall disarm against which such threats are directed.

It will again be possible to talk seriously of disarmament only when the governments of the world cease to treat pacts of non-aggression like scraps of paper, cynically suggesting "the more the better", and when they sincerely give up war as a method of settling international disputes. Then from the dusty archives of the League of Nations will be hauled out the Soviet proposals on disarmament and the discussions will indeed deal with real disarmament—complete and for all—and not with quotas of armaments.

### U.S.S.R. Prepared to Maintain Peace

In my report I have tried to acquaint you with the present tendencies in international relations, with the alignment of forces around the pressing real question "war or peace?" and to set forth the role of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle of these forces. The creatively peaceful character of this role is hardly doubted by anyone now. But not all other countries have yet declared their position in this struggle and their attitude toward the Soviet Union. A characteristic feature of the situation is that the peaceful intentions of other governments have come to be judged by their relations to the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt told me once that it had been reckoned that 92 per cent of humanity desires peace and only eight per cent desires to violate it.

This eight per cent probably was intended to represent the entire population of those countries who were placed in the belligerent category. I consider that it would be unfair to ascribe to any whole population or even to the bulk of it the criminal intention of violating peace, so that the actual percentage thirsting for war is considerably less than the above.

This fact in itself cannot but give rise to problems of uniting this vast mass of people for the purpose of preventing the negligible minority

from hindering their peaceful aspirations. There should be no question of new groupings, of the formation of military alliances along the old lines, but of cooperation for the rightful self-defense of all those who are not interested in violating peace, so that no one would think of daring to infringe it.

The U.S.S.R., for its part, is ready to participate in carrying out this task, for any work in this direction is dictated by the interests of the toilers throughout the world, by the security of all peoples, including, of course, the peoples of the Soviet Union. Nations, such as ours, which have given the maximum proof of their peaceful desires and their respect of the security of others, have the maximum right to their own security.

## Foreign Miscellany

### FRANCO-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT

ON January 11 a temporary Franco-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed in Paris. The agreement is for one year and is designed to assist in the development of trade relations between the two countries and to improve the existing trade balance. The agreement consists of two sections, an economic section granting minimum tariff rates to the U.S.S.R. and establishing a definite percentage for the U.S.S.R. in French imports, and a legal section defining the juridical status of the *torgpredstvo* (trade representation) of the U.S.S.R. in France.

On January 23, a decree was issued by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. to the effect that the temporary trade agreement would be put temporarily into force beginning with the day of its signing, pending its final ratification by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

### NEW ANGLO-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT

A new trade agreement was signed between Great Britain and the Soviet Union February 16 in London.

Diplomatic privileges were restored to the permanent Soviet Trade Delegation in London. The agreement outlines a five-year program to bring the trade balance between Great Britain and the Soviet Union into equilibrium.

### RATIFICATION OF ITALIAN-SOVIET CUSTOMS CONVENTION

On February 8 Premier Mussolini and Potemkin, the Soviet Ambassador to Rome, exchanged documents of ratification of the Soviet-Italian Customs Convention signed on May 6, 1933. The exchange of ratification documents coincided with the tenth anniversary of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two governments.

### FINLAND'S RATIFICATION OF PACT DEFINING AGGRESSION

On January 31 Baron Yrjo-Koskiinen, Ambassador of Finland to the U.S.S.R., deposited Finland's ratification documents of the London Convention for the Definition of Aggression signed July 3, 1933, with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

In view of this and also of the earlier entry into effect of the convention between the U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, Afghanistan, Persia, Esthonia and Latvia, the convention has gone into force between all the above-mentioned states and Finland.

### HUNGARIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

The signing of a treaty between Hungary and the Soviet Government providing for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, was announced in Budapest on February 6. The preliminary stages of the negotiations were carried through by Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on his recent visit to Rome. They were concluded by Potemkin, Soviet Ambassador to Italy, who signed the treaty with M. Arnoti, the plenipotentiary Hungary sent to Rome for the purpose.

### SOVIET CREDITS TO TURKEY

On January 21, at Angora, a Turkish-Soviet Protocol was signed in accordance with which the Soviet Union grants Turkey a credit of \$8,000,000, in gold, with the aim of guaranteeing to Turkey the possibility of obtaining the machinery necessary to carry out the plans for the industrialization of Turkey.

### RECENT DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

On January 30 Alexey Mikhailovich Ustinov was appointed diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Esthonia.

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◆ In This Issue ◆

MOSCOW, OLD AND NEW

CULTURE IN TRANSCAUCASIA

FOREIGN TRADE FOR 1933

"TSAGI" - AVIATION INSTITUTE

SOVIET GOLD PRODUCTION

ANGLO-SOVIET TRADE TREATY

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APRIL, 1934

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Moscow, Old and New .....	70	Hungarian-Soviet Notes .....	84
Urban Progress under the Piatiletka .....	73	Formal Opening of Soviet Embassy in Wash-	
Cultural Growth in Transcaucasia .....	75	ington .....	84
The Aerohydrodynamics Institute—TSAGI .....	79	Soviet Foreign Trade for 1933 .....	85
Soviet Gold Industry .....	82	Anglo-Soviet Commercial Agreement .....	90
Intourist Plans for 1934 .....	83		

## Moscow, Old and New

**T**HE planning of Soviet cities, old and new, and the development of an architecture in keeping with the large program of social and economic construction have an even more important place in the second five-year plan than in the first. New cities have grown up so quickly around the new industrial giants that it has not always been possible for as careful planning as would have been desirable to precede them. Now that the basic new enterprises are built and actually producing, the tempo of industrial growth has eased up a bit, and more attention can be and is being paid to housing and to all the factors in community development that offer opportunities for complete and balanced and joyous living. Moscow affords a striking example of what is being done in this direction.

The reconstruction of Moscow has been under way for some time. The old cobblestones have been replaced by asphalt, the hazardous sidewalks have been repaired and made safe for pedestrians (except where they have been torn up again in the building of the new subway). Old houses have been repaired and enlarged and many new buildings erected. They say "Moscow is growing

taller," because so many houses have had new stories added on. The fine old buildings within the Kremlin walls and other historical structures have been restored. The outskirts of Moscow, formerly merely a series of villages, have blossomed with new workers' apartment houses, parks and sport grounds.

With the progress of industrialization many new industries have grown up in and around Moscow. The amount of mechanical industry in Moscow has increased eleven fold since 1913, and during the first five-year plan the light industries of Moscow—that is, those industries producing mostly food and clothing and consumers' goods, doubled.

This industrial growth has been necessarily accompanied by an increase in housing facilities and an improvement in the whole system of public utilities. During the first five-year plan 2,770 new apartment houses were built in Moscow and its immediate environs, and over 400,000 workers and their families were provided for. In the first eleven months of 1933, 525 new apartment houses were completed, taking care of 90,000 more workers and their families. New tramways and bus

### *The Cheliuskin Rescue*

*As we go to press news comes of the heroic rescue of the last members of the Cheliuskin expedition stranded on a dangerous ice floe in the Arctic ocean when their ship, crushed by the ice on February 13, went down. They had come within six miles of accomplishing their goal of navigating the Northeast passage in one season with a semi-icebreaker type of ship. The rescue came just in time as the ice floe was beginning to break up and the barracks in which the party had been living had been destroyed. The women and children were taken off by airplane on March 6. The remaining 89 members lived on the ice until the first of the planes waiting all along the coast for favorable weather, finally got through on April 5. The final 82 were taken off in a series of dashes by daring Soviet pilots on April 11 and 12. Professor Schmidt, leader of the expedition, was flown to Fairbanks, suffering from pneumonia. A full story of the expedition will be published in the next issue of the Soviet Union Review.*

lines are easing the traffic problem, more and more new Soviet made cars are appearing on the streets. A growing number of electrified suburban trains are improving communications with nearby towns. The first section of the new subway is due to start operation next winter. The development of an extensive public health service, as well as a general improvement in sanitary conditions, have made for healthier conditions of life throughout the city, as witnessed by the fact that the mortality of the general population has been reduced by 42 per cent, and infant mortality has been cut in half since pre-war times. During the past few months particularly there has been a notable improvement in supplying the general population with food and clothing and the amenities of life as well. The enthusiasm and energy that characterized the first five-year period are still there, but there is a decided lightening of the strain of those days. There is a good deal more gaiety as the people begin to enjoy the fruits of their earlier labors.

In the new period of construction entered upon in the second five-year plan for Moscow, problems of housing, of beautifying the city, of creating parks and playgrounds and wide, gracious boulevards, take precedence over industrial construction, although that, of course, will be extensive, too.

The plan for the new Moscow envisages not only the construction of new buildings and the improvement of separate streets and avenues, but the regulated growth of the whole city and the careful distribution of its separate elements—dwellings, industries, cultural and social institutions, sport and recreation centers. The reconstruction of Moscow requires first of all a reconstruction of its streets. No attempt will be made, of course, to alter the basic form of Moscow with its streets radiating from a central point, and its series of encircling boulevards. But all the main arteries will be widened and straightened, and new streets parallel to the old will be added. As far as possible the maze of narrow, winding cross streets and alleys will be eliminated or at least closed to vehicular traffic. Under the new planning the buildings lining the streets will go up not as separate units, but as part of a single architectural ensemble, taking a definite rhythmic form. The old type of closed courtyard has been done away with and instead there are open spaces in front of the new houses. There is a lavish use of grass and trees. The squares and parks of Moscow, while numerous, present a rather difficult problem, since they were developed according to no central plan. They will, however, be worked into not only a single technical plan, but also into a central artistic theme, in the new Moscow.

Gorky street (the old Tverskaya) will be widened and a new street, the Novo-Tverskaya, will

practically parallel it. Novo-Miasnitsky street will be built along side of the old Miasnitsky, uniting Comsomolsky Place with Dzerzhinsky Square (formerly Lubiensky Square). The Arbat is to be widened and a Novy Arbat street will lead through the Sabachaya Ploshadka to the new bridge across the Moscow river. Dzerzhinsky street and Sretenka will be widened. The Pokrovka will become one of the most important avenues. On it will be built the new central railroad station which will replace the Kursk station. The boulevards ringing the city will, in so far as possible, each have their special uses. Thus the inner circle will be the artery mainly for trade, the next for residences and cultural institutions, the next will be used for especially fast vehicles, and the outer circle will connect the parks and sport grounds and stadiums. Another feature of the plan is the grouping of several institutions of a like nature around one square or in one section of the city. Thus Gorky street is the street of the Moscow Soviet, and as far as possible activities connected with the Moscow Soviet will be housed along this street. Pushkin Square will be surrounded with literary institutions. Triumphalnaya Ploshad, where the new Meyerhold and the new Mezhrabpom theaters will be built, is to be devoted mainly to theatrical activities, and so on. In connection with the building of the Moscow-Volga canal, the level of the river is to be raised. A new granite embankment topped with a wide esplanade will be built along the river and Naberezhnaya (the shore drive) will become one of the most attractive features of the city, dotted with sport pavilions and water sport stations.

Most ambitious of all the new architectural projects is the great Palace of Soviets which will be built on the site of the old Church of the Savior on the Moscow River, below the Kremlin. For this the design of the architect Boris M. Yofan



*Infourist*

*A floating restaurant on the Moscow River, the Kremlin in the background*

won the prize. Yofan changed his original plan to meet the wishes of the government committee in charge of the project, and his final plans have been accepted. It is to be executed by a group of three architects including V. G. Goldfreikh and V. A. Schuko, who helped work out the final plan, in addition to Yofan himself. Mikhailov is to be the chief of construction, and preparatory work is already being done. The Palace of Soviets, which will be built on classic lines, will be topped by a statue of Lenin, and the whole structure will be 415 meters high—the tallest in the world. The building will be decorated by eighteen large sculptural groups, extending upwards to the statue of Lenin. It will contain an enormous domed hall with a capacity of 20,000 to be used for congresses, mass meetings and celebrations, and a smaller hall seating 5,900 to be used for smaller gatherings, theatrical performances and so on. The large hall will be decorated with a colossal panorama of the revolution. The two halls will be semi-circular, facing each other, with the stage between, so that they may both be opened into one gigantic hall. There will be numerous smaller rooms for various purposes, exhibition halls, lounges and so on. Outside a majestic staircase 150 meters wide will lead up to the entrance. The lower terrace will serve as a reviewing stand, and the avenues leading up to the palace will converge into a vast square for parades and mass demonstrations. This project will meet the need, so intensely felt in Moscow, for a really adequate place for the great national congresses.

The Palace of Soviets will be surrounded by a whole group of new public buildings and the nearby streets and parks will be almost completely rebuilt in accordance with a unified plan. A broad new boulevard to be called "Lenin Prospect," which is being planned in Yofan's studio, will lead from Dzerzhinsky Square, through the Theater Square and along the present Mokhovaya Street, to the Palace of Soviets. Along this boulevard will be the new building for the State Lenin Library which is now under construction and which, when completed, will be the largest library in the world, the new hotel of the Moscow Soviet, and a new building to house the committees of the STO (Council of Labor and Defense).

The Gorky Park of Culture and Rest is being enlarged and its river front in particular is being improved as is the shore opposite, where there was formerly nothing but a dump heap, and which has been chosen as the site of the new Palace of Technique. A new bridge will span the river at this point, combining both shores of the river into one huge park of culture, science and technique. Further along, on the right bank, next to the "Dom Pravitelstvo" (House of the Government—where government workers have their apartments) two large government hotels will be built. Nearer the central part of the city, on the left

bank, there will be green terraces, a wide prospect and steps leading up to new state buildings which will replace the old warehouses and crooked alleys. Additions will be made to the Palace of Labor which will make it a far more impressive building. Extensive residence sections have also been laid out along the river front. When the Moscow-Volga Canal has been completed a modern river port will be established.

To keep pace with the growing cultural demands of the Soviet capital, a large number of club houses and theaters are included in the plans. In addition to the new Meyerhold Theater, the Kamerny Theater on Tverskoye Boulevard will be enlarged, and there will be new buildings for the Nemirovich-Danchenko Art Theater, the Trade Union Theater, the Red Army Theater and the second Maly (Little) Theater. In addition to the many new clubs connected with separate enterprises and district Palaces of Culture the plans for the new Moscow include a Palace of Youth, a Palace of Art and a House of Radio. The Palace of Youth is to be equipped with a great hall for meetings and youth demonstrations, laboratories, small halls, libraries and reading rooms, a gymnasium, swimming pool, indoor and outdoor tennis courts, skating rinks—equipment for sport of all kinds. A competition will be held for a plan for this palace.

Throughout the whole city large areas have been and are to be reserved for grass and shrubbery and trees. New parks of culture and rest are planned, and places for rest and recreation and sport are to be distributed through all parts of the city. The huge stadium for international sport events in the Stalin park will soon be completed.

On the initiative of the Moscow Soviet socialist competition for planning the different sections of Moscow is in full swing among the architects of Moscow. The architects are working in close cooperation with the planning sections of the Moscow Soviet. A special establishment, headed by the architect M. Y. Ginzburg, has been opened for the planning of Proletarsky District which is the largest industrial section of Moscow and represents on a smaller scale the problems of the re-planning of Moscow as a whole. This is the section which contains the Stalin automobile factory which is soon to undergo still further enlargement and reconstruction, the Kaganovich ball-bearing factory, the Dynamo plant and the new bicycle factory. These factories and the subsidiary buildings surrounding them are being fitted into a unified architectural scheme. A large open section near the river is being transformed into

**NOTICE TO OUR READERS**

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the cultural center of this district. The plans include theaters, clubs, children's institutions, workers' apartments, engineers' and technicians' clubs, sport grounds, gymnasiums, auditoriums, central laundries—everything necessary for the cultured and well-ordered living of thousands of workers.

An Academy of Architecture for the advanced training of architects and for scientific research has recently been established in Moscow. The architect M. V. Kriukov has been appointed head of the Academy and A. Y. Alexandrov his assistant. It is housed for the present in the former Supreme Court building on the Spiridonovka, until

an adequate building can be put up. The departments include history of architecture, regional and city planning, housing problems, industrial equipment, construction technique, interior planning and equipment, furniture, etc. There will be special laboratories for the study of architectural acoustics, optics, material, construction problems, etc. An architectural museum is planned which will include exhibits on everything of importance in the world of architecture. A preliminary exhibition is in process of preparation for which exhibits from all parts of the Soviet Union are being received.



Sovfoto

*Plan for the new Ukrainian State Theater to be built at Kharkov this spring*

## Urban Progress under the Piatiletka

**I**N THE period from 1929 to 1933 upwards of 5,000,000,000 rubles was invested in housing the U.S.S.R., while in the preceding five-year period only 1,900,000,000 rubles was invested. During the first *piatiletka* and 1933, over 30,000,000 square meters of new housing space was built, three times as much as in the whole period from 1917 to 1928. Over 5,000,000 persons have been comfortably housed in new quarters during the past five years. Special attention has been paid to housing construction in the new industrial centers. The Donetz coal basin is an example of the change in housing conditions. Here the huts and barracks of pre-revolutionary days have given way to new workers' settlements made up of large many-storied apartment houses and buildings for social and cultural purposes.

At the end of 1933, the coal industry of the Donetz Basin boasted fifteen large "Palaces of Culture," 430 socialized dining rooms, eighty physical culture stadiums, an extensive system of day nurseries taking care of over 100,000 children,

and 400 public baths. The Baku oil industry provides another example of housing development. The living conditions of the Baku workers in pre-revolutionary times were particularly difficult. Most of them lived in mud huts, or at best, rented corners in someone's cellar or garret. Now the oil fields are surrounded by model, well-planned workers' towns, made up of separate cottages or apartment houses. In Baku itself new workers' quarters have grown up with tree-lined streets and squares. In the first five-year plan the Baku workers received over 2,000,000 square meters of new housing space.

In addition to new housing, public utilities throughout the Soviet Union have been vastly improved. Over two and a half billion rubles have been spent for this purpose since the beginning of the first five-year plan. In 1917 there were only 233 cities with public water supply systems, in 1928 293, and in 1933 the number had reached 375. The total length of the water lines increased from 8,200,000 kilometers in 1928 to 11,-

900,000 kilometers in 1933. Entirely new systems were built in Novosibirsk, Zlatoust, Tagile, Ivanov, Frunze, Alma-Ata, Erivan, Izhevsk and many other cities. The water supply system of Moscow was increased two and a half times, of Kharkov, four times, of Baku three and a half times, and of Gorky, seven times, since 1928.

In the Donetz Basin the most powerful water supply system in the U.S.S.R. has been built, at a cost of over 100,000,000 rubles. The miners of the Don are now for the first time drinking pure water instead of the water from the mines, which was all they had formerly. The national republics, in some of which the water situation was really desperate previously, water systems have been developed. In 1917 there were only seven cities among the minor nationalities with water systems. By the end of 1933 the number reached 28 and the extent of the water supply systems had increased five-fold.

Sewerage systems, which existed in only sixteen cities of the old Russia, covering some 613 kilometers, have been introduced in 59 cities, and now cover 3,550 kilometers. Before the revolution a negligible number of Russian cities had tramway lines, and in those where they did exist, they were mostly horse-drawn. On the eve of the first piatiletka there were tramway lines in thirty-nine cities and by 1933, in fifty-six. New tramway systems have been built in Baku, Minsk, Sverdlovsk, Voronezh, Perm, Stalino, Makeyevka, Bolshoye Zaporozhe, Erivan, etc. The number of tramway cars has practically doubled in the past five years—from 4,800 in 1928 to 9,125 in 1933, while the length of the tramway lines in that period grew one and a half times. Autobus lines, unknown in pre-revolutionary Russia, are growing fast, and existed in 117 cities at the beginning of 1933. The trolley bus is a method of city trans-

portation recently introduced and operating successfully in Moscow.

Hundreds of cities now have electric lighting systems where not so many years back electricity was entirely unknown. All the cities are engaged in one degree or another in the re-planning of their streets and squares, in planting, paving, in building baths, mechanized laundries, restaurants, clubs, theaters, hospitals, etc. The appearance of Soviet cities has already changed so greatly that they can hardly be compared with what they were in pre-war times.

The year 1934 will be a year of further housing development in the U.S.S.R. In 1933 the total investment in housing, according to preliminary figures, was 2,150,000,000 rubles. In 1934 it reached 3,604,000,000 rubles. In addition to new housing, the plan for 1934 includes new water systems for ten cities, sewerage systems for nine cities, tramway lines for five cities. The new industrial cities, such as Magnitogorsk, Stalinsk, Prokopievsk and others, are being given special attention in the housing plans.

## The Growth of Stalinabad

The city of Stalinabad, the capital of the Tadzhik Republic, is a striking example of the vigorous construction being carried on by the Soviet government in the national sections of the country. This city, formerly called Dushambe, then hardly more than a primitive village, is now being rapidly transformed into a large industrial and cultural center of Tadzhikistan. During the years of the first piatiletka the construction work in Stalinabad reached particularly large proportions, when the economic life of the city was practically



Sovfoto

*New workers' apartment houses in the Narvsky district of Leningrad*

created anew. In 1929 the municipal enterprises of the city represented an investment of 434,000 rubles. At the end of 1932, 12,000,000 rubles.

At the beginning of the *piatiletka* there were altogether in Stalinabad only six small industrial enterprises with a basic capital of 39,000 rubles, whereas in 1932 the number of industrial enterprises had increased to twenty-nine, with a basic capital of 20,000,000 rubles. The total output of Stalinabad's industries grew from 8,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 12,000,000 in 1932.

The city has been embellished by a large number of new dwellings. Fine new workers' apartments have been built, theaters, cinema houses, clubs, and many other cultural institutions. A park has been constructed in the center of the city, and trees have been planted along twelve kilometers of streets. Shrubbery and grass have been planted in the residence section. Modern water and sewerage systems have been installed, all the main streets have been paved and autobus systems are operating.

There were no schools at all in the old Dushambe. Now there are over 5,000 pupils in the primary and intermediate grades of the Stalinabad schools. A number of schools for the liquidation of illiteracy have been established, and

children's day nurseries, kindergartens and playgrounds are flourishing. An entirely new system of public health institutions has been built, including a 500-bed hospital and a dispensary which takes care of 275,000 persons in the course of a year.

Since the revolution Stalinabad is for the first time connected by railroad with all parts of the Union. In addition regular air communications have been established with the remote corners of the republic formerly inaccessible during many months of the year.

Endless possibilities for future development lie before Stalinabad. It is becoming the center of the light industry and the food industries of Tadzhikistan. A leather industry, shoe factories, a paper and printing combinat, a wood-working plant, a pencil factory, mechanical repair shops, a textile combinat, a clothing factory and other industrial enterprises are being developed. Construction is under way on the large Varzobskaya hydroelectric station and two other hydroelectric stations are projected. According to the 1926 census, the population of the town, then still Dushambe, was 35,608. The population of Stalinabad had reached 200,000 in 1932 and is constantly growing.

## Cultural Growth in Transcaucasia

WHILE the various peoples of Transcaucasia registered a notable economic advance during the first five-year plan (1928-32), their cultural progress has been even more striking.

Transcaucasia, with its population of 6,000,000, is a country of many national stocks. In addition to its three chief peoples—Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaidzhanians—there are many more or less compact groups of other peoples scattered over its 70,000 square miles—a territory about the size of North Dakota, with nearly ten times the population of that state.

The cultural level of these peoples who have such different historical backgrounds, is extremely varied. The mountainous nature of the country, the absence in the past of good roads and communications, the large number of wars, both internecine and with outsiders—all these things have formerly hindered cultural exchanges between the different peoples and have made impossible any similarity of cultural development among the different sections of the population.

The chief peoples dwelling in Transcaucasia at one time had a rather high cultural level for their day, especially during the period of exten-

sive economic connections with the glowing culture of the Orient and also contacts with the West by way of the Black Sea. However, this cultural level gradually declined in the course of time.

The period of a century to a century and a half under the Russian Tsars accentuated this decline. The country remained in a colonial condition and under the Tsarist policy of compulsory Russification all vestiges of the national cultural heritages were rigorously suppressed. At the time of the World War over 75 per cent of the population was illiterate, and of these more than one-third, the Mohammedans, were deprived of the possibility of becoming literate because of the obligatory use among them of the difficult Arabian alphabet. There were altogether only 215,000 children in the schools, as compared with over five times that number today. Pre-school education, save among a few wealthy families, was non-existent. There was not a single institution of higher education. The schools that did exist were devoted mainly to propaganda for Russification. The native languages and literatures were eliminated entirely from the educational program as well as from the whole cultural life of the peoples of Transcaucasia.

Yearly massacres of Armenians by Tartars were regular occurrences in Baku in the Tsarist regime. The Tsarist policy of colonial oppression not only deprived these people of their national culture but played one nationality against another and used the hostility between Tartars and Armenians and between other groups of the population to reinforce their domination. Nothing of this hostility between nationalities has been left. The policy of complete freedom for national development has thus created also the conditions for their peaceful existence and collaboration.

In the confusion of the early days of the revolution various nationalist groups assumed power for a time in patches of Transcaucasia. The territory became a patchwork of struggling nationalistic groups, in most cases contending with other groups for territorial supremacy. The situation gave scanty promise for cultural improvement. The number of pupils in the schools increased to 228,000—a gain of a meager 6 per cent. It is true that the new nationalist governments, pledged to the reestablishment of the old cultures, attempted to set up universities, but these remained universities in name rather than in scope. They were handicapped by a complete lack of trained teachers and equipment, and at no time did they have more than 4,000 students.

The advent of the Soviet power brought a change. It infused economic life into Transcaucasia and as the period of civil wars closed it inaugurated a period of tremendous upbuilding. The social and technical reconstruction of agriculture, the complete break with the colonial past and the transformation of Transcaucasia into a constituent republic of the U.S.S.R., with complete cultural autonomy for its several nationalities, brought internal peace and cooperation to the region and created the necessary foundation for a rich flowering of native culture.

Even before the first five-year plan, vigorous measures were taken to liquidate illiteracy, and to develop a school system. By 1926 the percentage of literate persons had shown a marked increase. Five years of persistent effort brought further results. In 1931 literacy in Azerbaidzhan had increased to 31 per cent, in Armenia to 53.7 per cent and in Georgia to 60.2 per cent. At the beginning of 1933 illiteracy of the adult population of working age was practically eliminated.

Equally vigorous efforts were expended in the development of pre-school education. About 130,000 children, more than 20 per cent of all the children from 4 to 6, were accommodated in pre-school institutions in 1933, aside from those taken care of in the seasonal day-nurseries and kindergartens. In 1933, 1,142,000 children were studying in the primary schools of Transcaucasia, a five-fold increase over the number when the Soviet government came into power. Universal obligatory primary education, inaugurated in

1930 for the first four years of schooling, is now being extended to cover seven years.

Schools for technical education have also developed extensively. Prior to 1920 about 7,500 students were studying in such schools, whereas at the beginning of 1933 the number had grown to 65,000.

Particularly impressive has been the growth of the higher educational institutions. At the beginning of 1933 there were 30 such institutions with over 26,000 students. Among these institutions are an Oil Institute, Power, Transport, Subtropical, Cotton, Lumber, Veterinary, Biological, Chemical, Metallurgical Institutes, and many others. There are also Agricultural Institutes, Construction, Commercial, Pedagogical and Medical Institutes, Institutes of Soviet Law and Administration, and various conservatories of music and the arts. An extensive system of workers' faculties has been established to prepare for the higher institutions, in which there are more than 16,000 students.

The Soviet government having set for itself the problem of educating the masses of workers and peasants and raising the cultural level of the whole population, has carried out an extensive program of adult education. An extensive system of libraries has been developed, a large number of clubs has been built, both for workers in the towns and peasants in the villages, as well as many village reading-rooms which have become centers for educational work in the countryside.

At the beginning of 1933 Transcaucasia possessed 273 public libraries, 227 workers' clubs, fifty-three special clubs for peasants and 1,784 village reading rooms. Adults' courses have also been instituted in the agricultural collectives in which about 40,000 peasants are studying.

### The Theater

There was no real theater in Transcaucasia in pre-Soviet times. Under the Tsar there was only the Russian State Theater, which was used to carry out the policy of Russification and the elimination of anything which might in any way serve to perpetuate the national being of the enslaved peoples. To this class belonged the Opera House in Tiflis and one or two dramatic theaters run by private initiative which gave performances in the Russian language only. There were also, in addition to these, a few national theaters which tried to preserve their national identity, but no real people's theater could exist because of lack of material support and the severe censorship.

The situation in the theater was no better in the early revolutionary transition period. The nationalist governments liquidated the Russian theaters, preserving only the opera, but established no new theaters in their place. Furthermore, each of the three republics cultivated theaters exclusively in their own languages, and gave

no encouragement to the theaters of the national minorities within their borders.

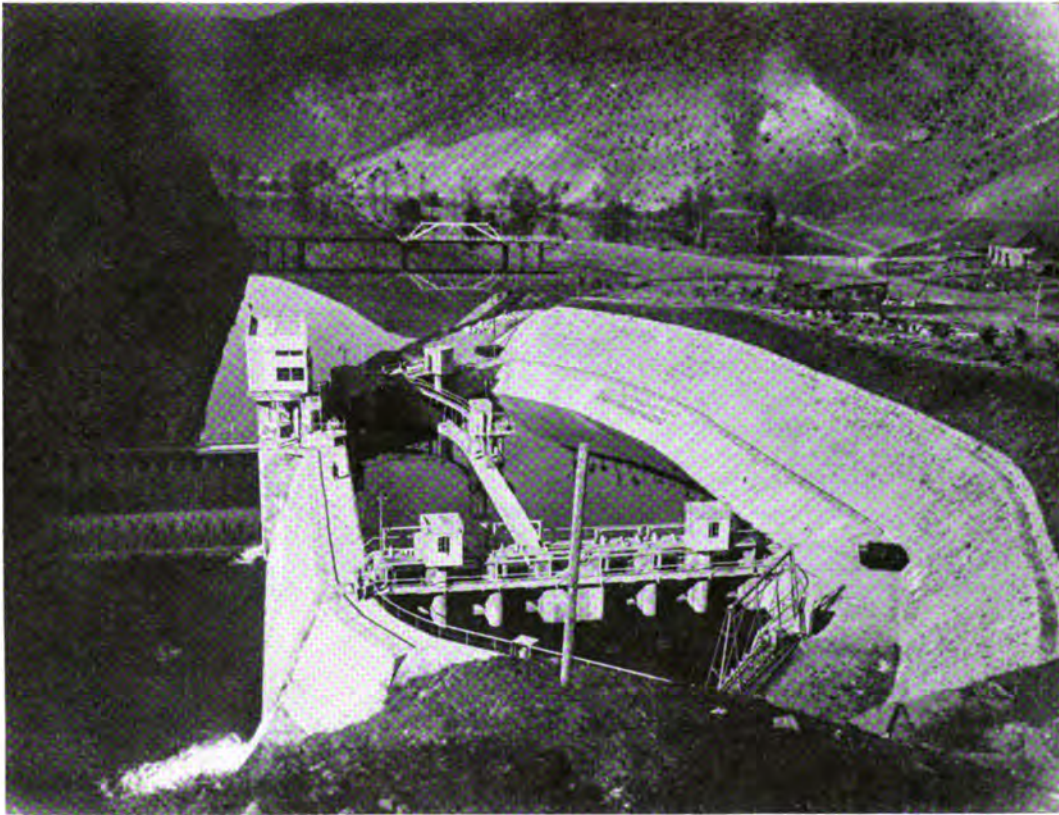
As soon as the Soviet government came into power, however, extensive state support was given to the theater and all the nationalities inhabiting Transcaucasia, however small they were numerically, had the fullest opportunities for developing their own theaters and making them accessible to all their people.

In place of the few theaters that existed formerly, mainly in Baku and Tiflis, by January 1, 1933, there were in the Transcaucasian republics forty-seven theaters both in the central cities and in the district towns, of which forty were permanent theaters and seven traveling. On that date

guages of the national minorities. In addition to translations of Soviet and western European plays, many plays by the new playwrights arising among the various national minorities are being produced, and interesting new theatrical forms are being developed. The high level of the theaters of the Transcaucasian republics was noted at the All-Union Art Olympiad in Moscow in 1930, in which the Georgian theaters were justly given first place.

#### Museums

Special mention should be made of the museums that have been established in all the republics of Transcaucasia which have high artistic as well



*The hydroelectric station "Dzorages" in Armenia*

there were 776 cinema theaters in Transcaucasia, of which 387 were stationary and 389 traveling.

In Baku, Tiflis, Erivan and elsewhere native motion picture studios have been established. The high quality of their work has won attention for them throughout the whole Soviet Union and even abroad. Radio has also developed very extensively in Transcaucasia in the last few years.

The state theaters in the Soviet republics of Transcaucasia give performances not only in the chief languages—Armenian, Turkish, and Georgian—but of course in the Russian language as well. In addition, there are theaters in the Abkhassian, Ossetian and the numerous other lan-

as historical and ethnographic significance. Before the Soviet government was established there was only one museum in Transcaucasia, the State Museum of "Khran Slavy" in Tiflis, which ironically was merely a depository for exhibits on the military exploits of the Tsarist army in the subjugation of Transcaucasia. Now not only have each of the chief republics of Transcaucasia—Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaidzhan—their own national museums, but also the separate districts, such as South-Ossetia, Zugdidsky District and others. There are today over twenty museums in Transcaucasia.

The special National Museum of Georgia in

which all the most important exhibits of both artistic and ethnographic importance of that republic are collected was completed some years ago in Tiflis. There is also an excellent public library in connection with the museum, and the museum has a fine picture gallery and an unusual collection of Persian miniatures.

The National Museum of Armenia holds within its walls not only the most important examples of Armenian painting and sculpture, but many works of Soviet and European masters as well. The National Museum at Azerbaidzhan is one of the largest in the East.

Of great importance in the enriching of these museums was the fact that the central government recognized the necessity of distributing the treasures that had been gathered together through the centuries in the museums of Moscow and Leningrad, and accordingly gave to the museums of the national republics those pieces which had been violently taken from them by the Tsarist government.

### Publishing

The press in Transcaucasia has undergone a remarkable development. One of the greatest contributory factors to this has been the complete reform of the alphabet, both in the Azerbaidzhan republic and among all the peoples of Transcaucasia speaking the Turkic tongue. The old Arabian alphabet, in which the small number of books in the Turkic language were printed in the epoch of the Tsarist government and the bourgeois nationalist government in Azerbaidzhan, was absolutely unknown to the people as a whole because of its extreme complexity. It was known to only a very small group of persons, predominantly of the Mohammedan hierarchy, which placed in their

hands a monopoly not only of the printed word but of the whole religious development of the Turkic peoples.

In place of this archaic alphabet the Soviet government introduced a new alphabet based on a Latin transcription of the letters, immediately making mass education and a more widely developed press accessible to the Turkic people.

Along with the reform of the Turkic alphabet should be noted also the establishment of a new alphabet for certain of the smaller peoples—the Kurds, the Talyshs and others—who formerly had no alphabet at all and were thus cut off from any cultural development in their own language. The Armenian alphabet was also considerably simplified by the elimination of a number of anachronisms.

As late as 1917, on the very eve of the revolution, there were altogether in Transcaucasia only eight newspapers, with a circulation of 15,000, and during the two transition years under nationalist governments, only four newspapers were added and the total circulation amounted to only 22,000. Of these, there were four newspapers in the Russian languages, four in the Georgian, two in the Armenian and two in the Turkic. All the remaining peoples were entirely without newspapers. In this period there were altogether only four magazines published, one in Russian, one in Armenian, one in Georgian and one in Turkic. There is no estimate of the amount of books published in this period, but it was even lower than in the Tsarist epoch.

By 1929 there were forty-one newspapers, and by 1933, 222, not including 61 factory and shop newspapers. In 1933 the newspapers were divided by languages as follows: Russian—48; Georgian—79; Armenian—59; Turkic—79; Abkhassian—; Mingrelian—4; Ossetian—2; German—1; and one each in Assyrian, Tartar—Uzbek, Talysh, Kurd and Greek.

The total number of books has increased from 2,727 titles in 1929 to 4,358 titles in 1933. The number of printed "sheets" in the same period has increased from 42,018 in 1929 to 130,700 in 1933. All the various languages mentioned above are represented in book publishing. Book publishing has been retarded by lack of paper rather than lack of demand.



*Laboratory of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture in Erivan, Armenia*

There are now about one hundred magazines published in the Transcaucasian republics, the circulation of which has increased from 42,050 in 1929 to 359,000 in 1933.

### Science

Achievements in the field of science in Transcaucasia and particularly in the organization of scientific research institutions have been notable. In the Tsarist period there was not even a shadow of scientific research work in Transcaucasia, except for a few scattered stations under Russian auspices engaged in studying Caucasian problems from the point of view of colonial exploitation. The native Caucasian scientific workers, those who concerned themselves at all with studying the problems of their own country, at best were merely able to organize voluntary societies, the work of which was regarded with the greatest suspicion by Tsarist officials, was cut off from

the realities of life and had no adequate material base.

The organization of the Transcaucasian Federation as a constituent republic of the U.S.S.R. brought an end to these disabilities. The problems attendant on the development of the rich natural resources of the region, the growth of industry and the modernization of agriculture on collectivist lines created a demand for appropriate native institutions for scientific research and for the training of specialists. An extensive network of such institutions has been created.

At the present time there are in Azerbaidzhan twenty-three main scientific institutions and over fifty laboratories, substations, experimental fields and museums. In Armenia there are sixteen scientific research institutes and sixteen experimental stations. In Georgia there are sixty-one scientific research institutes, where almost a thousand scientific workers are employed.

## The Aerohydrodynamics Institute - TSAGI

*From an article by Prof. V. L. Alexandrov in "Socialist Reconstruction and Science"*

TSAGI, the Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute in Moscow, celebrated its fifteenth anniversary last winter. The founder of TSAGI was the late N. E. Zhukovsky, the father of theoretic aerodynamics in Russia. Zhukovsky began his work along these lines when he was a professor in the Moscow University and the Moscow Higher Technical School under the old regime. At that time the conditions for the development of experimental aerodynamics were extremely unfavorable because the necessary equipment for experimentation was very expensive, and the higher educational institutions were allowed very little for this purpose. Such experimental work as was done was solely due to the enthusiasm of the small circle of workers, mainly students, who surrounded Zhukovsky. There was also the private aerodynamics laboratory of D. P. Riabushinsky in Kuchin. Riabushinsky, a wealthy man, built the laboratory, equipped it at his own expense and carried on research with a staff of workers in which Zhukovsky, under whom Riabushinsky studied at the university, took an active part.

At the Moscow University, Zhukovsky conducted first a small triangular experimental tunnel and then a larger one. Because of the lack of the necessary staff and funds, work in these tunnels was carried on irregularly, and only by the few students specializing in aerodynamics. In 1909, after the first airplane flight in Russia, the students in the Moscow Higher Technical School organized an "aeronautic circle" on their own initiative. The first successes of aviation abroad

spurred the members of the circle on to practical as well as theoretical efforts. This combination of theory and practice in the work of the circle was chiefly due to Zhukovsky himself, who was a scientific worker with a decided engineering bent. Zhukovsky never indulged in pure abstract mathematics, but applied his mathematics to practical engineering problems. This quality was later to influence the whole development of aerodynamics in the U.S.S.R.

The aeronautic circle constructed two experimental tunnels, one round and one square, the planning and construction of which was in charge of a student, A. N. Tupolev, later to become one of the heads of TSAGI. In 1910 the aeronautic circle donated its tunnels to the Moscow Higher Technical School. Lack of funds, however, prevented the growth of the aerodynamic laboratory and the scientific work was supported solely by the enthusiasm of the members of the circle.

After the beginning of the World War the work of the laboratory became somewhat more vigorous, although Russian aviation was in the most embryonic stage and the air fleet consisted almost exclusively of aircraft purchased from abroad or copied from foreign models. However, some sort of a separate organization was necessary for consultation work and therefore a testing bureau was set up under the aerodynamic laboratory of the Technical School. The problem of the bureau was to check and test the airplanes purchased abroad or constructed in Russia, and also to carry on certain aerodynamic research work for the

Vozdukhoflot (Air Fleet). The increasing number of orders made it necessary to construct new tunnels, larger and of improved types. Theoretical courses in aviation for the training of flyers headed by N. E. Zhukovsky were also carried on by the aerodynamics laboratory.

After the revolution the testing bureau was turned over to the Experimental Institute of Ways and Communications.

The great advance of aviation abroad at the end of the World War, and the extreme backwardness of Russian aviation, made it necessary to organize a scientific research base for aviation. It was quite natural that the former testing bureau should become the base. N. E. Zhukovsky was commissioned to organize the Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute (TSAGI) under the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council. TSAGI was organized December 15, 1918, in the difficult period of civil war. In the fifteen years since its founding, TSAGI has grown into a large institution with excellent equipment, an experimental factory and a large staff of scientists, engineers and workers. The synthesis of theory and practice which stemmed directly from all the preceding activities of the school of Zhukovsky was an integral part of the program of TSAGI from the start. The central problem of the Institute was the whole field of aviation in the broadest sense of the term and also related problems connected with aerohydrodynamics. Therefore at the beginning of its existence the Institute had the following subdivisions: experimental construction, experimental aerodynamics, general theoretical questions connected with aviation, problems of motors and propellers, and wind power. Soon after the founding of the Institute a department of aviation materials was established.

During the first stage of its development, TSAGI was engaged solely in learning experimental construction work, but subsequently it became the chief base of experimental construction for Soviet aviation. The problems of military and civil aviation became so immense that they could no longer be handled by a single institution. So, beginning with 1930, separate institutes, formerly representing departments of TSAGI, were organized in certain fields. Thus the Central Institute of Air Motors, the All-Union Institute of Aviation Material, the Central Wind-Power Institute and the Hydro-Power Institute came into being.

At the present time the Institute has the following departments: an experimental construction department headed by A. N. Tupolev with sections on designing, special construction, experimental construction, flying tests and finishing; a scientific research department with sections on experimental aerodynamics, experimental hydrodynamics, durability of aviation construction, and an information division. In addition there is a group of workers headed by Academician Chap-

lygin, who are concerned with questions of a theoretical nature. The construction department of TSAGI has during the fifteen years of its existence, built a large number of airplanes, airsleds and gliders for both civil and military purposes. The results of the work of this research division have been published in about 150 books and 100 or so magazine articles in the scientific journal published by TSAGI, the magazine "Technique of the Air Fleet" and elsewhere.

At the time TSAGI was organized the Soviet aviation industry was practically non-existent. The few Soviet airplanes of that period were built exclusively of wood. However, the use of light metal alloys abroad for airplane construction soon became known in the Soviet Union and after considerable preliminary research work, TSAGI began to build planes of duraluminum as well as of wood.

In 1920 a special commission on heavy aviation was organized in TSAGI. Professor Zhukovsky became honorary president but as a result of ill health was unable to give much attention to it. This commission designed the large two-motored triplane "Komta" which was built in 1921 at a specially equipped plant in Sarapul. In 1922-23 tests of this machine were made and the aviator Tomashevsky, first chief pilot of TSAGI, made several flights with this tri-plane. However, the unfortunate selection of old 240 h. p. Fiat motors rendered further use of this machine impossible.

The second experiment was the construction of the airplane "AK-1," after the design of engineer V. L. Alexandrov. B. N. Yurev, A. M. Cheremuklim and V. V. Kalinin also took part in designing this craft. This plane was built in one of the Soviet airplane factories in 1923, was used on the Moscow-Nizhni route in 1924 and in 1925 participated, with other planes, in the Moscow-Peking flight. This airplane was always flown by Tomashevsky. The airplane "AK-1" was thus the first Soviet plane, as well as the first Russian plane, to operate on a regular air line and to make a flight abroad. In 1925 a small wooden plane with an 18 h. p. Blackburn motor was constructed in the shops of the institute and stood the tests successfully.

The problem of utilization of metal for airplane construction was solved around the beginning of 1923 when the Kolchugin factory produced the first Soviet duraluminum, which was called kolchug-aluminum. A small quantity of this had been used in the "AK-1" for wing struts.

In order to develop the effective use of the new metal as a material for airplane construction, a special commission on metal aircraft was established in connection with the Institute for the purpose of studying the new material, working out new types of tunnels and transverse sections, studying the technology of metal airplane construction and establishing proper methods of testing such construction.





*Hydrodynamic testing tunnel at TSAGI*

*Sovfoto*

In 1923 a small plane was built in the Institute with a 35 h. p. Anzani motor in which, in addition to wood, kolchug-aluminum was used for the first time in a number of important parts. Finally in 1924 the Institute completed the first Soviet all-metal plane, with a 100 h. p. Lucifer motor, built entirely from kolchug-aluminum. From that time on TSAGI began to build a series of metal planes which were the basis for the Soviet air fleet, and subsequently the Institute began to specialize in the building of heavy machines. Thus, in 1926, it built the plane "ANT-4" which in 1929, under the name "Land of Soviets," was flown by the aviator Shestakov from Moscow to New York, by way of Siberia. Later the passenger plane "ANT-9," with three 300 h. p. motors, was built and the "ANT-14" with five 450 h. p. motors. The giant plane "Maxim Gorky," which is scheduled for completion this spring, is said to be the largest land plane in the world. At the present time TSAGI has a large plant for experimental construction, which has gradually grown up from small shops.

From its inception the Institute has been interested in the construction of motor sleds with airplane propellers. In the beginning these sleds were built of wood, and also with steel tubes. As soon as kolchug-aluminum made its appearance, however, experiments were made in using it in motor sled construction as well. The TSAGI motor sleds have made a number of long trips. There is a regular motor sled line Cheboksary-Kanash and more and more of them are being built. During the winter season 1932-33 motor sleds were very successfully used by the Arctic Institute in the exploration of Novaya Zemlya, and Severny

Ostrov was crossed several times by motor sleds from Russian Harbor.

Another object of experimentation by the Institute has been the glider, a very light boat held to the surface of the water while in motion mainly by the dynamic effect of the bottom. The glider is set in motion by an air or water propeller, depending on its purpose. Due to the slight resistance in skimming over the surface of the water, the glider achieves very great speed. The first glider of TSAGI was built of wood, with a water propeller. Later types have been built of kolchug-aluminum. The airship type of construction is applicable to gliders just as it is to motor sleds, because they are supported on the water as the airplane in the air, by the dynamic strength of the water,

and hence the lightest possible type of construction is necessary. The Institute has worked out a perfected form of sea glider.

Recently a number of types of autogyro have been constructed at the Institute.

TSAGI has played an important part in the establishment of Soviet dirigible construction. While the chief problems of dirigible construction are handled by "Dirigiblestroy," under the civil aviation fleet, the first model Soviet dirigible was built in TSAGI. In 1924 the gondola and tail of the first Soviet dirigible "Khimik-Rezinchik" were designed and built of kolchug-aluminum in TSAGI. The general plan for this dirigible was the work of engineer N. V. Fomin. In 1931-32 the entire metal part of the non-rigid dirigible "V-1" was designed and built in TSAGI.

The basic apparatus for aero-hydrodynamics experimentation is, on the one hand, an aerodynamic tunnel in which the action of a moving mass of air on the model suspended therein may be studied, and on the other hand, a hydro-canal or experimental basin in which the action of still water on a wholly or partially loaded body moving in it may be observed. In the experimental aerodynamic department of TSAGI there are a number of aerodynamic tunnels for different purposes, the largest of which has a working diameter of six meters, and a 600 h. p. electric motor to operate the ventilator. In this tube it is possible to test comparatively large models and even parts of regular full-size airplanes.

The hydro-canal, which is under the experimental hydro-dynamic department of TSAGI, is 200 meters long, eight meters wide and six meters deep. There are rails along the side so that a

car may be operated over the canal by electric motors and its speed regulated.

In the department on durability of aviation construction there is a laboratory in which tests are made of loading to the point of breakage, and a laboratory for the study of tension in the various parts of the model with the help of polarized light.

A great deal of interesting work has been done in the research department of TSAGI on wings, propellers and so on, by such men as Chaplygin, Golubev, Walter, Vetchinkin, Zureo, Zhuravchenko and others.

In addition to the theoretical research and experimentation with models, TSAGI also carries on experimentation with real planes, both land planes and hydroplanes. Such experimentation includes the maneuvering capacity of the plane in the air, problems of loading, the study of taking off and landing, both on land and water, and other problems difficult of solution with models.

At the present time the Institute is headed by engineer N. M. Kharlamov. His assistants are: Prof. A. I. Nekrassov, head of the scientific research sector, and Prof. A. N. Tupolev, head of the experimental construction section. After the death of N. E. Zhukovsky, first director of TSAGI, in 1921, the scientific director of the Institute for a long time was Academician S. A. Chaplygin.

TSAGI has thus, in fifteen years, grown into a large scientific research institution, playing a very important role in the creation of the Soviet air fleet. The problems of the air fleet have expanded to such an extent that TSAGI has already outgrown the space allotted to it, and it will be necessary to move it away from Moscow where it may be enlarged sufficiently to handle the problems it must solve in the future.

## Gold Industry

**I**N 1933 the gold industry of the Soviet Union increased its production by 42.4 per cent in comparison with the year before—the greatest increase of any branch of Soviet heavy industry. Gold production developed at a particularly rapid rate in the second half of 1933 when in comparison with the same month of the preceding year gold production increased as follows: in July, 26 per cent; August, 57 per cent; September, 80 per cent; October, 84 per cent; November, 115 per cent, and in December by 124 per cent. January, 1934, showed a still further increase in gold output. At the present time the production of the Soviet gold industry is double that of Tsarist times. In 1933 it amounted to about 100,000,000 rubles.

The gold industry was one of the most technically backward sections of the national economy in pre-revolutionary Russia. The hundreds of

millions of rubles invested in the gold industry in the first piatiletka made possible the wide development of mechanization in the industry. In 1913 in Russia only 20 per cent of the whole gold industry was mechanized. In 1932 the extent of mechanization had reached 55 per cent, and in 1933 over 70 per cent. The most complex machinery of modern gold mining has penetrated the taiga (dense Siberian forest) thousands of miles from railroads. In 1928 only one electrical dredge was operating in the goldfields of the U.S.S.R. By the end of 1933 there were 16. The total number of dredges, both steam and electric, amounted to 85 at the end of 1933.

In 1928 there were no factories of the American type carrying on the complete cycle of the concentration of gold ore. There are now six such factories. The number of amalgam factories increased from 34 in 1928 to 85 in 1933. The number of factories procuring gold by chemical means increased in the same period from 11 to 51. In addition to this 6 new factories of this type were put into operation in the first quarter of 1934. Belts, pneumatic shovels, scrapers, electrical cars and many other types of machinery are now being widely used. Thus, the gold industry is no longer the primitive handicraft industry of the past, but a modern mechanized industry.

Soviet machine and electrical construction have contributed a great deal to the technical growth of the gold industry. A large number of plants are now manufacturing the complex equipment required for the gold industry—the Kuibyshev factory in Irkutsk, the factories in Prikumsk, Botkinsk, Novosibirsk, Blagoveshensk and others. The Leningrad plant "Krasny Putilovets" has mastered the technique of constructing dredges. The gold industry of the U.S.S.R. is now being supplied with Soviet made excavators, steam shovels, crushers, mills, classifiers, and so on, most of which had formerly to be imported from abroad. During the first and second piatiletka the power supply of the gold industry has greatly increased. Central electrical stations have been constructed in a number of goldfields—in Kholbon, Seligdar, Kerb, Udyl and elsewhere.

The old gold districts are being developed as fully as possible and in addition a number of new goldfields have been opened up. Among them should be noted such rich and promising regions as Aldan in Yakutia. Other new districts are Darasun and Bolei. Scientific expeditions and exploring groups are constantly at work looking for new gold-bearing districts throughout the vast territory of the U.S.S.R.

The growth of the Soviet gold industry may also be judged by the fact that in the first piatiletka the number of workers in the gold industry was more than doubled. Hundred of kilometers of new railroad lines have been built in the gold districts.

# Intourist Plans for 1934

THE passenger shipping and tours industry in the United States has definitely accepted the U.S.S.R. as a travel country of the first importance. So far this year six European bound cruise ships have scheduled Soviet cities in their ports of call. Similarly, up to March 15 (early for the travel season) no less than thirty organized groups had been scheduled by travel bureaus to make Soviet tours.

An agreement has been concluded between Intourist, Inc., U. S. representatives of the U.S.S.R. Travel Company, and the American Express Company whereby the latter acts as general representative in twenty important cities in the country and in Mexico City. Some thirteen hundred independent travel agents have facilities for booking tours to the U.S.S.R.

This does not mean to say that travel to the Soviet Union is something new. It has grown steadily as an organized institution since 1928. There is no doubt, however, that the fact of recognition between the U. S. A. and the U.S.S.R. has given rise to an exceptional interest in the U.S.S.R. for the 1934 season.

Intourist, the U.S.S.R. Travel Company, was set up in 1928 to provide organized services for a growing number of foreign visitors to the Soviet Union. Prior to that time, travelers from abroad were cared for by Sovtorgflot, whose main business is the operation of the Soviet mercantile fleet. In something under six years, Intourist has grown to be one of the largest travel organizations in the world. Thirty hotels in important cities and vacation centers of the Union are under its management. Thousands of employees work in its various institutions from Leningrad to Vladivostok. Fleets of passenger automobiles and buses serve its clients. A school for the training of guide-interpreters in Moscow accepts students from higher educational schools. An elaborate system of co-operation between Intourist and rail, river-boat and steamer services guarantees adequate transportation facilities to tourists. Branches have been established in all the principal cities of the world.

Intourist, Inc., was organized in New York in 1929. Offices have been established in Chicago and Boston. One will shortly be opened in San Francisco. This organization is an information and promotional bureau. Intourist, Inc., does not sell tours to the U.S.S.R.

direct to the public. It provides full information and booking facilities to travel agents and steamship companies for their clients.

Cruise ships clearing from New York, for, among other ports, Leningrad this year are: S. S. Carinthia, Cunard, June 26; M. S. Kungsholm, Swedish American, June 29; S. S. Reliance, Hamburg-Lloyd, June 30; S. S. Stuttgart, Hamburg-Lloyd, July 12; M. S. Gripsholm, Swedish American, July 25. Shore excursions for all the above ships save the Stuttgart include Moscow. The Italian Line's S. S. Roma will leave New York June 30 on a Mediterranean cruise which will include stops at Odessa and Yalta. At least a dozen other cruises are scheduled to touch at Soviet ports with departures from Europe during June and July.

G. M. Melamed, for two years president of Intourist, Inc., has been appointed Vice-Consul of the U.S.S.R. in New York. He has been succeeded by A. M. Zaidner, former chief of Intourist services in the U.S.S.R. Mr. Zaidner, prior to his service with Intourist in Moscow, was vice-president of the Amtorg Trading Corporation in charge of Pacific Coast business.

A number of tours under prominent leaders have been organized for the 1934 summer season by American travel bureaus throughout the country. Some of the well-known personalities to conduct groups are: Anna Louise Strong, Louis Fischer, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Julian Bryan, Dr. Carl Scholz, and Irina Skariatina. Oliver M. Sayler and H. W. L. Dana, both leading authorities on the Soviet Theater, will conduct groups to the Moscow Theater Festival in September. Ash-



*A rest home in the Crimea*

*Sovfoto*

ley Pettis, music critic, will be leader of a group of music-lovers bound for the Centenary of Borodin in Leningrad late in May.

The leading Soviet musicians and a number of distinguished artists from other countries will take part in the music festival. A nine-year old girl orchestra conductor and pianist, Margarita Heifetz, is scheduled to conduct an entire concert in Leningrad Philharmonic Hall, and will herself play one of Borodin's more difficult compositions. The young composer, Shostakovich, will be a soloist under the famous Greek conductor, Mitropulos. Shostakovich's latest work, the opera "Lady Macbeth of Metzensk" will be shown during the festival. The preliminary program is given below:

#### Program of the Leningrad Music Festival

- May 20—SYMPHONY CONCERT (Leningrad Philharmonic)  
 Conductor: Mitropulos (Athens)  
 Soloists: Wandrovskaya, Petsolkovski.  
 1. Borodin: Symphony No. 1  
 2. Bolikeriv: Georgian Song  
 3. Borodin: "The Sea," Tenor with Orchestra  
 4. Moussorgsky: "Night on Bald Mountain"  
 5. Glinka: Ludmilla's Aria  
 From Rimsky-Korsakov  
 6. Rimsky-Korsakov: Spanish Caprice
- May 21—BALLET, Asayev—"The Flame of Paris"  
 In the Great Opera and Ballet Theatre, formerly the Marinsky Theatre.
- May 22—CONCERT IN THE CHINESE THEATER of the former Tsar's Palace in Detskoye Sele (Tsarskoye Selo).
- May 23—SYMPHONY CONCERT in the Philharmonic.  
 Conductor: Mitropulos  
 Soloists: Irma Jaunsen and Jasha Heifetz  
 1. Prokofiev: Classical Symphony  
 2. Steinberg: Folk Songs of the U.S.S.R.  
 3. Glazunov: Violin Concert  
 4. Shostakovich: "Suite of the Golden Century."
- May 24—TRIP TO GATSHENA (Former Palace).  
 Concert with the cooperation of the younger generation.
- May 25—OPERA "IGOR"—Borodin, at the Grand Opera House, with Polovezer Dances.
- May 26—SYMPHONY CONCERT (Philharmonic).  
 Conductor: A. W. Gauk (Leningrad).  
 Soloist: Margarita Heifetz  
 1. Shebalin: Suite  
 2. Tchaikovsky: Concert  
 3. Miaskovsky: Symphony No. 2
- May 27—OPERA "LADY MACBETH OF METZENSK," Shostakovich.  
 The Little Opera House (Formerly the Alexandrinsky Theatre).
- May 28—HISTORICAL MUSIC CONCERT in the Hermitage Theatre.  
 Afternoon—Symphony Concert (Philharmonic).  
 Conductor: Gauk  
 1. Contemporary Ukrainian Compositions  
 2. Sherbatshev: Work  
 3. Shivotov: "The West"—Symphonic Song Cycle
- May 29—SYMPHONY CONCERT in the Palace of Culture.  
 Conductor: Gauk  
 Soloist: Shostakovich  
 1. Contemporary Georgian Compositions  
 2. Piano Concert: Shostakovich  
 3. Shaporin: Suite

#### NOTES ESTABLISHING NORMAL HUNGARIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

On February 4 normal diplomatic relations were established between Hungary and the Soviet Union by an exchange of notes that took place in Rome between Vladimir Potemkin, Soviet Ambassador to Italy, and Dr. Yungert-Arnoti, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Hungary in Angora, who was especially sent to Rome by his government for this purpose. The text of the note follows:

##### Hungarian Note

"Mr. Ambassador: On instructions from my government I have the honor to inform you that the government of the Kingdom of Hungary has decided to establish normal diplomatic and consular relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, from the moment of the present exchange of notes, and to establish a diplomatic mission in the Soviet Union.

"The government of the Kingdom of Hungary has the firm hope that this establishment of relations between our peoples will aid the maintenance of friendly connections between them and the cause of universal peace.

"DR. MICHAEL YUNGERT-ARNOTI."

##### Soviet Note

"Mr. Minister: On instructions from my government I have the honor to inform you that the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has decided to establish normal diplomatic and consular relations with the Kingdom of Hungary, from the moment of the present exchange of notes, and to establish a diplomatic mission in Hungary.

"The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the firm hope that this establishment of relations between our peoples will aid the maintenance of friendly connections between them and the cause of universal peace.

"VLADIMIR POTEKIN."

On February 11 the Hungarian Parliament ratified the establishment of normal relations with the U.S.S.R.

#### FORMAL OPENING OF SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

The Soviet embassy in Washington was formally opened on April 10 with an evening reception and housewarming at which the Ambassador and Mrs. Troyanovsky received, assisted by Counselor and Mrs. Skvirsky and other members of the embassy staff. The reception was attended by about eight hundred people, among them Secretary of State and Mrs. Hull, and other cabinet members and high officials of the United States government as well as members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of business, literary and artistic circles.

## Soviet Foreign Trade for 1933

THOUGH the value of Soviet foreign trade declined about one-third in 1933 as compared with the previous year, the figures show a favorable balance for the year of 147,642,000 rubles (about \$125,000,000) and the second half of the year showed signs of a distinct pick-up, especially on the export list. Imports for the year amounted to 348,216,000 rubles, and exports were 495,658,000 rubles, the total turnover being 843,874,000 rubles as compared with 1,278,968,000 rubles the preceding year. Imports decreased 50 per cent and exports 14 per cent, as compared with 1932.

The above figures do not include exports of gold. Gold production during 1933, it has been officially stated, was upwards of 100,000,000 rubles.

Germany continued to be the leading country on the foreign trade list, taking 17 per cent of the exports, nearly as much as England, and furnishing 42 per cent of the imports. The principal

countries on the import list were Germany, 148,061,000 rubles; England, 30,590,000 rubles; Western China, 18,822,000 rubles; Mongolia, 17,269,000 rubles. The principal countries on the export list were England, 86,983,000 rubles; Germany, 85,747,000 rubles; Mongolia, 38,562,000 rubles; Belgium, 27,340,000 rubles. Imports from the United States were 16,580,000 rubles and exports 13,965,000 rubles.

Principal exports were lumber and lumber products, 76,750,000 rubles; oil products, 75,671,000 rubles; grain, 40,606,000 rubles; crude metals, 39,609,000 rubles; furs, 38,557,000 rubles. Principal imports were industrial machinery and parts, 190,236,000 rubles; ferrous metals, 47,500,000 rubles; pig iron, iron and steel articles, 28,566,000 rubles; wool, 21,483,000 rubles; electrical machinery and apparatus, 19,359,000 rubles.

Following are the detailed trade figures for the last three years:

### Soviet Russian Exports (By Countries)

Country of destination	1932		1932		1931	
	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.
England .....	3,182,544	86,983	4,382,347	138,485	6,897,333	266,071
Germany .....	2,034,278	85,747	1,663,491	100,499	1,948,548	129,338
Italy .....	2,146,051	22,226	2,134,664	27,031	2,118,478	39,749
Mongolia .....	69,493	38,562	58,452	41,395	55,477	37,343
Persia .....	137,556	12,008	142,446	25,368	136,522	32,476
Holland .....	1,646,243	25,890	1,050,347	21,517	1,346,546	29,265
France .....	1,302,731	22,893	1,357,173	28,698	1,229,421	28,330
Latvia .....	100,312	2,396	128,717	9,776	374,735	27,810
United States .....	563,285	13,965	632,727	17,194	850,538	22,690
Japan .....	768,526	9,124	743,157	10,099	729,607	19,817
Belgium .....	1,232,566	27,340	740,995	19,301	633,059	18,238
Western China .....	7,412	10,856	8,006	15,698	7,148	13,954
Denmark .....	418,151	9,350	282,978	6,612	460,967	13,655
Turkey .....	99,299	3,798	195,348	5,498	392,277	12,575
Afghanistan .....	10,873	7,066	10,978	14,579	10,337	11,523
China .....	299,052	7,171	291,510	8,086	380,286	11,064
India .....	178,011	3,421	212,121	5,219	241,671	10,152
Greece .....	499,199	6,545	662,926	9,435	546,804	10,081
Esthonia .....	49,324	1,959	72,511	7,398	163,601	8,352
Poland .....	213,173	5,056	61,413	4,801	209,617	7,510
Sweden .....	340,828	5,920	370,558	6,209	302,530	6,681
Czechoslovakia .....	73,197	1,095	70,923	1,380	649,247	5,134
Finland .....	380,920	5,426	301,683	5,338	240,897	4,616
Lithuania .....	263,381	2,723	370,011	4,151	195,498	4,165
Norway .....	258,658	3,830	326,250	3,943	216,299	3,968
Egypt .....	306,352	4,044	419,294	6,165	243,189	3,681
Spain .....	342,230	5,531	437,277	7,955	134,153	3,469
Argentina .....	42,132	889	25,886	675	68,274	3,139
Tannu-Tuva .....	4,577	5,495	4,301	4,388	2,837	2,652
Austria .....	11,677	876	14,309	1,307	37,040	2,214
Switzerland .....	29,519	241	1	3	2,137	44
Uruguay .....	87,031	1,741	45,402	1,540		
Other countries .....	748,451	16,925	749,692	15,455	953,833	21,454
Total .....	17,916,525	495,658	17,967,894	574,928	21,778,906	811,210

### Soviet Russian Imports (By Countries)

Country of origin	1933		1932		1931	
	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.	Quantity in metric tons	Value in th. rubls.
Germany .....	410,453	148,061	1,134,705	327,700	1,481,944	410,645
United States .....	30,341	16,580	27,453	31,665	216,139	229,915
England .....	82,105	30,590	321,839	91,928	250,179	73,381
Persia .....	29,534	8,359	157,645	49,940	96,895	46,453
Czechoslovakia .....	31,284	4,868	32,268	10,306	342,391	35,736
Poland .....	215,145	12,973	83,835	5,646	438,896	31,172
Italy .....	33,615	16,901	27,093	27,144	61,422	29,755
Mongolia .....	31,286	17,269	54,508	19,278	84,147	28,833
Egypt .....			1,048	946	26,988	19,810
Norway .....	54,188	8,510	62,422	14,137	82,835	18,910
Sweden .....	10,890	4,591	21,140	21,554	34,490	15,598
France .....	20,951	5,237	9,568	4,335	27,266	14,998
Latvia .....	469	336	12,417	5,775	31,401	14,549
Japan .....	62,719	7,349	12,158	4,786	32,480	12,668
Austria .....	2,283	1,280	4,353	4,012	14,151	12,028
Afghanistan .....	5,409	5,623	12,002	11,782	13,555	11,615
Western China .....	35,899	18,822	21,838	12,305	23,936	10,212
India .....	15,123	2,935	14,797	5,184	34,128	9,140
Argentina .....	6,683	223	4,738	1,817	12,119	7,210
China .....	10,721	2,639	39,788	5,888	20,636	6,931
Turkey .....	26,164	4,657	34,890	5,762	24,338	6,961
Switzerland .....	1,183	3,414	1,251	4,970	5,018	6,325
Finland .....	13,172	2,888	13,552	2,890	69,786	5,216
Denmark .....	4,860	1,725	5,759	2,760	11,078	4,736
Australia .....	103	110	85,539	5,861	3,909	3,061
Holland .....	10,766	5,974	841	3,560	2,911	2,140
Esthonia .....	1,124	373	342	39	13,554	2,128
Lithuania .....	1,444	546	3,541	1,178	15,911	1,363
Tannu-Tuva .....	3,032	1,727	8,079	2,191	2,027	895
Brazil .....	20	16	291	117	1,411	693
Canada .....	688	761	44,520	2,058	864	144
Other countries .....	71,756	10,655	60,292	14,293	87,547	31,813
Spain .....	9,805	1,192	1,598	153		
Uruguay .....	2,903	1,032	5,999	2,080		
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>1,236,118</b>	<b>348,216</b>	<b>2,322,109</b>	<b>704,040</b>	<b>3,564,352</b>	<b>1,105,034</b>

### Soviet Russian Exports (By Commodities)

#### 1. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

Items	1933		1932		1931	
	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles
(a) PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL						
Wheat .....	748,248	20,554	550,917	19,208	2,498,958	77,312
Rye .....	157,226	3,678	421,051	13,267	1,108,825	31,980
Barley .....	567,094	11,178	422,082	11,958	963,879	26,885
Oats .....	83,588	1,928	17,230	639	387,053	12,036
Corn .....	123,673	2,479	311,115	6,658	96,964	2,158
Other grain products .....	9,941	789	10,211	1,064	3,717	786
Beans, peas, etc. ....	79,838	5,440	85,737	5,256	122,203	6,407
Castor-oil plant .....	3,205	212	8,133	604		
Oil seeds .....	61,720	2,350	220,677	9,032	75,056	3,144
Other seeds .....	6,987	303	19,964	910	12,067	626
Flax .....	59,294	14,229	55,253	13,573	57,209	13,121
Flax noils .....	1,205	185	232	39	779	112
Hemp .....	13	3	1,159	128	9	3
Hemp noils .....	29	5	99	11	163	21
Leaf tobacco .....	5,268	2,417	3,171	1,994	2,898	2,871
Licorice root .....	6,640	525	5,932	521	6,474	702
Medicinal herbs .....	5,675	771	4,092	1,100	4,189	1,166
Fruits, raw .....	1,845	307	4,869	591	6,162	885
Fruits, dried .....	7,151	982	12,659	2,410	4,632	1,054
Other vegetables .....	157	77	647	139	1,483	173
Mushrooms .....	135	150	131	143	360	604
Cotton .....	588	182	17,860	5,495	40,180	18,005
Others .....	7,598	1,594	5,383	1,689	12,238	3,724

**Soviet Russian Exports**  
(By Commodities)

Items	1933		1932		1931	
	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles
<b>(b) ANIMAL PRODUCTS</b>						
Raw skins .....	8,254	2,787	14,615	3,295	12,460	6,308
Wool .....	5,983	1,044	5,272	766	7,529	1,403
Bristles .....	409	987	704	2,063	593	2,142
Hair .....	2,757	1,434	1,805	1,295	2,772	2,169
Casings .....	4,735	3,702	6,466	5,525	6,850	7,075
Eggs .....	1,970	245	7,181	1,632	20,437	5,691
Butter .....	37,205	12,221	30,934	15,872	30,855	24,272
Livestock .....			55	109	99	346
Bacon .....	2,207	635	1,813	380	1,849	734
Other meat products .....	103	19	458	98	304	74
Fowls, slaughtered .....	5,005	1,809	10,062	4,142	18,445	9,628
Fowls, live .....					6	9
Feathers and down .....	1,455	559	910	561	1,338	1,455
Silk products .....	616	1,656	431	1,162	915	2,955
Cheese .....	28	33	56	37	50	54
Bones .....	12	1	581	14	1,273	36
Honey .....	1,966	336	779	170	730	207
Others .....	1,713	739	1,246	680	2,191	1,841
<b>(c) FURS AND FISH PRODUCTS</b>						
Furs .....	3,500	38,557	3,108	42,300	2,964	56,199
Fish .....	29,168	3,063	26,937	3,708	48,533	10,383
Caviar, black .....	293	1,952	297	2,276	375	4,344
Caviar, red .....	1,031	376	386	239	1,094	592
Other prod. of fishing & hunting .....	5,950	735	3,750	675	3,114	783
<b>Total Agricultural Exports</b>	<b>2,051,478</b>	<b>143,228</b>	<b>2,296,449</b>	<b>183,428</b>	<b>5,570,274</b>	<b>342,255</b>
<b>2. INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS</b>						
<b>(a) TIMBER &amp; TIMBER PRODUCTS</b>						
Lumber .....	2,926,128	45,144	2,680,967	44,532	2,762,158	67,507
Veneer .....	99,050	6,200	102,238	9,033	61,151	6,961
Other timber products .....	3,255,961	25,386	2,905,550	26,960	3,259,913	39,125
Products of wood distillation .....	15,052	1,588	20,631	1,646	16,176	1,609
<b>(b) FOOD PRODUCTS</b>						
Sugar .....	38,388	5,544	76,121	12,798	319,789	32,689
Sunflower oil .....	13,356	1,832	34,951	4,046	22,151	3,924
Cotton seed oil .....	11,896	1,312	2,692	310	4,755	877
Other vegetable oil .....	835	91	261	47	86	25
Oil cakes .....	410,511	12,597	431,877	14,166	328,610	14,148
Flour .....	31,517	3,929	31,917	4,602	31,367	5,349
Bran .....	7,411	136	18,278	379	2,093	61
Canned goods .....	23,572	6,090	18,703	8,442	28,385	15,940
Macaroni .....	150	38	288	190	208	132
Tobacco products .....	4,595	2,434	3,483	2,217	1,789	2,217
Starch products .....	33,362	1,641	29,759	1,903	36,817	2,540
Wines .....	5,676	371	6,068	444	3,896	789
Confectionery .....	2,703	1,596	2,017	1,447	5,312	2,664
Other food products .....	11,368	1,049	5,119	875	17,639	2,077
<b>(c) PRODUCTS OF MINING INDUSTRIES</b>						
Iron ore .....	509,058	2,344	342,272	1,632	1,119,108	6,564
Manganese .....	655,007	4,512	415,609	3,771	741,705	9,774
Asbestos .....	21,458	2,651	16,551	2,381	13,239	2,485
Salt .....	155,511	847	107,152	796	64,300	650
Coal, anthracite and coke .....	1,817,534	10,390	1,795,183	12,432	1,674,811	14,182
Magnesite .....	7,053	210	2,685	85	15,185	563
Oil products .....	4,894,452	75,671	6,106,003	107,256	5,224,302	115,663
Halmev .....	13,230	348	6,343	192	46,759	2,157
Other prod. of mining industries .....	395,379	4,663	167,884	2,723	75,605	1,717
<b>(d) MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS</b>						
Soda .....	71,033	3,129	42,918	2,348	58,339	4,428
Perfumes .....	408	463	396	386	476	511
Matches .....	10,645	1,974	8,562	1,539	5,925	1,386
Cement .....	87,453	1,899	38,448	551	46,732	647
Coal tar pitch .....	49,558	1,110	45,961	855	28,016	447
Pottery, china and glass .....	20,554	3,116	20,897	4,414	13,514	4,358

### Soviet Russian Exports (By Commodities)

Items	1933		1932		1931	
	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles
Rubber articles .....	1,213	1,570	1,578	2,408	1,665	3,529
Cloth .....	16,044	31,523	19,402	51,460	16,670	48,375
Linen, hemp and jute cloth.....	884	695	1,470	799	1,132	973
Carpets .....	491	1,861	619	2,554	529	3,682
Handicraft and peasant work....	3,710	2,822	1,665	2,254	516	1,401
Metallic & electrical articles....	42,831	9,445	17,084	9,880	14,062	8,502
Crude metals .....	11,127	39,609	6,277	9,585	11,786	2,135
Metal scrap .....	4,138	109	12,740	211	20,238	599
Rags .....	18,703	1,552	18,162	1,757	19,668	2,055
Glue of bone and bone flour .....	4,184	380	5,687	732	7,196	1,327
Glycerine .....	1,943	277	2,713	425	1,588	357
Flax combed & flax wastes .....	27,519	6,107	26,951	7,712	21,981	4,780
Thread .....	846	1,411	643	1,836	498	1,720
Flax yarn .....	2,716	1,405	2,346	1,298	1,306	720
Potassium .....	1	1	3	3	517	77
Coke and benzol products .....	6,562	616	1,589	122	2,082	233
Chemical & pharmaceutical prod....	39,692	3,132	22,533	1,867	21,964	2,152
Animal glue (from hides) .....	757	126	1,191	253	1,236	399
Antiquariat & jewelry goods.....	55	662	69	1,210	105	2,675
Motion picture films .....	1	26	4	126	1	44
Miscellaneous .....	81,766	18,794	40,937.7	19,612.7	33,581	19,054
<b>Total Industrial Exports</b> .....	<b>15,865,047</b>	<b>352,430</b>	<b>15,671,445</b>	<b>391,500</b>	<b>16,208,632</b>	<b>468,955</b>
<b>Total Agricul. Exports</b> .....	<b>2,051,478</b>	<b>143,228</b>	<b>2,296,449</b>	<b>183,428</b>	<b>5,570,274</b>	<b>342,255</b>
<b>Grand Total</b> .....	<b>17,916,525</b>	<b>495,658</b>	<b>17,967,894</b>	<b>574,928</b>	<b>21,778,906</b>	<b>811,210</b>

### Soviet Russian Imports (By Commodities)

Items	1933		1932		1931	
	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles
<b>(a) FOOD PRODUCTS</b>						
Grain .....	6,838	239	138,332	6,429	5,793	425
Rice .....	10,543	876	66,922	14,365	49,133	9,990
Dried fruits .....	1,459	242	11,101	2,773	5,452	1,121
Nuts .....	147	151	704	808	1,190	1,174
Spices .....	15	9	195	91	394	322
Coffee .....	58	29	237	105	1,178	632
Cocoa .....	905	163	315	83	4,198	1,121
Tea .....	19,307	5,764	15,949	7,751	20,708	12,632
Sugar .....	6,996	521	41,507	2,640	98	27
Herrings .....	18,508	793	60,249	4,428	38,083	3,660
Other food products .....	28,321	6,852	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>(b) ANIMAL AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS</b>						
Cattle .....	27,029	3,815	46,324	6,929	56,104	10,697
Other live stock .....	39,041	8,704	46,526	9,638	47,552	10,163
Horses .....	4,300	1,038	7,671	1,700	4,541	1,032
Hides, raw .....	5,228	2,698	16,186	6,297	18,742	10,061
Hides, dressed .....	957	986	694	1,006	1,960	3,975
Hides, goats and sheep .....	3,266	3,373	3,917	3,309	10,229	8,279
Other fur .....	533	6,863	.....	.....	.....	.....
Footwear and leather products ..	33	200	52	297	27	204
<b>(c) WOOD, GLASS, COAL, RUBBER, CHEMICALS, DRUGS AND THEIR PRODUCTS</b>						
Wooden articles .....	19	51	17	12	420	192
Cork bark .....	1,879	123	1,591	149	2,166	573
Seeds .....	2,536	435	1,830	922	4,460	2,460
Copra .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	2
Abrasives .....	989	279	997	461	2,690	692
Glassware .....	49	13	12	35	61	206
Coal .....	15,403	81	52,511	465	106,603	1,215
Exotic resins .....	448	271	1,414	1,627	1,699	1,761
Caoutchouc and crude rubber....	31,270	6,385	30,569	7,672	28,210	13,876
Rubber articles .....	56	61	116	167	597	818
Sulphur and sulphur flowers .....	3,078	175	3,012	194	22,346	1,297
Chemical products .....	9,073	2,560	10,871	4,200	86,503	14,133



**Soviet Russian Imports**  
(By Commodities)

	1933		1932		1931	
	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles	In metric tons	In thous. rubles
Fertilizers .....			1	.5	43,559	2,752
Saltpeter .....	501	65	2,166	310	2,330	437
Iodine .....					17	277
Quinine and its salts .....	88	1,568				
Pharmaceutical preparations .....	2	22	.4	15	5	55
Vegetable oils .....	846	217	6,313	1,781	4,281	914
Ether oils .....	8	47	10	91	15	207
Tanning fluids .....	1,062	177	1,075	197	768	371
Dyes and paints .....	1,639	932	2,283	1,066	1,971	1,222
<b>(d) METALS &amp; METAL PRODUCTS</b>						
Ferrous metals .....	506,316	47,500	893,497	76,660	1,417,952	124,560
Copper .....	7,882	2,150	11,969	4,400	25,253	10,573
Nickel .....	3,498	4,887	3,961	6,558	3,840	6,220
Aluminum .....	10,570	6,842	10,432	7,489	20,372	15,658
Bismuth .....			173	560	1,964	1,863
Tin .....	4,117	5,410	3,910	4,819	4,486	5,123
Lead .....	16,405	1,377	32,762	3,816	41,945	5,824
Zinc .....	5,809	675	10,599	1,416	23,660	3,790
Other non-ferrous metals .....	255	391	6	8	47	215
Copper articles .....	236	504	672	1,534	869	2,159
Pig-iron, iron & steel articles .....	110,978	28,566	109,456	42,660	242,352	90,879
Tin articles .....	5,450	1,070	680	378	1,840	1,520
Wire .....	9,581	2,736	22,127	5,619	38,519	9,131
Wire articles .....	533	310	1,201	775	5,227	2,560
<b>(e) INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, AUTOMOTIVE MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT</b>						
Tools for handicraft work .....	46	93	66	226	410	1,134
Agricultural implements .....	1	1	.4	2	3	4
Industrial machinery .....	124,210	87,784	241,356	213,932	217,483	240,713
Agricultural machinery .....	91	87	245	227	23,453	17,907
Parts of industrial machinery .....	24,868	21,472	48,655	59,385	73,681	90,447
Parts of agricultural machinery .....	60	37	1,371	612	16,877	8,380
Tractors .....	134	147	246	293	76,134	69,047
Parts of tractors .....	2,592	2,240	82	81	6,213	10,580
Automobiles .....	989	1,304	1,588	2,415	8,285	12,319
Motorcycles .....	2	7	4	12	39	89
Parts of autos and motorcycles .....	4,597	1,707	10,860	5,841	26,511	24,982
Bicycles .....	13	20	12	17	70	151
Optical, physics and chem. app. .....	747	5,666	1,414	11,891	1,588	14,799
Ships and boats .....	19,423	4,029	29,896	8,108		
Medical instruments .....	3	24	7	47	6	77
Elec. mach., app. & supplies .....	21,231	19,359	47,239	64,888	35,902	53,481
Supplies for watch factory .....	4	357	10	313	6	394
<b>(f) PAPER &amp; PAPER PRODUCTS</b>						
Paper pulp .....	2,246	87	3,230	207	68,383	2,483
Cardboard .....	294	146	227	175	346	217
Paper .....	264	148	397	246	28,680	3,347
<b>(g) TEXTILES &amp; MANUFACTURES</b>						
Raw cotton .....	22,554	9,911	24,299	17,851	53,749	40,568
Raw jute and kenaf .....	10,489	1,231	6,430	935	24,501	3,589
Manila hemp .....	13,068	1,522	5,559	642		
Silk cocoons .....	261	402	133	702	138	867
Raw silk .....	4	94	52	883	1	40
Wool .....	28,536	21,483	25,748	23,944	30,730	32,201
Woolen rags .....	7,423	1,384	4,584	1,246	11,146	3,266
Cotton yarn .....	48	86	57	67	408	636
Silk twisted and spun .....	1	4			.1	.4
Wool combed, spun & twisted .....	46	179	48	124	35	83
Cotton fabrics .....	1	16	81	332	96	480
Hemp and flax fabrics .....	2,691	828	2,141	1,396	7,155	4,492
Silk & silk mixture fabrics .....	3	21	3	15	4	28
Woolen cloth .....	120	628	564	3,234	305	1,992
Technical cloth .....	9	36	40	117	183	524
Knitted articles .....	73	445	24	231	10	115
<b>(h) MISCELLANEOUS</b>						
Diamonds and carbonates .....					0	6
Other imports .....	24,916	6,035	170,428.2	33,350.5	449,346.9	66,554.6
<b>Total of imports .....</b>	<b>1,236,118</b>	<b>348,216</b>	<b>2,300,211</b>	<b>698,693</b>	<b>3,564,352</b>	<b>1,105,034</b>

# Anglo-Soviet Commercial Agreement

*Text of the agreement signed in London on February 26 between Great Britain and Soviet Union*

The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland considering it desirable, pending the conclusion of a formal Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between them, to enter into a temporary agreement to regulate trade and commerce, have accordingly agreed as follows:—

## ARTICLE 1

(1) For the purpose of developing and strengthening trade relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the contracting parties agree that, without prejudice to any other provisions of this agreement according more favorable treatment, all facilities, rights and privileges, which in the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respectively are or may be accorded with respect to trade to the subjects or citizens of any other foreign state or to juridical persons including companies constituted under the laws of such state or to the property of such subjects, citizens or juridical persons including companies shall be extended to citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or juridical persons including companies constituted under the laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to British subjects, British-protected persons or juridical persons including companies constituted under the laws of the United Kingdom respectively and to their property. The natural produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom shall enjoy in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the natural produce and manufactures of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall enjoy in the United Kingdom, all the facilities, rights and privileges which are at present or may be hereafter accorded to the natural produce and manufactures of any other foreign country, in all that relates to the prohibition and the restriction of imports and exports, customs duties and charges, transport, warehousing, drawbacks and excise.

(2) The expression "British-protected persons" in this agreement is understood to mean persons belonging to any territory under the protection of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, or under His Majesty's suzerainty or in respect of which a mandate has been accepted by His Majesty.

## ARTICLE 2

(1) If either contracting party shall give notice to the other that there is reason to believe that, in respect of any class of goods produced or manufactured in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, and imported for consumption in the United Kingdom or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respectively, such prices are being created or maintained by the other party, or by its state economic organizations, as are likely to frustrate preferences accorded, or detrimentally to affect the production of such goods, in the United Kingdom or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respectively, the two parties agree to enter immediately into negotiations.

(2) Failing a settlement by negotiation, the party giving the notice under paragraph (1) of this article may intimate to the other that the provisions of article 1 will as from a specified date cease to apply in the United Kingdom or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the case may be, in so far as the prohibition and the restriction of imports are concerned, to goods produced or manufactured in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or the United Kingdom, respectively, of the class of which notice has been given. On and after the date so specified the first party may cease to apply the provisions of article 1 in accordance with the intimation so given.

(3) The dates specified in the intimation under paragraph (2) of this article shall not be earlier than three months from the date on which notice was given under paragraph (1) of this article.

(4) A party who has given a notice under paragraph (1) of this article shall consider any assurances which the other party may give to the effect that action has been taken which will prevent a recurrence, in respect of those goods, of the position which led to the giving of the notice, and, if satisfied that such action has in fact been taken, shall again extend to those goods the full benefits of article 1 of this agreement, if effect has already been given to the intimation under paragraph (2) of this article, or shall withdraw the intimation if it has not already been put into effect.

## ARTICLE 3

The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, being desirous of applying in an increasing proportion the proceeds of the sale in the United Kingdom of goods imported from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to payments for goods purchased in the United Kingdom and for the utilization of British shipping services, will give effect to the arrangements with regard to an approximate balance of payments set out in the schedule to the present agreement.

## ARTICLE 4

Trade between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be eligible for consideration on the same basis as trade between the United Kingdom and other foreign countries in connection with any legislative or administrative measures which are or may be taken by the government of the United Kingdom for the granting of credits to facilitate such trade; that is to say, that, in considering any given transaction, regard shall be had to financial and commercial considerations only.

## ARTICLE 5

(1) In view of the fact that, by virtue of the laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the foreign trade of the Union is a state monopoly, the government of the United Kingdom agrees to accord to the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the right to establish in London a trade delegation, consisting of the trade representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and his two deputies, to form part of the embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(2) The head of the trade delegation shall be the trade representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom. By virtue of paragraph (1) of the present article he and his two deputies shall be accorded all diplomatic privileges and immunities, and immunity shall attach to the offices occupied by the trade delegation (5th Floor, East Wing, Bush House, Aldwych, London) and used exclusively for the purpose defined in paragraph (3) of the present article. No member of the staff of the trade delegation, other than the trade representative and his two deputies, shall enjoy any privileges or immunities other than those which are, or may be, enjoyed in the United Kingdom by officials of the State-controlled trading organizations of other countries.

(3) The functions of the trade delegation shall be—

(a) to facilitate and encourage the development of trade and commerce between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

(b) to represent the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in all that pertains to the foreign trade of the Union and to control, regulate and carry on such trade with the United Kingdom for and on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(4) In view of the fact that the trade delegation is acting in respect of trade for and on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the government of the latter assumes responsibility for all transactions concluded in the United Kingdom by the trade representative or either of his two deputies. The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not, however, accept any responsibility for the acts of state economic organizations which,

under the laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are exclusively responsible for their own acts, except in cases where responsibility for such acts has been clearly accepted by the trade representative or either of his two deputies, acting for and on behalf of the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All obligations undertaken in the United Kingdom by the trade representative or either of his two deputies, acting for and on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in addition to being signed by the trade representative or either of his deputies, must be countersigned by a person to be specially authorized by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose.

(5) The names of the trade representative, of his two deputies and of the person authorized as aforesaid shall be supplied to the government of the United Kingdom from time to time and shall be published in the *Board of Trade Journal*, and the authority of any such trade representative, deputy, or person authorized to bind the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be deemed to continue until such time as notice to the contrary is published in like manner.

(6) Any question which may arise in respect of any transaction entered into in the United Kingdom by the trade delegation, the trade representative, or either of his two deputies, acting for and on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and duly signed in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (4) of the present article, shall be determined by the courts of the United Kingdom in accordance with the laws thereof, and, for the purpose of any proceedings which may be instituted in respect of any such transaction, service of the writ of summons or other process shall be deemed to be good service if such writ or process is left at the office in London of the trade delegation.

(7) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will accept the jurisdiction of the courts of the United Kingdom in respect of any question referred to in paragraph (6) of the present article and will not claim any privilege or immunity in connection with any proceedings which may be instituted in pursuance of the said paragraph. Where any writ of summons or other process is served upon them in accordance with the said paragraph (6), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will cause the trade representative or other person acting on their behalf to take the necessary steps to enable the questions involved in the proceedings to be determined by the courts of the United Kingdom and to ensure that an appearance to those proceedings is entered on their behalf. Equally, the trade delegation, the trade representative and his two deputies will accept the jurisdiction of the courts of the United Kingdom in respect of any question referred to in paragraph (6) of the present article and will not claim any privilege or immunity, whether under paragraph (2) of the present article, or otherwise, in connection with any proceedings which may be instituted in pursuance of the said paragraph (6).

(8) All the property of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom shall, notwithstanding any privileges or immunities, be subject to such measures as may lawfully be taken to give effect to the orders of the courts of the United Kingdom made in any proceedings which may be instituted in pursuance of paragraph (6) of the present article, other than such property as is necessary for the exercise of the rights of state sovereignty or for the official functions of the diplomatic or consular representatives in the United Kingdom of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

#### ARTICLE 6

British ships and their cargoes and passengers, and ships of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and their cargoes and passengers shall enjoy in the ports and territorial waters of the the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the United Kingdom respectively treatment not less favorable in any respect than that accorded to ships of the most favored nation and their cargoes and passengers.

The provisions of the present article do not apply to ships registered at the ports of the self-governing dominions of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, which are separate members of the League of Nations, or of the mandated and other territories administered under the authority of his governments in those dominions, or to the cargoes and passengers of such ships.

Nothing in this article shall entitle British ships to claim any privileges which are or may be accorded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the fishing fleets of countries situated on the Arctic Ocean.

#### ARTICLE 7

(1) Nothing in this agreement shall entitle the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to claim the benefit of any treatment, preference or privilege which may at any time be in force exclusively between territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, or under His Majesty's suzerainty, protection or mandate.

(2) Nothing in the present agreement shall apply to—

- (a) the special provision relating to trade contained in treaties which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has concluded, or may conclude hereafter, with Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, or with states on the continent of Asia whose territory borders on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
- (b) the rights which have been accorded or may be accorded to any third country forming part of a customs union with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
- (c) the privileges which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has accorded or may accord to border states with respect to local trade between the inhabitants of the frontier zones.

(3) Nothing in this agreement shall preclude the right of either of the contracting parties to enforce special sanitary or other provisions for the purpose of securing the safety of persons or the protection of animals and plants against diseases and pests, of regulating the trade in arms and ammunition, or of regulating the trade in any particular article under the provisions of any general international convention which is binding on that contracting party.

#### ARTICLE 8

So long as in any territory under the sovereignty of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, or under His Majesty's suzerainty, protection or mandate, other than the United Kingdom and the self-governing dominions which are separate members of the League of Nations, and the mandated and other territories administered under the authority of his governments in those dominions, goods the produce and manufacture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are accorded most favored treatment, subject only to the exception specified in paragraph (1) of Article 7, then goods produced and manufactured in such territory shall enjoy in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, completely and unconditionally, treatment as favorable as that accorded to goods the produce and manufacture of the most favored nation.

Goods the produce or manufacture of Palestine shall not be debarred from the benefits of this article by reason only of any special customs privileges which may be accorded in Palestine to goods the produce or manufacture of any state the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

#### ARTICLE 9

The present agreement shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Moscow as soon as possible. It shall come into force on the date of the exchange of ratifications and shall remain in force until the expiration of six months from the date upon which either of the

contracting parties shall have given notice of intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized to that effect, have signed the present agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London in the English language the sixteenth day of February, 1934.

I. MAISKY, A. OZERSKY,  
JOHN SIMON, WALTER RUNCIMAN.

#### SCHEDULE

##### *Balance of Payments*

1. The payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom as hereinafter defined shall bear to the proceeds of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom as hereinafter defined the following proportions:—

In the year ending December 31, 1934 .....	1:1.7
In the year ending December 31, 1935 .....	1:1.5
In the year ending December 31, 1936 .....	1:1.4
In the year ending December 31, 1937 .....	1:1.2

Thereafter an approximate balance of payments measured by the ratio 1:1.1 shall be maintained.

2. For the purposes of this schedule—

(a) The proceeds of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in any year shall be the value of imports of merchandise (excluding goods transhipped under bond) recorded in that year in the trade accounts of the United Kingdom as consigned to the United Kingdom from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (\*), subject to the deduction of 97 per cent of the value of canned salmon not handled by the trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

(b) the payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom in any year, subject to the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 of this schedule, shall be the sum of the four following amounts:—

(i) the value of exports of United Kingdom produce and manufactures and of imported merchandise (excluding goods transhipped under bond) recorded in that year in the trade accounts of the United Kingdom as consigned from the United Kingdom to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics subject to the deduction of the value of goods exported or re-exported in that year from the United Kingdom to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for which payment is not made in the year in which the export or re-export takes place;

(ii) the amount of credits repaid by the government or trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to that year (excluding interest) in respect of exports or re-exports of the United Kingdom in previous years;

(iii) the amounts paid by the government or trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in that year in respect of the chartering of British ships registered at ports in the United Kingdom; and

(iv) an amount equal to 6½ per cent of the sum of the imports of the United Kingdom from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in that year (as defined in paragraph (a) above, and excluding 97 per cent of the value of canned salmon not handled by trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and the exports and re-exports of the United Kingdom to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in that year (as defined in subparagraph (i) above) to represent the excess of all payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not otherwise specifically provided for over similar payments of the United Kingdom.

\* Goods passing under bond through the territory of the U.S.S.R. will not be recorded among imports consigned to the United Kingdom from the U.S.S.R. unless they are re-consigned from the U.S.S.R.

3. If in any year the payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics differ from the amount which they should have reached in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 above, the amount of any deficiency will be deducted from and the amount of any excess will be added to the sum of the four amounts referred to in the preceding paragraph in computing the payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the following year, and the payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in that year shall be deemed to be the amounts arrived at after the deduction of the amount of that deficiency or after the addition of the amount of that excess, as the case may be.

4. The government of the United Kingdom agrees that expenditure incurred by the government or trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics upon the purchase for export of British ships registered at ports in the United Kingdom, the export of which, being old vessels, is not recorded among the exports of the United Kingdom, is a proper addition to the payments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will from time to time supply the government of the United Kingdom with a statement showing the names of any such ships, the amounts paid in respect of each ship, and the dates upon which such payments were made.

5. The trading operations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall be so conducted that the amount by which the payment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Kingdom fall short, in any year, of the amount which they should have reached in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 above shall not be more than 7½ per cent of the latter amount.

6. The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will supply to the government of the United Kingdom the following information in respect of each year:—

(i) A statement of payments (excluding interest) made in that year in respect of exports of United Kingdom produce and manufacture to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics showing separately payments made in respect of goods exported during that year and goods exported during each previous year.

(ii) A statement of payments (excluding interest) made in that year in respect of re-exports from the United Kingdom to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (excluding goods transhipped under bond) showing separately payments made in respect of goods re-exported during that year and goods re-exported during each previous year.

(iii) A statement showing the British ships registered at ports in the United Kingdom chartered during that year and the amounts paid in that year by the government or trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in respect of any such ship chartered in that or any previous year.

(iv) A statement showing the declared value at the time of importation of canned salmon imported into the United Kingdom from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which has been handled by trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

7. The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will also furnish the government of the United Kingdom with a statement showing the payments (excluding interest) made by the government and trading organizations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the year ending December 31, 1933, in respect of (i) exports to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of United Kingdom produce and manufactures, and (ii) exports to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of imported merchandise (excluding goods transhipped under bond) which were exported during that year to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8. In this schedule, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression "year" means a year beginning on January 1 and ending on December 31. The expression "merchandise" has the same meaning as in the trade accounts of the United Kingdom.

# SOVIET UNION



# REVIEW

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VOL. XII

MAY-JUNE, 1934

NOS. 5-6

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◆ In This Issue ◆

NEW MOVES FOR PEACE

WATERWAYS OF THE U.S.S.R.

A SOVIET COMPOSER

VOYAGE OF THE "CHELIUSKIN"

SOVIET PUBLIC HEALTH

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NOS. 5-6

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
The Voyage of the Cheliuskin .....	94	Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact .....	123
Last Days in Camp Schmidt .....	100	Diplomatic Appointments .....	123
Schmidt Greets Admiral Byrd .....	101	Changes in Narkomindel .....	124
Schmidt and Ushakov Entertained in U. S. ....	102	Book Notes .....	124
New Life for the Chukchi .....	103	Miscellaneous News:	
The Waterways of the Soviet Union .....	105	Soviet Output Rises .....	125
Shostakovich and His Work .....	108	Fourth International Rheumatic Congress .....	125
The Academy of Sciences .....	110	New Soviet Technical Encyclopedia .....	125
The New Academy of Architecture .....	112	"Writers' Town" .....	125
Trade Promotion Tour to the U.S.S.R. ....	113	Institute of Experimental Medicine .....	126
Soviet Public Health .....	114	A French Journal in Moscow .....	126
State Grain Farms to Be Subdivided .....	115	Commission of Soviet Control .....	126
Biro-Bidzhan an Autonomous Jewish Province ..	116	Reorganization of Agricultural Commissariats ..	126
A New Move for Peace .....	117	Administrative Appointments .....	126
Extension of Polish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact ..	119	Viacheslav Menzhinsky .....	127
Soviet Proposal to Germany .....	120	Books About the U.S.S.R. ....	128
London Conventions Defining Aggression .....	123		

## The Voyage of the "Cheliuskin"

OTTO YULEVICH SCHMIDT, head of the expedition marooned for two months on a drifting, cracking ice-floe in the Arctic Ocean after the steamer "Cheliuskin" sank, has been visiting the United States on his way back to the Soviet Union. From him the full details of the voyage, the life on the ice and the final dramatic rescue have been learned for the first time. Professor Schmidt, who contracted pneumonia on the ice, the only case of illness on the expedition, was flown to the hospital at Nome, Alaska, for treatment. He was accompanied to the United States by G. A. Ushakov, also a noted Soviet Arctic explorer, who was in charge of the successful rescue operations which resulted in the safe transport to the mainland by airplane of all the 104 stranded members of the expedition in a series of bold dashes by Soviet airmen.

Professor Schmidt and Professor Ushakov were entertained in Washington and New York by Soviet representatives and received warm hospitality from United States government officials, scientists and fellow-explorers. They sailed for the U.S.S.R. on May 26.

While the two intrepid Arctic scientists were glad to talk of their adventures during their visit,

it was clear that their eyes are already fixed on the future. They expressed themselves as eager to get back to the Soviet Union to compile the great mass of scientific data gathered on the trip, and to continue the work of opening up the Soviet Arctic to practical navigation.

In a statement made for the SOVIET UNION REVIEW, Professor Schmidt summed up the results of the expedition as follows:

"The scientific program of our expedition was completely fulfilled, in spite of the unfortunate loss of our ship, since we not only reached our goal, the Behring Strait, but for the first time a ship with scientists aboard spent this period of the year in the Arctic Ocean. Despite the severe obstacles which we had to battle with every mile and every minute of the way, we conducted extensive meteorological, hydrological, aerological and geographical research all during the voyage and throughout our two months on the ice as well. We took exact measurements of movements of the ice, recorded regularly ice-drifts and pressures, water currents, movements of the wind. All of our scientific records were saved and transported to the mainland, and will be of the greatest value in the future development of the Northern Route.

From a practical standpoint, the cruise of the 'Cheliuskin' once more confirmed our belief in the possibility of opening up the so-called Northeast Passage to commercial navigation. The icebreaker 'Sibiriakov' made the whole trip from Archangel to Vladivostok in one season, in 1932. Our ship, a commercial vessel, came within a few miles of the open sea. It is therefore clear that the assistance of icebreakers will be necessary to help the commercial vessels through when they reach the heavy ice.

"Naturally it will be necessary to continue our work of making exact maps of the whole region—thirteen expeditions were sent out for this and other scientific purposes in 1933, and still more will go in 1934. We have already established 25 radio stations on the islands and along the coast, and will increase this number to 40.

"The development of the Northern Route will be of the greatest economic importance in linking the West and East of the Soviet Union and making accessible the timber, furs, minerals, oil and other abundant resources of our northern regions."

Professor Schmidt also pointed out the rich possibilities in the realm of bringing the Northern people into close contact with Soviet culture. He said that members of some of the most primi-

tive of the northern tribes had become expert radio operators, and that the native Chukchi and other tribes had shown the greatest ingenuity and skill in helping with the rescue work.

Professor Schmidt expressed great appreciation for the warmth of his reception in America, especially the kindness and excellent medical care he received in Nome. He also commended most highly the courage and ability of the American mechanics who assisted the rescuers.

Professor Schmidt, while still a young man,—he is only 43 years old—has not only won a high place on the honor roll of Arctic heroes, but is also a distinguished scholar. He is Professor of Mathematics at the Moscow State University, where in between his Arctic trips he teaches post graduate students. He is also chief editor of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, about half of the 64 volumes of which have been issued, and of an exceedingly valuable series of foreign language dictionaries in process of publication. He speaks seven languages. Professor Schmidt first became known as an explorer in 1928, when he was a member of the Soviet-German expedition to the Pamir, which mapped a large, hitherto unexplored glacier area in northwestern Pamir. Professor Schmidt made his first voyage to the Arctic in 1929, on the icebreaker "Sedov", with Captain



*Schmidt (right) and Ushakov pointing out the route of the "Cheliuskin" at a press interview in Washington, D. C.*

Voronin and the noted Professors Samoilovich and Wiese. On this trip the northernmost meteorological station in the world was established, on Franz Josef Land which is situated at more than 80° northern latitude. He made the same voyage the next year at the head of another scientific expedition and afterwards made the voyage to North Land, discovering a number of islands on the way, one of which was named after him.

In 1932, Professor Schmidt headed the expedition on the icebreaker "Sibiriakov" which set a new record by navigating the Arctic Ocean from Archangel to the Behring Sea in two months—the first time this had ever been accomplished in one season. Only three voyages over this route had previously been made in all history, that of Nordenskiöld, in 1868-9, of Wilkitsky, with the small Russian icebreakers "Taimyr" and "Waigach" in 1914-15 and that of Amundsen in 1918-20. While each of these great voyages marked an important milestone in Arctic exploration, they were without practical result because they took two or three years. The feat of the "Sibiriakov", a powerful icebreaker, assisted by the newly established chain of wireless and weather forecasting stations all along the route and by scouting planes, first proved the practicability of the route for economic purposes. It was as a result of this trip that all Soviet Arctic organizations were concentrated into one government body, a department of northern affairs, of which Professor Schmidt was made chief. With the extensive resources put at the disposal of the new body by the government, Professor Schmidt has during the past year organized numerous expeditions to the Arctic, and himself set out in the "Cheliuskin", to discover whether the route of the "Sibiriakov" could be repeated in one season with a non-icebreaker type of vessel.

The problem of combining in one ship the qualities of an icebreaker and freight boat presents great difficulties, since an icebreaker requires an unusually powerful engine in relation to its size which, in turn, requires a large amount of fuel, so on a long trip no room is left for freight. The "Cheliuskin", built in Denmark, was the first freighter built especially for Arctic navigation. It had a displacement of 6,500 tons, a capacity of 3,607 tons and a powerful 2,450 h.p. double compound steam engine with two low-pressure and two high-pressure cylinders. The captain of the ship was V. I. Voronin, who had also commanded the "Sedov" and the "Sibiriakov". Among the 105 members of the expedition were scientists, ship designers, flyers, aero-navigators, journalists and motion picture operators, in addition to a picked crew. Many of the members of the "Sibiriakov" expedition went along. Also on board were a group of scientists and their families to replace the group on Wrangel Island if it proved possible to reach it, which accounts for the presence of ten women and two children on the expedition. One of the children came on board with her mother and father at the beginning of the voyage, the other was born at the end of August as the ship battled its way through the ice of the Kara Sea. The baby, a girl, was named "Karina."

The "Cheliuskin" weighed anchor at Murmansk on August 10 and ploughed its way through the dense polar fogs, the storms and the heavy ice of five northern seas—the Barentz, Kara, East Siberian, Laptev and Chukotsky Seas. Ice was first encountered in the Kara Sea two days out, but was weathered safely.

On September 1, when the ship reached Cape Cheliuskin on the Taimyr Peninsula, the northernmost point of the continent, eleven vessels were in harbor. In all the years before since Arc-



*Members of the "Cheliuskin" expedition hauling a boat on to an ice-floe.*

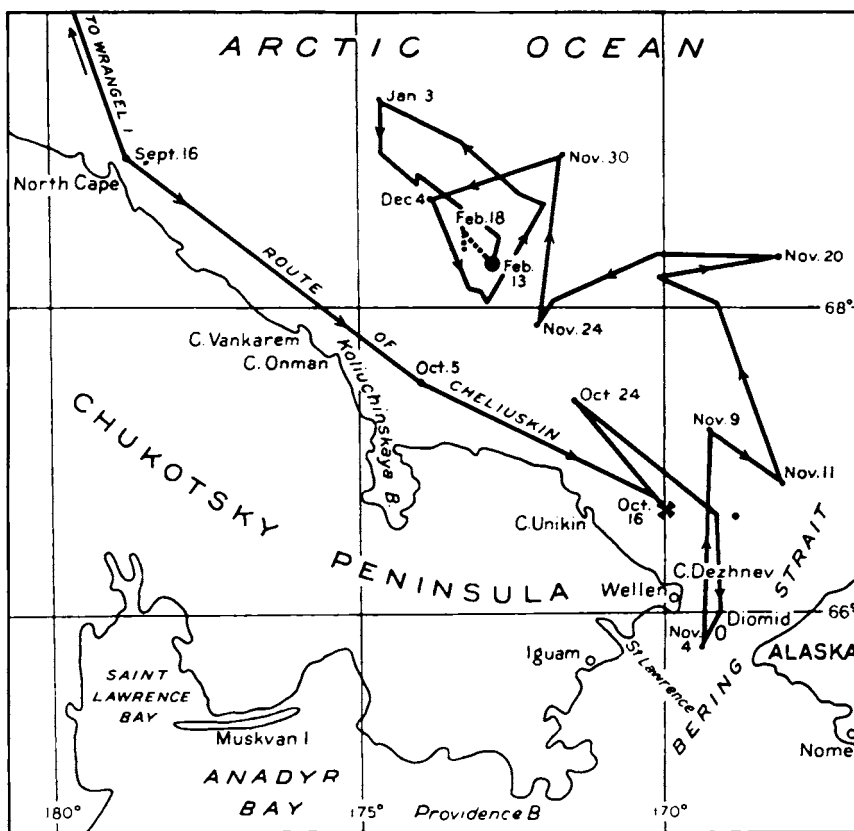
*Sovfoto*



ic navigation began, only nine vessels altogether had ever reached this point. Some of these eleven ships were going to the Lena and Yenesei rivers to take on freight, some to other parts of the Arctic Ocean to establish new stations and carry on further exploration.

After rounding the Taimyr Peninsula, the Laptev Sea and part of the East Siberian Sea were successfully navigated. It did not prove possible to reach Wrangel Island, so Professor Schmidt was flown over by one of the planes operating in the Arctic to make a day's visit to the colony there. At Koliuchin Bay, 250 miles from Behring Strait, the "Cheliuskin" encountered heavy ice, the so-called "Polar Pack", and progress became very slow. Explosives were used to clear a passage, but often it was necessary to wait, locked in ice, for the wind to change its direction and open up a crevasse. During all this time the scientists were making important observations on the conditions of navigation in this almost unknown section. Pushed this way and that by the drifting masses, the "Cheliuskin" finally

on November 3, reached the Behring Strait. Right in the middle of the Strait are the Diomid Islands, two little rocky projections, one of which belongs to the United States, one to the Soviet Union. On November 4 the ship reached this point, on the border line between the two countries, its goal all but achieved. The main purpose of navigating the Arctic Ocean in one season was accomplished. The Pacific Ocean lay just ahead. But contrary winds prevented the ship from pushing through the last fifteen miles of heavy ice between the vessel and clear water. At the same time, heavy storms sweeping along the Kamchatka shores created a violent current which unexpectedly carried the ship rapidly northward. Fast in the ice, the "Cheliuskin" was swept further and further away from the Behring Strait, weaving a zigzag course. The temperature dropped to 40 below zero. Every day the ice grew thicker until it covered the whole sea. Now and again the wind opened up crevasses in the ice and when they closed again as the wind changed, great walls of jagged ice were thrown up by the jamming ice-floes. So they drifted for over three months, knowing that at any moment such a wall of ice might thrust itself upon the ship. Life on ship-



The Route of the "Cheliuskin"

The cross marks the point where heavy ice was first encountered; the black dot, where the vessel sank; and the dotted line shows the movement of the ice-pack.

board proceeded normally, scientific observations went on regularly, radio contact with the Arctic stations was maintained uninterruptedly.

On the thirteenth of February the "Cheliuskin" found itself caught in a zone of grinding icefloes, set in violent motion by a heavy storm from the north. A blizzard was raging and it was almost impossible to see. Suddenly a wall of ice thirty feet high towered in front of the ship and crashed against it, splitting the port side from bow to machine room. The ship began to sink rapidly, bow first.

All hands were on deck at places long since assigned. There was no panic, no SOS. Quietly but swiftly food for two months, tents, fur clothing and sleeping bags, tools and other supplies were unloaded on the ice. Among the last things to be unloaded were the small scouting airplane and the wireless station. Just before the end a group of fifteen people remained on the stern throwing off everything detachable that was left. Among the last three to leave the ship was a young man who was crushed by a falling beam as he prepared to jump, and sank with the ship. He was the only victim. Less than a minute after Professor Schmidt and Captain Voronin landed on the ice,

the ship went under. The ice closed in over the spot, and lumber, barrels of oil and other materials on the upper deck, floated up on the ice—the cables that bound them to the deck having, with great foresight, been cut. It was all over in two hours—between two and four in the afternoon. The ship sank at a point 155 miles from Cape North and 144 miles from Cape Wellen.

Cape Vankarem, the nearest point on the mainland, was about 90 miles away, and the question was immediately raised by the less experienced members of the expedition, of making for it on foot. But between the comparatively quiet section of the ice where they were stranded and the shore was a perilous zone of incessantly crushing and jamming ice, and Professor Schmidt knew that while the stronger members of his expedition might reach land this way, the women and children and the weaker men would inevitably perish. He opposed this plan vigorously, so the group decided to stay together in order that no lives should be lost.

Tents were pitched, barracks built, stoves made of salvaged cans and metal, a kitchen established. The wireless station was set up at once. Schmidt sent a message informing the government of what had happened and a reply was soon received reporting on the formation of a Government Rescue Commission headed by Kuibyshev, Vice Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Regular radio communications between the shipwrecked colony and the nearest Arctic stations enabled them to receive daily reports of the progress of the rescue operations and to report in turn their own constantly changing position.

One of the first things to be done was the clearing of a landing field on the smoothest place that could be found, a few miles from the camp, on which they placed a tall signal post flying a red flag. This field was soon broken up and another had to be built. Altogether twenty landing fields had to be cleared with what primitive tools they had.

If one can judge by Professor Schmidt's and Ushakov's modest disclaimers of having suffered great hardship, the group on the ice managed to exist with some degree of comfort. The stoves they had contrived were adequate, there was plenty of fuel of various kinds, and abundant supplies of warm fur clothing. They were kept very busy, clearing the ice, repairing the destruction wrought by the constantly appearing fissures. Scientific observations were continued regularly. Study circles were organized, several in foreign languages, one in engineering, one in philosophy. Every day, as a result of a special request from Professor Schmidt, an abstract of the chief news from the papers was received by radio. In the evenings there were discussion groups, lectures, story-telling, chess—played with chessmen carved by themselves out of wood.

Meanwhile preparations for rescue by land, sea

and air were set in motion. The flyer Lapidevsky was stationed with a large plane near East Cape (Cape Dezhnev) on the Behring Strait, and his was the first plane to get through when the persistently heavy weather cleared for a short time on March 5. Naturally the women and children were assigned to be taken off first. The women objected vigorously, insisting on their equal right to remain on the ice with the men, but the will of the majority prevailed and they were taken to the mainland. Their rescue came just in time. The following night the barracks in which they had been living split in two when a great crack divided the ice beneath it, and half of it was completely destroyed. The people inhabiting the barracks walked out on the ice until the movement ceased, and when it was over went back to bed in the remaining half. On a second attempted flight, Lapidevsky's plane was damaged, but the aviator himself was unhurt.

Babushkin, the aviator of the expedition, finally managed to repair his small plane, which had been damaged on unloading, and flew with his mechanic to the mainland. But the plane was too small to be of practical use for rescue operations.

The whole rescue campaign was planned with military precision on the principle that if one means failed, new reserves could be moved up at once. Airplanes were obviously the most effective means of reaching the castaways and in Moscow, Leningrad, Vladivostok, and Khabarovsk preparations were made to send help by air.

The greatest hazard of Arctic flying, aside from the constantly changing weather conditions, is the fact that shifting icepacks make perilous landing fields, and while a landing field was always in readiness at the camp, any forced landing in between would have meant almost certain destruction. Some seventeen various planes were therefore made ready at different points. Planes already stationed at Cape Wellen, Lawrence Bay and North Cape were prepared for flight. Other



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Unloading the "Cheliuskin" just before she sank.

planes, manned by crack Soviet flyers, were flown from Khabarovsk to the Chukotsky Peninsula. Three ships were sent from Vladivostok carrying planes to the nearest point south of the Behring Sea from which they might fly to the Arctic Ocean. Dirigibles were sent by rail and boat as a further reserve. A special mission came to America to attempt rescue by way of Alaska, consisting of Levanevsky, who rescued James Mattern in Siberia last year, Slepnev, who found the bodies of Eielson and Borland and brought them to America, and Ushakov, in charge of the rescue work. This mission purchased two American planes in Alaska for the flight.

Dog team bases were organized at the nearest points along the shore with supplies of food and clothing. On the chief rescue base at Cape Vankarem landing fields suitable for every type of plane and living quarters were prepared.

As a final reserve, the icebreaker "Krassin", which went to the rescue of Nobile's ill-fated "Italia" expedition in 1929, was reconditioned at top speed in Leningrad and sent on a 12,000-mile journey around through the North Sea, across the Atlantic, through the Panama Canal and into the Pacific so that it might rescue any members of the expedition still remaining on the ice by the time it could reach them. Mr. Paul Oras, Soviet naval attaché in Washington, who also took part in the Nobile rescue, flew to the Canal Zone to meet the "Krassin" and help in making the rescue plans. When he met the Krassin at Cristobal on April 17, the rescue had already been accomplished, but the Krassin proceeded on its journey in order to be on hand for further Arctic work.

The rescue of the last ninety members of the Schmidt expedition was a matter of a few days only. They were days packed with magnificent achievement as the daring Soviet airmen made their series of hazardous dashes from the mainland to the ice-pack and back again and again. The excitement in the camp was at fever pitch as one by one the planes swooped out of the gray Arctic sky and carried away one group after another, and when the whole story of those days and those great flights is written it will be a thrilling and glorious tale. But it must not be forgotten that the spectacular results of those few days were only possible because of the weeks and weeks of minute and careful planning that had preceded them.



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Members of the "Cheliuskin" expedition on Solitude Island in the Kara Sea.

For days the planes had waited all along the coast for the bad weather to clear. There were constant fogs and blizzards. Finally, on April 7, the weather cleared a little and the final decisive operations commenced. Seven Soviet aviators, some flying large passenger planes, some small open cock-pit military machines, took part in the final rescue. Five people were taken off April 7, 22 on April 10, 35 on April 11, 24 on April 12. Professor Schmidt, ill with pneumonia, was taken, by special order, in the third group.

On April 13, exactly two months after the sinking of the "Cheliuskin", the last six persons, including the acting leader of the expedition Bobrov, the radio operator Krenkel, and Captain Voronin, were carried to the mainland.

The whole Soviet Union rang with the exploits of its flyers and explorers as the news of each successive rescue flight came through. A new rank was established by government decree, "Hero of the Soviet Union", and awarded to the seven aviators, Liapidevsky, Levanevsky, Kamanin, Molokov, Doronin, Vodopianov and Slepnev. The "Order of Lenin" was also bestowed on them, as well as on the twelve mechanics and observers who took a direct part in the rescue operations, including the two Americans, Clyde Armisted and William Lavery, who flew with Levanevsky and Slepnev from Alaska. The "Order of the Red Star" was awarded to the entire 104 members of the expedition for their scientific achievements and the courage, excellent organization and discipline displayed from beginning to end, as well as to Ushakov and five others who assisted him in the skillful organization of the rescue work.

# Last Days in Camp Schmidt

*The following story of the last days on the ice-pack was told by Kopunov, assistant chief of the "Cheliuskin" expedition, to the Pravda correspondent on board the "Stalingrad", the ship sent to take the rescued members of the expedition to Vladivostok.*

EVERY day Ernest Krenkel, the radio operator, gave us the latest information about the movement of the airplanes which were on their way to our camp. It was with the deepest distress that we learned of the wreck of Levanevsky's airplane when he had all but reached Vankarem. Tensely and feverishly our whole collective followed the courageous flight of Kamanin from Oliutorky to Wellen and the remarkable flights of Vodopianov, Doronin and Galyshev.

The first days of April were marked by snowstorms, low visibility, strong winds. On the seventh day the weather cleared. In the morning word came that the planes were being made ready to start. Everyone rushed to the airdrome. We practically ran the whole distance, over four miles, every inch of which was familiar to us. As we reached the landing field we heard the roar of a propeller, and in a few minutes the leading plane, piloted by Comrade Slepnev, appeared. A sharp, lateral wind was blowing. Fearing a crash, Slepnev decided to make a diagonal landing, but his heavy plane, with its great landing speed, tore past the landing field and buried its nose in a pile of ice. Everyone rushed toward the plane in terror, thinking it destroyed. However, as we approached it, we saw that the machine had received comparatively little damage to its undercarriage and stabilizer, and could be easily repaired.

An hour later the planes of Kamanin and Molokov appeared on the horizon. They circled a few times around the airdrome, then made successful landings. After a short conference with Schmidt, pilots Kamanin and Molokov, assisted by aeronav-

igator Shalyganov, started to load the planes. Passengers were taken on in strict accordance with a list prepared in advance. First of all the four members of the expedition in the weakest physical condition, and the radio operator Ivaniok were taken off. After a short run, the planes flew southward.

Slepnev's plane remained at the camp. Knowing that each minute might mean a new jamming of the ice, Schmidt ordered ten persons to remain on guard at the airdrome, so that at the first sign of danger the plane could be dragged to a safe place.

In the evening practically all of the members of the expedition gathered in the large barracks. Comrade Ushakov, who had come in the plane with Slepnev, gave a detailed report of the events which had taken place in the "great world" during our absence, and then answered innumerable questions.

At two o'clock on the night of the ninth of April the alarm signal rang out. A huge mass of ice was moving on the camp. Within two minutes everyone was on their feet, saving goods and provisions. The ice destroyed the living barracks, and ruined the airdrome where Slepnev's plane was. We just had time to move the plane itself to a new airdrome, two miles from the old one.

On April tenth the weather was clear again. In the morning the planes of Molokov and Kamanin arrived, were loaded and flew back to Vankarem. By evening Slepnev finished the repair of his plane, took aboard six persons, and left the camp. Kamanin and Molokov flew back again, and then a third time. Krenkel chuckled:

"We have established a regular air line!"

We rejoiced at the opening of this air line, and at the same time we were terribly concerned about the health of Schmidt. Otto Yulevich was seriously ill. He had a high temperature, and it was quite impossible to give him any real care in the camp. He refused all the urging of his comrades that he leave the camp immediately, and insisted that he must first see that everyone else got away, and would be the last to leave himself. Ushakov sent a telegram to Kuibyshev in Moscow and on the morning of the eleventh we received instructions from the government that Schmidt must leave the camp at once. At six o'clock in the evening the silent Molokov, completing his fourth trip, flew Schmidt away from the camp. We carried him to the airdrome by sledge, muffled in furs. On April 11 thirty-five persons were taken off the ice. Schmidt was the thirty-fifth.

Camp life came to an end. The kitchen no



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The "Cheliuskin" in the ice of the Chukotsky Sea.

longer worked. Ten tents stood empty. The members of the expedition had grown used to their collective life, and now huddled together in one tent waiting for dawn, carrying on endless conversations. Not the least important question in these conversations was as to what kind of weather there would be the next day.

At four o'clock in the morning, after a hasty breakfast, we began to transport our goods to the airdrome, in readiness for the last trip. Kamanin's plane was the first to arrive. He gathered his passengers together with lightning speed and soared away again. Then came Doronin, who only yesterday had flown to Vankarem from Anadyr, proud to be the first of the Khabarovsk unit to reach the camp. He took three persons aboard, but made a slight miscalculation as to the length of the landing field, and during the take-off smashed the left ski of the landing gear and the tail spike. All the mechanics of the expedition were instantly mobilized. Two strong steel crow-bars were cut in two to serve as reinforcements for the spike. After six hours of repair work the machine was ready for the flight, was loaded and took off.

The second part of the day Vodopianov arrived, having made an extraordinarily difficult flight over the Anadyr mountain range, and flying on from Cape North to the camp without resting. Following an exact course, he reached the camp,

circled once over the airdrome, made a perfect landing, took on four passengers, and swiftly and beautifully flew away again.

Night came. The last six persons remained on the ice, at their head Comrade Bobrov who had taken over the duties of chief of the expedition. They packed up their valuable instruments, carefully wrapped up all the fur clothing, for the last time inspected every corner of the camp to see that none of the material of the expedition was left behind. In the pale dawn the planes of Molokov, Vodopianov and Kamanin appeared. All the goods that had been packed were loaded on the planes, and the eight dogs brought to the camp by Slepnev were taken aboard to be carried back to the mainland. One after another the people took their seats in the cabin. Within forty minutes the last of the rescued arrived at Vankarem.

On our arrival at Vankarem we were disposed in the Chukotsky *yarangs* (wigwams) where the warmest hospitality on the part of the Chukchi and those who were wintering there awaited us. In groups of ten and fifteen we were sent from there to Wellen by airplane and sledge. Each group was met by the entire population of Wellen as it arrived. The Cheliuskinites warmly clasped their hands, answered the numerous questions, sent joyous telegrams to their relatives and then went into the building of the polar station for a long sleep on solid ground.

## Schmidt Greets Admiral Byrd

*A message broadcast by Prof. O. Y. Schmidt, head of the "Cheliuskin" expedition, from New York City on the evening of May 19, to Admiral Richard Byrd and his associates in the Antarctic, by courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting System and General Foods.*

**I**T GIVES me great pleasure, on behalf of my comrades returning from the ice-fields of the north, to express our warmest greetings to Admiral Byrd and his associates, far off in the southern wilderness of ice. Our message to our distant American colleagues is heartiest greetings and the best of luck.

I wish to say to Admiral Byrd that our Arctic scientists and explorers who are struggling with the Arctic ice cap feel a peculiar kinship with their American brethren of the ice. We have derived help and inspiration from the efforts of Admiral Byrd and the long and splendid line of American explorers who have preceded him.

We are now attempting to do our part in the north. We hope, Admiral Byrd, to open to navigation the thousands of miles of the rich coastlands of Northern Siberia, which have been bound by the ice since history began. I can report that we have already made a beginning. It was a thrilling sight last summer when we pushed our way to the mouth of the Lena River, midway

along the bleak coastline, at Cape Cheliuskin, to find twelve vessels gathered there. In all pre-



*Sovfoto*

*Professor Schmidt on board the "Cheliuskin"*



*Hunting in the Arctic.*

*Sovfoto*

vious time only nine vessels had visited that remote port.

We were trying last year to make the Northeast Passage in one season in a regular commercial vessel, a feat we accomplished in 1932 in an icebreaker. Leningrad was our starting point; Vladivostok our goal. We were still in the ice, but within sight of the Pacific and open water, when a cyclone whirled us back into the north. This was November third last. We were never destined to see open water again. For three months we struggled against heavy fields of ice. At last, February 13, our vessel was crushed and sunk between walls of ice. We lost one man out of our party of 105 when the ship went down, but the rest came through safely, though most of us spent two months on the ice-pack before airplanes could take us off.

There were ten women and two small children in our party. One of the children was born a few weeks before the smash, when our ship was fighting its way through the ice in the Kara Sea. The women and children were taken off the ice-pack early in March. That baby ought to make a good explorer some day. It was a girl.

You will be interested to know that two American planes were among those used in the rescue work and two American mechanics took part in that heroic effort. They, along with the other rescuers, were given the highest honor bestowed by our government, the Order of Lenin.

It will also interest you that the radio man of the *Cheliuskin*, who established communication from ice pack to shore, was Mr. Krenkel, the same operator who in 1927, from Franz Joseph Land, established contact with Admiral Byrd in the Antarctic.

This once the Arctic has beaten us. But we shall try again this summer. And if need be, again and again, until we win. You Americans have set us many a good example in this. In the

end your polar men and ours will conquer the frozen ends of the earth. Human effort and human science are stronger than the ice.

Again, greetings, American colleagues, and good fortune.

## Schmidt and Ushakov Warmly Entertained in the U. S.

Professor Otto Yulevich Schmidt, commander of the "*Cheliuskin*" and Professor George A. Ushakov, head of the rescue operations which saved the members of the expedition from an ice-floe in the Arctic Ocean, arrived in Washington on May 15 and were the guests for several days of Ambassador and Mrs. Alexander Troyanovsky at the Soviet Embassy. On May 16 a reception was given for the two noted Arctic scientists at the Embassy which was attended by representatives of official and diplomatic circles in Washington, as well as a large number of scientists. Among others to do honor to the explorers was Major General Adolphus W. Greeley. Professor Schmidt and Professor Ushakov visited a number of scientific institutions while they were in Washington and arrangements were made for exchange of more detailed meteorological data than heretofore available between the United States and the U.S.S.R., a step which will be of great value in weather forecasting in both countries. President Roosevelt received Professor Schmidt during the visit.

After leaving Washington the two explorers spent several days in New York. On May 24 a dinner was given in their honor under the auspices of the American-Russian Institute, and sponsored by the Explorers' Club, the American Museum of Natural History and the American Geographic Society.

Explorers, scientists and leaders in professional,

financial and cultural fields attended the dinner. Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews was toastmaster and Dr. John A. Kingsbury, of the Milbank Memorial Foundation, presided. The speakers were Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Sir Hubert Wilkins, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, and Ambassador Troyanovsky, in ad-

dition to Professor Schmidt himself, who gave a graphic account of the "Cheliuskin" expedition.

Professor Schmidt and Professor Ushakov sailed for the Soviet Union on May 26, expressing deep appreciation of the warm reception tendered them in the United States.

## New Life for the Chukchi

*Because of the interest in the Chukotsky Peninsula aroused in connection with the "Cheliuskin" expedition, we are publishing in part an article recently printed in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" by N. B. Shnakenburg, a student of Professor Tan-Bogoraz, expert on the peoples of the North. Shnakenburg was sent in 1929 by the Committee of the North to the Chukotsky Peninsula and spent four years there gathering material on economic, ethnographic and linguistic problems.*

WHEN the chimes in the Kremlin tower play the "International" at midnight, it is high noon on the Arctic sea. Moscow prepares for bed, and in Chukotsky the working day has long since started. The hunters have already gone to the sea. At the *Ispolkom* (local Soviet headquarters) on Cape Wellen work is in full swing. In the schools the third class is coming to an end.

Sixteen thousand kilometers (9,900 miles) of mountain, forest and sea—such is the course that leads to the Chukotsky Peninsula. That is the journey one must take to reach this squarish projection which the ancient continent of Asia thrusts toward America. To the South—the little known region of Anadyr. To the north—the waters of the Arctic Ocean. To the west the fabulous riches of Kolymsk. To the east, on clear days, the mountains of Alaska are visible.

Chukotsky is a real Arctic land. The winter lasts for nine months. Not until the beginning of July does the ice of the north shore of Chukotsky begin to break up and quietly slide away. In September, a new ice cover binds the watery waste. In November the ferocious northwesterners commence, and the sun sets for two months. A meagre rim of its hidden disk appears in January. February is still in the grip of wind and storm and bitter cold. March is full of changes. The sun rides high. The snow glitters with such a bright and blinding light that glasses must be worn to protect the eyes.

The region is full of contrasts. The settlement of Dezhnev is only eighteen kilometers from Wellen and the climatic conditions of these two places are vastly different. Sometimes in Wellen all will be quiet—while in Dezhnev a blizzard is raging, travel is impossible, dog teams can make no headway against the winds. The air currents from the Behring and Arctic Seas are the cause of this excessively inconstant weather. Between Cape Behring and Cape Chaplin (south of the Chukotsky Peninsula) the sea is not frozen solid. In February, 1932, passing through this section we

saw clear water in many places. Judging by the eye, there was about forty per cent of drifting ice—the rest clear water. The shore line along the Behring Strait and to the south is all steep, rocky cliffs, dropping sheer into the sea. The shore is broken by the bays of Providence and Mechigmen and St. Lawrence Gulf. The steep and lofty shore line continues right to Serdtse-Kamen, and then drops suddenly into a dreary and monotonous plain. Capes Inrylen, Onman and Vankarem drop to the sea in low rocky ridges.

There are no large rivers on the Chukotsky Peninsula, although inland there are innumerable small streams and lakes abounding in fish. The population is 5,240 persons, of whom 1,000 are Esquimaux. There are a few Europeans—mainly Soviet workers and teachers. The main occupation of the Chukchi is raising reindeer and hunting walrus and seal. Many of them have never seen a primus\* or a book before the last few years. Once I gave an inland Chukchi a five and a three ruble note for guiding me. He was insulted. "You are stingy, Russian, and are trying to cheat me—why have you given me only two pieces of paper?" So I gave him instead eight single ruble notes, and he was satisfied.

The Chukchi who live along the shores of the peninsula have reached a much higher stage of culture. About half of the shore population are organized into collectives.

The Committee of the North established the cultural base on St. Lawrence Gulf in 1928. It has developed into a whole group of institutions. There is a well-organized boarding school where children from the surrounding settlements are sent. A veterinary point looks after dogs and reindeer—two very important elements in Chukotsky economy. There was not a single veterinary in this region before the revolution. There is a hospital, with two doctors and an assistant. Last year this hospital served the whole shore population and some of the inland population of

\* Small gasoline stove very common in Russia.

the Chukotsky Peninsula. People who never heard of medicine before have become accustomed to the doctor's visits. There is a repair shop where motor boats, firearms, and other things are repaired. A locksmith instructor teaches the young Chukchi to do mechanical jobs. In the winter of 1932-33 a training course was started for teachers, cooperative workers, and others.

Before the revolution there were only two schools on the Chukotsky Peninsula, built in 1916. In the first year after the establishment of the Soviet government four new schools were built. In the last three years fourteen have been built. There is now a school in practically every settlement of any size. Since 1932 the teaching in the schools has been carried on in the native language, for which a Latin alphabet has been introduced.

The native shamans (medicine men) conducted a fierce fight against the first Chukchi primer to appear. At a school meeting in a town near Lawrence Bay, the shaman Tameni rose and said: "That book is the work of the devil. Whoever studies it will have bad luck. The good spirit will stop helping him in his hunting." The shamans forbade the children to study, declaring that the school was the home of the evil spirits.

In 1931 the Esquimaux organized a collective called "New Life" and within two years it has grown and prospered. All the whale boats and motor boats are social property. The collectivists took an old schooner which had lain useless for ten years on the shore, repaired it themselves, named it the "Cooperator" and now it transports goods received from the cooperatives to the different settlements along the shore, and takes part in the walrus hunting.

In May, when the movement of the ice commences in the south, schools of walrus turn northward. I went walrus hunting with a group of Chukchi on the little schooner "Cooperator". Every hour the motor stopped and the schooner had to stop for repairs, but the determined hunters would not turn back. The ice of the Arctic Ocean carried us to the north. It was during the two-month polar day, and the night was bright and calm. The sluggish bulks of the walrus heaved all around us. We approached an ice-floe on which lay five walruses. Shots rang out and two huge bodies, weighing more than a ton apiece, remained on the ice. The schooner had carried out the orders of the Wellen collective. We loaded the whole ship with meat, and only then turned back.

The giants of the sea—the whales—come into the Behring Strait in September. They come down from the North into more southern waters. Spouting great fountains of water, their gleaming black bodies churn up the gray smooth surface of the water. The whole population prepares for this season. The whaleboats are dragged to the edge of the water. The old fellows stand on high

places gazing intently through their binoculars.

A gray cloud lowers over the water. The autumn fog darkens the sea. Enormous breakers thunder madly against the shore. Suddenly the fountain gushes upward. Everything starts into motion. The whaleboats are pushed into the water. The throbbing of the motor mingles with the roar of the wind. The whale cannot break through the circle. In the prow of each boat crouches the harpoonist, with his rifle. As soon as he is near enough, he fires. His gun is loaded with a long metal harpoon as well as a shell. The shell enters the whale's body with the sharp spear and explodes inside, and the whale is killed outright. This is dangerous hunting, and there have been cases when the Chukchi walrus-skin boats have been flung high out of the water by a blow from the whale's tail. Walrus hunting is also dangerous. The wounded walrus will often fling itself in fury on the boat and pierce it with his tusks. But they think little of danger in the North.

The collective "New Life" has built its own bakery. They have learned to bake light and tasty bread and refuse any longer to eat the heavy half raw dough prepared in a greasy platter that used to be their diet. The Esquimaux have raised the question in the *Ispolkom* of electricity for their living quarters. They have proposed to harness the power of the wind to some sort of motor. In the winter of 1933 a course was held at St. Lawrence to prepare young Esquimaux for the okrug Soviet school, and they studied eagerly. "We want to live in a new way, as Lenin said," they wrote in their wall newspaper.

On the peninsula are two fur factories and eighteen trading points. Esquimaux and Chukchi hold positions as clerks in the stores, warehouse keepers, members of the administration, organizers. They are independent and reliable workers. In one of the stores on the shore of the peninsula, the salesman kept account of the goods sold by making marks on a stick. He could not count over a hundred, and when he reached this point he closed the store and went to the Russian teacher (a hundred kilometers away) for advice as to what to do next. A cooperative organizer, a Chukchi, was sent to him and helped him organize his book-keeping.

The Chukotsky consumers' cooperative organization has helped to raise the low economic level of the district. In 1927 only about thirty or forty rubles changed hands. In 1933 the trade turnover reached the considerable figure of a million and a half rubles.

In the '90's the Tsarist chinovnik Alsufiev, describing the Chukotsky North, where drunkenness and robbery were daily occurrences, came to the gloomy conclusion: "It would be better for us to go away and leave the natives in their innocent condition." Only memories remain of this hopeless past.



# The Waterways of the Soviet Union

*An address by Alexander A. Troyanovsky, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, at the annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington, D. C., April 30, 1934.*

**I**T GIVES me great pleasure to have the opportunity to speak before this gathering on the subject of the development of waterways, which is so important for my country.

You have only to look at a map of the Soviet Union to see that we have all the natural conditions for a network of waterways covering the whole country, linking all its various regions and giving them access to the seas.

In the past these splendid natural conditions were sadly neglected. The Dnieper River was a fine water highway to the Black Sea stretching 1,400 miles through one of our richest mineral and agricultural sections. But the rapids some 200 miles from its mouth were allowed to block the way to the Black Sea, a condition which recalls us to the time, a thousand years ago, when water travel from Scandinavia to Constantinople meant hauling boats part of the way overland. In the north boats plying between what was formerly the capital, now Leningrad, and the important White Sea port of Archangel, 650 miles away, had to embark on a long voyage of over 2,800 miles, through the Baltic, around the Scandinavian countries, across a long section of the Arctic Ocean. The Volga, the chief water artery of the country, which wanders over 2,300 miles of Soviet territory before reaching the Caspian Sea, was allowed to become shallow and

choked with silt. As for water power development—there was none.

The backward country that was pre-revolutionary Russia had to be content with what small canal building had been done in the nineteenth century. This system is of course wholly inadequate for the rapidly increasing production in the Soviet Union today. It would be entirely too costly to transport the growing mass of goods over the railroads, even assuming it were physically possible. A broad plan of waterways development is a necessity for our rapidly progressing country.

We are already making progress with such plans. Year before last the completion of the Dnieprostroy dam with its system of locks opened the Dnieper river to navigation for its full length for the first time in history. Last year the Baltic-White Sea Canal connecting Leningrad and Archangel was completed and the distance between these two centers was cut by over seventy-five per cent. We are now tackling the Volga. Before the second five-year plan ends in 1937 the Moscow-Volga Canal and the Volga-Don Canal will have passed out of the blueprint stage into that of blue lines on the map opening new avenues for the production of some of the most important regions of our country.

Of course all this requires heavy outlays. Last



*Navigation season starts on the Volga—caravan of oil tankers near Gorky.*

*Euifoto*

year we invested five hundred million rubles in the improvement of waterways transportation and the building of new waterways. This year the figure will be close to a billion rubles. During the period of the second five-year plan the total expenditure will be over four billion rubles.

It is a great advantage that nearly all the work in this direction means also creating new sources of electric power development and possibilities for irrigation.

This is particularly true of the development of the Volga waterways system. During the second five-year plan this development will not only create a deep waterway connected with the whole country but will make it possible to irrigate the drying lands on the east side of the Volga and to fight the advance of the desert.

You probably know that the dry winds from

the deserts of Central Asia are the cause of the recurring droughts along the Volga. These winds in some years absorb from the wheat-producing plains three times as much moisture as they get during the whole summer. To irrigate the lands on the east side of the Volga will mean that a barrier will be created against what we call the desert tongue advancing to the European part of the country, and that about ten million acres will be made secure against the danger of drought. The work on the Volga will include the building of five dams which will thus at the same time provide irrigation, electrical energy and transportation for the country.

The reconstructed Volga will be a part of a great system of inland waterways which will soon link together all the centers of production of our country and give them access to the sea.



This map of the central section of the Soviet Union shows the present and projected inland waterways system. It will be seen from the map that the Volga system not only creates a deep waterway with outlets into all the four seas, but will make it possible to carry on extensive irrigation of the arid regions east of the Volga.

The Volga is the greatest river of the European part of the Soviet Union and it provides the best illustration of the scope of the work we are doing in this domain. Even in its present state the Volga is serving a great part of the country, but it carries commodities only to and from the Caspian which has no communication with the open sea. Also the Volga has but an inadequate water connection with Moscow, the capital, which with its population of nearly four million is one of the greatest industrial and consuming centers of the U.S.S.R. This connection is the Moscow River, whose shallow waters are wholly insufficient to bear the requisite water traffic of this great center.

A series of great projects is under way to remedy this situation. The building of a Moscow-Volga canal was begun last year, and when it is completed part of the waters of the upper regions of the Volga will be deviated into the Moscow River, to rejoin the Volga again near the city of Gorky (formerly Nizhni-Novgorod). Thus Moscow will become a great inland port. The length of the canal will be about eighty miles and its cost will be seven hundred million rubles.

It has been an old dream to connect the Volga with the Black Sea. Peter the Great attempted the undertaking, but with no success. On the map it looks very simple. Near Stalingrad the Volga comes close to the Don, which empties into the Black Sea. To join them, only sixty-two miles of canal are needed. There are of course difficulties of a technical nature, but the canal, on which work is to be started this year, is expected to be completed by 1936. When the waters of the Volga and the Don are at last joined, it will mean that the whole center and north of the European portion of the Soviet Union will at last have achieved an outlet to the Black Sea.

But that is not all. The north is developing rapidly, and requires more waterways, especially as it has less railway mileage. A thousand miles northeast of Leningrad lies the Pechora region, rich in minerals and timber. This will be linked with the Kama, and through the Kama with the Volga. Thus we shall provide an outlet to the south for this region, and the Volga, with its twin outlets on the Black Sea and the Caspian, will be linked also with the Arctic Ocean via the Pechora River. This connection will take our commodi-



*A lock in the new Baltic-White Sea Canal.*

ties direct to the port of Indiga, which in spite of its northern location practically never freezes.

The connection between the Volga and the Baltic Sea has long been in existence, but it will need much improvement and an expenditure of more than four hundred million rubles before it will be able to carry vessels of adequate size. When all these improvements are completed Moscow will be united to Leningrad and the Volga to all the four seas.

In addition to the river-to-river connections, we are also welding direct connections between the seas. One of these was completed last year when the Baltic was united with the White Sea by a system of canals interconnected with our northwestern lakes. The canal system involved totals 140 miles, and we think that the speed with which this technically most difficult project was concluded—the entire job took twenty months—makes it rather a remarkable achievement.

I find that my time does not permit me to describe the various other works, undertaken or projected, for the improvement of waterways in the Soviet Union. I have not been able to touch upon the large-scale developments in Siberia, nor the projected power station on the Angara, which will have nine times the capacity of Dnieprostroy and which will create the sources of power necessary to develop the resources of Siberia, nor the very important projects in the Far East. Neither have I mentioned the works that are projected in the Central Asiatic Republics of the U.S.S.R., including the change in the direction of the Amudarya and possibly the diversion of that river into the Caspian Sea. This would mean transforming a great desert into a fertile, irrigated plain.

But before I close I must give you two figures.

The entire length of navigable waterways of the Soviet Union was increased during the course of the first five-year plan by thirty thousand kilometers. The second five-year plan means another increase of seventeen thousand kilometers, bringing the total length to one hundred and one thousand kilometers, or 62,700 miles.

If it requires important investments, I think that no expenditure gives better returns than our outlay on waterways. With their by-products of power and irrigation, they are becoming one of the most important elements in the national economy of the Soviet Union.

## Shostakovich and his Work

*Based on an article by S. Chemodanov in PROZHEKTOR, No. 1-2, 1934.*

**I**N SPITE of the fact that he is still very young, Dmitri Shostakovich has long since won for himself a place of real distinction among Soviet composers. His new opera "Katerina Izmailova," now being produced in the Nemirovich-Danchenko theater in Moscow and in the Little Opera Theater in Leningrad, marks an important milestone in the musical growth of its author, placing Shostakovich in the ranks of the leading contemporary composers.

Dmitri Shostakovich was born in St. Petersburg in 1906. In 1919 he entered the Leningrad Conservatory where he studied composition with Professor Maximilian Steinberg (who was a pupil of Rimski-Korsakov) and piano with Professor L. Nikolayev.

Shostakovich completed his musical course in 1925. The following year he was one of the successful participants in the international Chopin competition in Warsaw, where he received honorable mention. Meanwhile the creative activities of the young composer were developing rapidly in the most diverse directions. He has already composed three symphonies and is at work on a fourth. The first of these was written while he was still exceedingly young (1924-25) and is striking in the maturity of its ideas, the brightness of its tonal coloring, its high technical mastery. This symphony is frequently performed at concerts in the Soviet Union and is always appreciatively received. The Second Symphony was completed in 1927. The Third Symphony, called the "First of May," and written in 1929, was performed not long ago at a concert of the State Philharmonic Orchestra, and aroused lively interest in musical circles. Shostakovich has also composed a number of instrumental pieces and special attention has been attracted by the piano concerto completed in 1933, which was beautifully performed by the composer himself at the same concert. The tremendous emotional surge, the high vitality and joy in the concerto, are combined with technical mastery and novelty of form, an interesting use of the piano as the conducting instrument, and an original use of the horn as a solo instrument, contrary to all tradition.

"I am a Soviet composer," says Shostakovich, speaking of this concerto, "and I see our epoch as

something heroic, spirited and joyous—that is what I tried to express in my concerto."

Shostakovich responded to the tenth anniversary of the October revolution by a mixed composition for orchestra and choir—his monumental "October"—one of the first compositions with a revolutionary theme on a grand scale.

An important stage in the work of the young composer is represented by his opera "Nose," inspired by Gogol's novel, written in 1927-28. In this opera the composer has already to a certain degree commenced to adopt the new principles of operatic writing which he was later to carry much further in "Katerina Izmailova." The chief and most valuable of these is his complete repudiation of false romanticism, of all signs of those fantastic parasites which have grown so thickly on the body operatic through the centuries. This is something that not one of the Soviet composers prior to Shostakovich has been able to achieve. The other important characteristic of "Nose" is its complete realism, the extraordinary imagery of the music, becoming, in places, something almost palpable. Before the auditors pass pictures of the life of Gogol's Russia, drawn with rare skill, its images strikingly clear and natural. The vocal parts of "Nose" are constructed on the principle of pure declamation, without any hint of the sugary melodiousness of the old operatic writing. Just as Moussorgsky in his experiment with Gogol's "Marriage," made one of the first attempts to set comic prose to music, Shostakovich in "Nose" produces an emphatic, naturalistic speech, fully reproducing its ordinary intonations and rhythm. It goes without saying that in the interests of naturalism Shostakovich has completely rejected the old artificial division of the opera into separate numbers—arias, ensembles, choruses—and has composed music flowing uninterruptedly, in full accord with the development of the action on the stage. The third interesting feature of the opera is its sharp satirical quality, its accurate rendition of Gogol's biting humor in music. Shostakovich is particularly effective in musical grotesque. Still another feature characteristic of the creative ripeness of the author of "Nose" is his great mastery and versatility in using both full orchestra and reduced orchestral combinations.

With the greatest economy in combinations—a stringed quintet, a single set of wood instruments, just a few of the brasses, the horn, trumpet and trombone—although usually with a generous use of concussion instruments, Shostakovich is able to achieve a rare beauty in his orchestral writing.

Along with the clearly high merits of "Nose," the author has displayed certain dangerous tendencies as well, from which he has not been able to free himself entirely even in "Katerina Izmailova," although he has gone a long way in the direction of eliminating them. We have in mind the tendency of the composer to sonorosity, an occasional absorption in formalistic details, a preoccupation with superficially naturalistic imagery rather than with the underlying conflict of contending forces. In "Nose," still obviously under the spell of the Western masters, Shostakovich is too prone to make use of harmonic and instrumental combinations which sometimes, in his hands, even obscure the main theme. The intense social criticism of Gogol's novel is treated somewhat superficially by the composer, although with great wit and satirical acumen, in places anticipating the idiom of "Katerina Izmailova."

Similar tendencies are displayed by the author in his ballets, "The Golden Age" and "Bolt." On the one hand, we have in these ballets, just as in the opera, a struggle with the routine, the traditions that grew so thickly on the ballet organism under conditions of feudal culture, and the result is brightly realistic music, shot through with grotesque wit. But on the other hand, there is a lack of ideological fulfillment, and, at times, Shostakovich succumbs to the very thing he is fighting.

With his creative versatility Shostakovich has successfully tried his hand also at musical formulation of dramatic productions, for example, "Hamlet" at the Vakhtangov Theater, and also in sound films ("Counter-plan," which has an industrial theme, and "The Golden Mountains," an extremely melodious production) where, along with moments of sheer imagery and design, there are also episodes with a deep, but never tiresome, psychological penetration.

"Katerina Izmailova" marks a further stage in the development of this gifted composer. There are still many temptations to be overcome, but there is great and significant progress in this work, progress that is noticeable not only in the sense of technical mastery, in which he has achieved new heights, but, even more important, in the deep ideological grasp of his subject, the disclosure of its social and class connotations.

The opera was originally called "Lady Macbeth of Mtsenski District," which was the title of a novel by N. S. Leskov, written in 1864, and reprinted in 1930, from which Shostakovich drew the inspiration for his opera. The material of the novel was entirely reshaped in the libretto of the opera, on which A. Preiss collaborated with

Shostakovich. Not only are several sections of the novel omitted and replaced by different developments, but Shostakovich has an entirely different approach to the subject. Of the heroine of the novel and of his opera Shostakovich says:

"Leskov has made a demoniac figure of his heroine. He can find no grounds for either her moral or psychological justification. I have, on the contrary, pictured Ekaterina Izmailova as an energetic, talented, beautiful woman, who is destroyed by the gloomy and cruel patriarchal system of old Russia. According to Leskov, this woman is nothing but a murderess, who poisons her husband, her father-in-law and her husband's young nephew. In the novel this last murder—which I have omitted from my opera—seems especially evil and unjustifiable since it was entirely mercenary, inspired by the desire to be the main claimant to the heritage left by her husband. I have attempted to give the psychological background of the main figures of the tragedy, and at the same time to give the social background of Russia of that epoch."

As a result of this critical approach toward the subject matter of the Leskov novel, the author of the opera, instead of presenting a creature of sordid and uncontrollable emotions, actuated only by greed, ambition and morbid passion for the young clerk Sergey, Shostakovich has transformed his heroine into a "complex, profound,



Dmitri Shostakovich.

Sovfoto

deeply sensitive and tragic woman," a victim of the brutal way of life of her day. The crimes of Katerina in the opera are highly motivated, arising out of her surroundings, and this interpretation makes her not really Lady Macbeth, but rather Katerina Izmailova, a name which was legion in the old merchant class. Shostakovich has treated the other characters of his drama with similar sympathy and realism.

The chief merits of the opera lie in its strong musical interpretation of the old social system, and in its decisive break with stuffy operatic traditions. The tendencies displayed in this direction in "Nose" have here reached a fuller and much more mature development. Shostakovich does not by any means neglect lyricism and melody, although they are woven into this opera in a new way. Along with melodies, he has also made

use of a recitative form in the vocal parts, reproducing human diction with all its expressiveness and naturalism. The distribution of the melodious and recitative passages has been skillfully handled. The orchestral voice of the opera is especially rich, the qualities of each single instrument and all their varied combinations are used to the fullest degree. Satire and lyricism are not the only components of Shostakovich's music. There are also in the opera deeply dramatic moments, attaining an intense degree of tragic pathos, without, however, any hint of false theatricality or bombastic affectation.

The Nemirovich-Danchenko Theater, which has carried on extensive experimentation in operative forms, has found a rich field for its creative talents in "Katerina Izmailova" and has given it an excellent presentation.

## The Work of the Academy of Sciences

*From a report on the activities of the Academy of Sciences during 1933 made by Academician Volgin, Permanent Secretary, at a general meeting of the Academy on February 12, 1934. The Academy is to be transferred to Moscow this summer.*

THE main achievements in the work of the Academy of Sciences during 1933 were the reorganization along more effective lines of the various institutes under the control of the Academy, the entering upon a system of planned research activities, and the coordination of the Academy's plan of work with that of the organs directly controlling industry and agriculture. While great progress was made in the direction of linking up the scientific research work of the Academy with practical problems of socialist construction, its purely theoretical research work was not allowed to suffer in any way.

The institutes of the Department of Social Sciences, which were united in 1933 into a single association, have been working on a number of historical problems of great significance in developing Soviet theories regarding historical processes and the laws governing them. Themes of this nature have been studied in the Institutes of Anthropology and Ethnography, of Oriental Study, of Language and Thought, of the History of Science and Technique, in the Archeological Institute and in the Institute of Russian Literature.

It is natural that in the U.S.S.R. special attention is devoted to themes connected with the history of the proletariat and the peasantry and their class struggle. These subjects are being worked on in the Archeological Institute and in the Oriental and Slavic Institutes.

A special study is also being made in the Archeological and Oriental Institutes of the history of those nationalities which were objects of colonial

oppression in Tsarist Russia and not heretofore considered deserving of great attention from a historical point of view.

In addition to the study of subjects connected with the questions raised by the revolution we also find projects answering directly the practical needs of cultural development at the present moment, for example, dictionaries and grammars are being worked out for all the people of the U.S.S.R., especially for those among whom writing in the past was not at all developed or developed only in a primitive way. At the same time the most important literary monuments of the past, both of our great Russian writers and of lesser known writers of the minor nationalities are being collected and prepared for publication.

The work of the Council for the Study of the Productive Forces of the U.S.S.R. was chiefly directed toward research supplementing and amplifying our knowledge of the raw materials and fuel resources of our country. The expeditions of the Academy, as in preceding years, covered a wide field: the Kola Peninsula, the Pechora Basin, the region of the Middle Volga and the Kama, Leningrad Oblast, the Western Oblast, the Crimea, the Lower Volga and the shores of the Caspian, the North Caucasus, Transcaucasia, the North and South Urals, the Emba district, Kulunda, Oirotia, Mountain Shori, Pribaikal, the Far Eastern Region, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia. The Tadzhik-Pamir Expedition of the Council of People's Commissars was also under the scientific direction of the Academy.

The final results of these expeditions can of course only be fully estimated when all the material on them has been compiled. But from a practical point of view they may already be said to have been completely satisfactory. The Academy should take upon itself only those types of expeditions which while of great importance for socialist construction have at the same time great scientific significance. The scientific results of some of our expeditions are indisputable, both from the point of view of rendering more exact our knowledge of the nature of our country, and from that of gathering material for scientific generalizations. However, we sometimes take upon ourselves in this sphere problems which might better be undertaken by other organizations. On the other hand we sometimes pay too little attention to problems, the solution of which would be exceedingly valuable from a theoretical viewpoint although they are not of immediate practical importance. This by no means signifies the separation of theory and practice because theoretical achievements which may be of no practical use

today are frequently of the greatest possible value for the future.

The Academy continued during the past year its work of cutting down and coordinating its network of institutions, eliminating some of those which had proved ineffective, combining others. The only two new institutions established by the Academy in 1933 were the Helio-technical Laboratory in Samarkand, transferred to the Academy by government decree, and the Novorossisk Biological Station, turned over to the Academy by the Commissariat for Education.

On the other hand there was a considerable increase in the number of permanent and temporary commissions of the Academy as organs of a consultative and scientific-planning character. A commission for scientific relations with Turkey was established; a historical commission was established under the social science division, with the aim of coordinating the historical work carried on by the separate institutes and of organizing scientific investigation in those spheres of historical science which have heretofore had little attention. Special commissions for the study of atomic structure, for the study of the Caspian Sea and for diverse other problems, were established under the mathematics and natural science sections. There has also been an increase in the special commissions under the technical section for the study of such things as the use of slag, underground gassification, for the revision of the absolute division of mechanical units and other problems.

The development of new branches and local bases of the Academy, first started at the end of 1931, has proceeded somewhat irregularly in view of the lack of sufficiently well-trained personnel and well equipped laboratories. The best of the branches is that in Transcaucasia which has two divisions: the Georgian branch in Tiflis and the Azerbaidzhan branch in Baku. These branches developed out of scientific research organizations which existed previously and had at their disposal an experienced corps of local scientific workers so that it was only necessary to send out a few of the most highly trained scientific workers from the center to assist in the organization and direction of the work.

The work of the Far Eastern Branch is proceeding much more slowly, but nevertheless the very fact of the establishment of a branch of the Academy in this little studied region is of the greatest importance from the point of view of geology, biology and social science.

The Tadzhikistan base of the Academy is developing satisfactorily, particularly as a result of connections made with Tadzhikistan by members of the Academy of Science who took part in the Tadzhik-Pamir expeditions. The scientific institutions already existing in Tadzhikistan have been turned over already to the Academy.



*Soviet alpinist scaling for the first time the highest peak in the U.S.S.R., "Stalin Peak" in the Pamir expedition of 1933, in preparation for the establishment of a meteorological station by the Academy of Sciences.*

Important work has been accomplished in the last year in the improvement of facilities for training of associate professors for the Academy.

In 1933 as in preceding years the Academy of Sciences, in addition to its sessions devoted to internal organizational questions and scientific reports also organized two special sessions, the first devoted to the fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx and the second to the so-called "Volga-Caspian" problem, that of developing the whole lower Volga region. The Volga-Caspian problem is one of the most important in our socialist construction program. In organizing this session the Academy continued the line of work started first in its session devoted to Ural-Kuzbas problems and later in its session on questions of Leningrad province.

The problem of the greater Volga was developed both at general meetings and meetings of many special sessions in the most thorough manner. Power experts, hydrologists, soil scientists, botanists, and many others took part in these deliberations.

The decision of the Central Executive Committee of December 14, 1933 transferring the Academy of Sciences to the direct control of the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. marks an important stage in the development of our work. It should be the starting point for still more intensive work in making our activities of practical value to socialist construction and of closer collaboration with the government organs directly carrying on that construction.

## The New Academy of Architecture

AT THE end of 1933 the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a decree providing for the organization of an Academy of Architecture. The purpose of the Academy was to bring together the chief architectural forces of the U.S.S.R., to work out and integrate with the general construction program the chief problems of architectural theory and practice, to train highly qualified architects and to supervise and direct in general the architectural work of the Soviet Union.

The Academy has already been established and in the few months of its existence has made important progress. An "Institute of Aspirants" (graduate students) has been established for the training of architects. On April 20 competitive examinations were held and on May 5 those who passed the examinations successfully were enrolled and commenced their studies. Some of the leading architects in the country are among the directors of the Institute and are teaching the courses. Every effort is being directed toward stimulating the creative abilities of the graduate students. In addition to the regular courses, consultations are arranged for the students with any of the professors of the Institute with whom they desire to do special work. The educational program provides for lectures by the leading authorities in the fields of science, technique and culture. In order to assure to the graduate students greater possibilities to extend their cultural horizon an extra free day will be given in each six-day period in addition to the regular rest day.

The Academy has worked out an extensive program of scientific research work. To this end a number of special departments have already been organized in the following fields: buildings for residential and social purposes and their interior equipment, the planning of gardens and "parks of culture and rest", industrial architecture, agri-

cultural architecture, construction technique, and architectural history and theory. Each of these departments is to be headed by a leading authority in that particular field.

The department of residential and social structures is already carrying on a special investigation of the district inhabited by the workers of the Stalin automobile factory and ball-bearing factory, in which the workers themselves are co-operating.

Other groups in this department will carry on special investigations of club construction in industrial centers, of interior equipment and architectural details of such clubs, and so on. In this connection it should be strongly emphasized that no hard and fast rules for standardized types



Project for the new "Palace of Technique" in Moscow.





Part of the new building of the Commissariat for Agriculture.

of buildings and equipment are to be adopted. The attempt will be made to develop more rational types of furniture suited to the living and working conditions of the workers.

The department of parks and gardens will work out projects for "green places" in cities and in addition will undertake a scientific survey of all the more important parks and gardens in Europe and America. The planning section of this department will engage in questions of architectural reconstruction of old cities and will shortly commence the preparation of a special work on the history of Soviet city planning during the past fifteen years.

The work of the department of industrial architecture will be worthy of special note, since it is in this field that the greatest contribution is being made by Soviet architecture of the present epoch.

The department of agricultural architecture is faced with very extensive tasks. One of the most important of these is the problem of the architectural construction of the machine and tractor stations and their subsidiary enterprises. This department will soon cooperate with the Academy of Sciences in the construction of an entire agro-industrial *combinat*. Out of this concrete experiment will be developed solutions for the problem of what type of houses are to be used in agricultural collectives, what type of club

houses are best suited to the country districts, suitable architecture for agricultural settlements and related problems.

The historical-theoretical department will work on three historical themes: the scale and proportions of the architecture of ancient Greece, of the Renaissance and of the period of the French Revolution; and two theoretical subjects—Fascism and Marxism as reflected in architecture.

In each department work is under way to establish complete libraries in both graphic and written form. A special publishing house has been organized in connection with the Academy which plans to issue a number of translations of the foremost works on architecture of other countries, and also a popular scientific library on architecture. In addition a special bi-monthly bulletin, "The Academy of Architecture," will be issued.

In process of organization are also a Central Architectural Library and a Central Museum of Architecture. An International Architectural Exhibit is now being planned and an exhibit of Soviet Architecture for Seventeen Years is being prepared, to be opened in connection with the seventeenth anniversary of the revolution next November.

## Trade Promotion Tour to U.S.S.R.

A Trade Promotion Tour to the Soviet Union is being organized by the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, in cooperation with the American Express Company and Intourist. The trip is being arranged primarily to provide an opportunity for American business men to visit the new mining and manufacturing centers of the Soviet Union and to survey trade possibilities. Invitations have been extended to Chambers of Commerce and various trade groups and technical societies in the United States to send delegates.

The tour will be conducted by H. V. Kaltenborn, well-known radio lecturer and publicist, who was a member of the first tour sponsored by the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce in 1929. After assembling in Moscow on July 2 the group will make a 5,000 mile tour visiting the steel mills, tractor plants and new factories of the great industrial cities Magnitogorsk, Novosibirsk, Cheliabinsk, Novo-Kuznetsk, Sverdlovsk and the Ural Mountain region, returning to Moscow July 19. In Moscow special conferences will be arranged with the directors of Soviet industrials and trading organizations. Optional tours will be arranged for those delegates wishing to visit other parts of the Soviet Union.

The group will travel on a special train which will have dining and lounge cars, two-berth compartments, and guides and interpreters in attendance, and which will be the home of the tourists through the journey. The first group will sail on the S.S. Manhattan on June 21.

# Soviet Public Health

**D**URING the past six years a large amount of construction work has been done in the field of Soviet public health, making it possible to develop extensive measures in the organization of prophylactic help for the population, in creating healthier conditions of labor and of living for the workers, for cutting down disease and reducing mortality.

The extent of this work is partly reflected in the growth of the budget for public health. In 1928, on the eve of the first *piatiletka* (five-year plan), 622,000,000 rubles was spent on public health, and in 1932, the last year of the first *piatiletka*, public health expenditures increased to 2,077,000,000 rubles. In the second five-year plan, expenditures for public health (including physical culture and the organization of leisure) will grow at a still greater rate reaching 54,000,000,000 rubles, whereas in the first *piatiletka* they amounted to 20,500,000,000 rubles.

These expenditures have made it possible to increase the medical institutions in the U.S.S.R. to a very great extent. The number of hospital beds, for example, in the Soviet Union has increased from 246,000 in 1929 to 406,000 in 1933, or by 70 per cent. Especially striking has been the increase in hospitals in the national sections of the country which were medically at a very low level before the revolution. The number of hospital beds in Uzbekistan increased three-fold in the first five-year plan, in Turkmenistan, 3.5 times, in Tadzhikistan five times, in Transcaucasia 3.8 times, etc.

Every possible effort has been made to bring the activities of Soviet health institutions close to the working population. Especially important in this respect is the growth of health stations organized directly in connection with industrial en-

terprises. In 1929 there were 1,580 such stations, and in 1933 6,500. These health stations not only give the workers the medical aid they require but carry on extensive prophylactic activity, introducing sanitation and hygiene, spreading sanitary education, fighting for protective measures in the factories, etc.

Prophylactic measures may be said to be one of the basic divisions of public health work in the Soviet Union. In this respect the development of sanitariums and health resorts for workers under the social insurance plan occupies an important place. In 1928 over half a million persons were taken care of in rest homes and sanitariums at the expense of the social insurance organs, and in 1933 a million and a half.

Since the revolution over thirty new health resorts have been built up in the Soviet Union. Here again special attention has been directed to the national republics which were very poor in this respect previously. In addition to the opening up of a number of new resorts the famous old resorts at Kislovodsk, Sochi, the Crimea and elsewhere have been extended and re-equipped.

As a result of the preventive measures taken by the public health organs, especially the large network of dispensaries in the city and village, there has been a sharp decrease of disease in the country. Especially great has been the success in fighting the social diseases. Tuberculosis in the U.S.S.R. has fallen off in the past five years to one-third of what it used to be. The number of beds in the tuberculosis sanatoria and resorts has grown more than a hundred-fold since the revolution. In the R.S.F.S.R. (Soviet Russia proper) alone, tuberculosis dispensaries have grown four-hundred fold in this period. Twelve tuberculosis institutes have been established in Moscow, Leningrad, Kazan, Saratov, Ivanovo, Sverdlovsk, Alma-Ata, Samarkand, Yalta and other cities.

Due to the measures for the protection of labor, traumatism among industrial workers has been sharply reduced. In 1929 64,900,000 rubles was spent in labor protection, and in 1932 170,000,000 rubles. In the first *piatiletka* traumatism was reduced as follows: in the coal industry by 43.6 per cent; in the basic chemical industry by 29 per cent; in metallurgy by 37.5 per cent and in the oil industry by 33 per cent. In the second *piatiletka* expenditures for labor protection will increase considerably.

A new branch of public health work which has developed entirely in the post-revolution period is the protection of mothers and infants. Before the revolution there were no consultation centers for pregnant women and nursing mothers. At the present time in the cities alone of the U.S.S.R.



*Sovfoto*

*A maternity clinic in the Bashkir Republic.*

there are over 1,100 such centers. In pre-revolutionary Russia 98 per cent of all the babies were delivered by mid-wives, and altogether there were only 4,700 beds in maternity wards and hospitals. In the first five-year plan the number of such beds reached 31,300. The overwhelming majority of women in child-birth both in the city and in the village now receive medical aid.

The number of places in the day nurseries has increased in the last five years 6.5 times in the cities, and 92 times in the villages. In addition to the permanent day nurseries seasonal nurseries where children are kept during the day under the care of experienced nurses and doctors while their mothers are busy in the fields, have been organized in the collectives. Child mortality has decreased sharply in the U.S.S.R. in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period. In

1913 it amounted to 27 per cent in Russia. By 1930 it had dropped to 18.9 per cent, and in the last few years has decreased even more.

In 1913 there were altogether only 15,000 doctors in Russia. In 1933 there 80,000. The number of medical colleges in the R.S.F.S.R. has grown from 6 in 1913 to 26 in 1933, and the number of medical students has increased from 3,900 to 32,800.

Medical science is developing extensively. There is not now a single national republic or region which has not its own scientific research and practical medical institutes. Altogether in the U.S.S.R. 300 such institutes have been opened. Among them 56 in the Ukraine, 30 in Transcaucasia, 10 in Uzbekistan and 7 in White Russia. Many scientific discoveries of world importance have been made in these institutes.



*The Agricultural Engineering School on State Grain Farm No. 2 in the Azov-Black Sea Region*

*Sovfoto*

## State Grain Farms to be Subdivided

ONE of the most important recent developments in the agricultural program was the government decree issued on December 22, 1933, providing for the breaking up into smaller units of the large state farms which have proved too unwieldy to lend themselves to efficient management.

According to the decree, from 20,000 to 25,000 hectares\* is henceforth to be the total area allowed under the management of one state farm. In the case of state farms growing a large proportion of cultivated crops, the area is not to exceed 15,000 hectares. The new boundaries are to be fixed with problems of operation in view and the inclusion in a single state farm of separate plots of land not easily accessible from a central point will be avoided. The state farms are to be divided into units of not more than 2,000 to 2,500 hectares.

\* A hectare is equal to 2.47 acres.

In cases where, on determining the new boundaries, certain sections prove to be inconveniently placed for operation by that particular state farm, such land may, the Commissariat for State Farms permitting, be turned over to the collective farms.

The decree provides that seventy of the existing state farms are to be divided up and their new boundaries fixed during 1934, and the remainder during 1935. This year new programs are to be worked out, in accordance with local conditions, providing for introduction of proper crop rotation, measures to eliminate weeds, and all the necessary steps to increase crop yields and guarantee that by 1937 all the state farms shall have every bit of their arable land under cultivation.

In order to raise the commercial value of the grain farms and make better use of products otherwise largely wasted as well as hay and pasture facilities, subsidiary sections for raising of sheep, large horned cattle, hogs and poultry are to be de-

veloped. The People's Commissariat for Grain and Livestock Farms is to be responsible for the stocking of the grain farms with animals. At the same time 25,000 to 30,000 draught oxen from the state livestock farms are to be distributed among the various state grain farms by the spring of 1934.

Further training facilities are to be provided to increase the number of combine operators, chauffeurs, brigade leaders, mechanics, lathe operators, locksmiths, blacksmiths and other skilled workers. Adequate housing is to be guaranteed such workers and to this end the All-Union Bank for Communal and Housing Construction is to issue a special credit of 20,000,000 rubles in 1934 to stimulate the building of houses by individuals. Plots of land not exceeding a quarter of a hectare are to be set aside in the grain farms for gardens for permanent workers with families and for specialists. Skilled workers and specialists who have worked more than a year on a state farm, will have their wages raised by 15 per cent, and those who have worked over two years, by 30

per cent. A two-year credit is to be given such workers for the purchase of calves, sheep, goats and pigs for their own use.

By April 1, 1934, workers' supply divisions are to be organized in all the grain farms. Certain of the livestock farms are to raise cattle especially for this purpose, and a special fund has been included in the 1934 budget to take care of products for these divisions.

In the future capital repair shops will not be built in every new state farm, but those already existing will be improved and will serve nearby state farms. In addition to the regular sum included in the budget for capital investment in the state farms during 1934 a special fund of 100,000,000 rubles was appropriated for expenses incident to the reorganization of the farms. Two light automobiles are to be assigned to each of the newly organized state grain farms in the spring of 1934 and 300 automobiles are to be distributed among the more inaccessible sections of some of the farms. Telephone systems are to be installed in all the newly organized farms.

## Biro-Bidzhan an Autonomous Jewish Province

**B**IRO-BIDZHAN, a section of the Far Eastern Region of the U.S.S.R. set aside especially for colonization by Jews, was declared a Jewish Autonomous Province by a special decree of the TSIK issued on May 7.

Colonization of Biro-Bidzhan began in 1928 and the results have been gratifying. The reorganization of this district into an Autonomous Jewish Province within the Far Eastern Region marks an important step in the economic and cultural development of the Jewish population of the U.S.S.R.

Biro-Bidzhan is one of the richest sections of the Far Eastern Region. Its territory covers over 7,000,000 hectares. Considerable resources of gold, iron, coal, asbestos, graphite, marble and other useful resources have been found within its borders. The section is covered with great forests of many different kinds of trees. The forests are full of sable, raccoon, deer, bear, fox and rabbit. The Amur, Tungus, Biro, Bidzhan and other small rivers and lakes abound in all possible kinds of fish. The big fish drying and canning works at Biro-Bidzhan have grown into a large concern.

Every year the colonizers make greater inroads into the dense Siberian forests. Since 1928 the seeded area has more than doubled and now amounts to 3,200 hectares. Of this 97 per cent has been seeded by collectives and state farms. There are in the province fifty collectives including six Jewish ones and five state farms. There are three machine and tractor stations serving them.

Five years ago there was not a single industrial enterprise or producers' cooperative in the whole region. Now there are in Biro-Bidzhan nine state industrial enterprises, employing 2,500 workers, 19 producers' cooperatives, embracing 829 of the colonizers. These enterprises produced 3,200,000 rubles worth of goods last year.

In the city of Biro-Bidzhan there are now in operation a building material factory, a sawmill, a brick kiln, mechanical shops, furniture factories, a clothing factory and a number of others. In Nikolayevka there is a newly constructed sawmill. Gold mining has also been started. Coal mines have been opened up near the city of Bira. In the city itself a large *combinat* for the manufacture of section-made standard houses is in construction, part of it already in operation. In the settlement of Londoko a large mechanized lime plant is in construction. Other extensive industrial construction is also under way in various parts of Biro-Bidzhan.

Housing and public utilities have developed rapidly. A number of new settlements have grown up. The housing fund in the cities has grown in the last six years by 11,000 square meters. The primitive towns of the past, formerly utterly without improvements, are now equipped with modern baths, hospitals, electrical stations, motion picture houses. Hotels, mechanized laundries, theatres and other cultural enterprises are growing up swiftly. The city of Biro-Bidzhan is connected by telephone with the re-

gional center of the Far East and with all the main points of the district.

Universal compulsory primary education prevails almost a hundred per cent, and, what is most important, education in the native language. Ninety-three schools are functioning—in Russian, Jewish, Korean, and other languages. Universal seven-year education has been instituted among all the children of workers and in the larger of the collectives. In 1931 there were only eleven seven-year schools; in 1933, 22. There are two technical high schools. There are about 50 pre-school institutions of both permanent and seasonal character in which over 1,000 of the children of pre-school age are taken care of.

Cultural and social activities for the adult population are also improving, as a result of a special campaign. A number of libraries have been opened.

There are in the district ten workers clubs, twenty-one village reading rooms, one large central library and a museum. Five newspapers are published. Radios are to be found everywhere.

Health institutions have been greatly increased. There are now fourteen hospitals and sixteen medical points as well as a special health resort using some of the rich mineral springs of the region.

On May 11 the opening of the new Biro-Bidzhan State Theater took place. The actors have been trained largely in the Moscow Jewish Dramatic School. Several young actors from the Jewish theaters in Kharkov, Odessa and Minsk are also in the company. All the necessary theatrical equipment and a large theatrical library was brought from Moscow. A number of plays had already been rehearsed and performances have started.

## A New Move for Peace

**T**HE latest move by the Soviet government in the direction of assuring a prolonged period of peace with its neighbor nations was the recent extension until 1945 of the pacts of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes between the U.S.S.R. and Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Poland, respectively.

The protocols prolonging the pacts with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were signed on April 4 in the conference hall of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs by Maxim Litvinoff and the ambassadors of the three nations in question, Messrs. Tofer, Bilmanis and Baltrushaitis.

The protocol similarly extending the Soviet-Finnish non-aggression pact which was concluded in Helsingfors in January, 1932, was signed on April 7 by Mr. Litvinoff and the Finnish Ambassador, Baron Irje Koskiinen.

Finally, on May 5, the negotiations to assure peace on the western borders of the Soviet Union were completed by the signing of the protocol extending until 1945 the non-aggression pact with Poland, which was executed in 1932. The protocol provides for automatic extension of the pact for two-year periods after 1945 indefinitely, unless either party gives six months' notice of its desire to end it. The protocol states categorically that neither party is under any obligation which would lead to a violation of the peace treaty between Poland and the Soviet Union signed at Riga in 1921, in which both nations renounced further territorial claims against each other. The Soviet government agrees in the protocol to recognize any voluntary settlement to be made between Poland and Lithuania with regard to Vilno.

After the signing of the protocols with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, on April 4, Mr. Litvinoff made the following speech:

### Speech of Maxim Litvinoff

"Today we have secured the future fate of the pacts, the duration of which does not expire for another year and a half. The paying of a promissory note before maturity is evidence of the good-will as well as the excellent financial position of the debtor. In the present case the premature concern of our governments with the terms of pacts which still have a considerable time to run, proves their good-will and their great desire for peace.

"This is further expressed by the speed, unprecedented in the history of diplomacy, with which the initiative of the Soviet government has been put into effect. It was only on March 20 that we made the proposal to your governments for the prolongation of the pacts. Within a few days your governments responded with a direct, unconditional and positive reply; and today, after a matter of two weeks in all, the whole matter has been concluded. This circumstance points also to the tremendous growth in confidence and mutual understanding between our countries.

"I am taking this opportunity to thank your governments for their responsive attitude to our proposals. Indeed, it should not have been otherwise. Replies to proposals intended to strengthen peace have real value and demonstrative force only when they are given quickly, without much premeditation, without ulterior motives, and unconditionally. Sincere supporters of peace cannot meditate long over such proposals. The consolidation of peace is of such paramount benefit in itself that any other conditions on which a reply to peace proposals may depend, are insignificant by comparison.

"The pacts existing between our countries have

now been prolonged by more than ten years, a period that has never been exceeded for engagements of this nature. We had thought of proposing to prolong the pacts for an indefinite period, but an indefinite period is an abstraction, a philosophical conception, and we were afraid that such a proposal might appear to be merely a declaration, whereas we had in view concrete action. In any case, it should be clear to the whole world that our proposal is not of a temporary nature, nor is it prompted by chance circumstances, but is an expression of our unswerving and permanent policy of peace, an essential element of which is the preservation of independence of the young states which you represent.

"This joint action of ours has been undertaken and completed in an international situation which becomes more acute from day to day. The war danger which is menacing all the five sections of the world, is spoken and written of every day. But regarding possibilities and means whereby this approaching disaster to mankind might be averted, there is scarcely a murmur. Governments and statesmen alike approach it with a kind of fatalism, as something absolutely inevitable. All they can think of is universal rearmament, that race for armaments which in the past, far from preventing wars, actually stimulated them. Let this modest document signed by us today remind the world that there are states who consider it to be their international duty to strengthen peace or to strengthen it at least in that section of the globe upon which the maintenance of peace to some extent depends upon themselves.

"I say 'to some extent' because there are states outside the protocol we have signed today whose policy may also influence the preservation of peace on this particular section of the globe. The policy of the Soviet government will continue to be directed toward getting these states, too, to join in the efforts for the preservation of peace.

"Political alarms and threats of war in Europe are caused at the present time by disputes between neighboring states arising from the transference of certain provinces or sections of territory from one state to another as a result of the formation of new political entities from these territories, and from the dissatisfaction with treaties formulating these territorial redistributions.

"The Soviet Union does not know such disputes, it has never demanded a revision of existing treaties, and has no intention of making such a demand. The Soviet government, to whom chauvinism, nationalism, racial or nationalist prejudices, are alien, sees its government's tasks not in conquests nor in expansions nor yet in extending its territory. It understands that the honor of its people lies not in training in the spirit of militarism or bloodthirstiness, but only in the realization of that ideal for the sake of which it came into being and in which it sees the whole reason for its existence, namely, the construction



*Sovfoto*

*Latvinoff at the signing of the protocol on the extension of the non-aggression pacts with the Baltic States*

of a socialist society. It is to this work that the U.S.S.R., if not interfered with, intends to devote all its governmental strength. This is the inexhaustible fount of its peace policy. When the roll-call is made of states interested in the preservation and consolidation of peace, the Soviet Union always answers 'Here!'

"The readiness with which the states represented by you have responded to our proposals, realized in today's protocol, gives the assurance that in similar international roll-calls they, too, in unison with the Soviet government, will always be ready to answer 'Here!'"

### The Protocol

The protocols, signed on April 4 between the U.S.S.R. and Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, consist of an introduction and two articles. It is pointed out in the introduction that, in signing the protocols, the parties were guided by the aspiration to ensure the most durable basis possible for the development of relations between the countries which have signed the protocol, and by the desire to give each other a new proof of the unchanging and stable character of the peaceful and friendly relations that have been established between them. It is further pointed out that the parties were inspired by the desire to assist in the

strengthening of universal peace and also in the stability of peaceful development of interstate relations in eastern Europe. The parties declare that the conclusion of the pacts of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes have exercised a beneficial influence on their interrelations and the solution of the tasks indicated above.

Article I of the protocols, signed on April 4, amends the pacts on non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes, to the effect that these pacts, as well as the documents attached to them, will remain in force up to December 31, 1945.

Article II provides for the ratification of the protocols signed on April 4 within the shortest possible period.

### EXTENSION OF POLISH-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION PACT

Following is the text of the protocol extending to the end of 1945 the non-aggression pact between Poland and the U.S.S.R.:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the Polish Republic,

Animated by the desire to guarantee a still more solid base for the development of relations between their countries,

Desiring to give each other new proof of the unchanging and stable character of the peaceful and friendly relations which have happily been established between them, and

Inspired by the desire to assist in the strengthening of universal peace, and also in the stability of peaceful development of intergovernmental relations in eastern Europe, and

Declaring that the treaty concluded July 25, 1932, in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic has had a beneficial effect on the development of their relations and on the solution of the aforesaid problems,

Have therefore decided to sign the present protocol and for this purpose have appointed their accredited representatives, namely:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—Maxim M. Litvinoff, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

The President of the Polish Republic—Julius Lukasevich, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Polish Republic in Moscow, who on the exchange of their full powers found in good and proper order, have agreed upon the following:

#### ARTICLE I

Agreeing to change the period and method of discontinuing the treaty of non-aggression concluded in Moscow July 25, 1932, between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic as set forth in Article VII of said treaty, both contracting parties resolve that this treaty shall remain in force until December 31, 1945.

Each of the high contracting parties has the right to denounce the treaty, provided the other side is advised of this six months before the expiration of the period established above. If the treaty is not denounced by either of the contracting parties, its period will be automatically prolonged for two years, and similarly the treaty will be considered prolonged for each subsequent two-year period so long as neither of the contracting parties gives notice of its desire to denounce it as provided in the present article.

#### ARTICLE II

The present protocol is drawn up in two copies, in Russian and in Polish, both texts to have identical force. The present protocol is to be ratified within the shortest pos-

sible period and ratification documents are to be exchanged between the contracting parties in the city of Warsaw.

The present protocol will enter into effect from the day of the exchange of ratification documents.

In witness whereof the above named representatives have set their hand and seal to the above protocol.

Done in the city of Moscow in two copies in the Russian and Polish languages, May 5, 1934.

M. LITVINOFF,  
J. LUKASEVICH.

#### FINAL PROTOCOL

In connection with the signing on this date of the protocol on the extension of the Treaty of Non-Aggression between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic of July 25, 1932, all of the provisions of the Peace Treaty concluded in Riga March 18, 1921, and constituting the further basis of their mutual relations having been newly examined, each of the high contracting parties declares that it has undertaken no obligations and is bound by no declarations which would contradict the above-mentioned peace treaty and particularly its Article III.

Accordingly the government of the U.S.S.R. asserts that the note of People's Commissar G. V. Chicherin of September 28, 1926, to the Lithuanian government, cannot be interpreted to mean that this note had in view the interference of the Soviet government in the regulation of the territorial questions mentioned therein.

Done in the city of Moscow in two copies in the Russian and Polish languages, May 5, 1934.

M. LITVINOFF,  
J. LUKASEVICH.

#### Izvestia Editorial Comment

Commenting on the Soviet-Polish Protocol the Moscow *Izvestia* of May 6th said in part as follows:

"The circumstance that the Soviet proposal for the extension of the Non-Aggression Pact, so quickly supported by the Baltic States, has now been accepted by Poland will unquestionably be greeted with satisfaction by the Soviet public and all friends of peace.

"The Soviet government knows none of those territorial disputes which are constantly causing political alarm and the threat of war in Europe. Moreover the U.S.S.R. takes advantage of every opportunity to declare solemnly that it has no intention of interfering in territorial questions arising between other states. From this traditional point of view naturally arises the statement included in the final protocol signed yesterday and which fully coincides with the position expressed in the note of Chicherin to the Polish Envoy on November 17, 1923, in which it was set forth that 'disputed territorial questions between Poland and Lithuania on the basis of Article III of the Riga Treaty, must be solved exclusively between Poland and Lithuania, and accordingly the drawing in of any third party to the solution of these disputes is contrary to this treaty.' The same position was set forth in the note of Voikov, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Poland, written September 19, 1926.

"The U.S.S.R. in pursuing its traditional policy of peace and non-interference in the relations between its neighbors, takes advantage of every new opportunity to eliminate anything that might con-

fuse the relations between the U.S.S.R. and its neighbors.

"Of particular interest to the Soviet public is the statement of Poland to the effect that, just as the U.S.S.R., it has 'no obligations and is bound by no statements' which would contradict the statements of the peace treaty concluded in Riga

March 18, 1921. Such a statement cannot but increase the value of the non-aggressions act.

"The protocol signed yesterday marks an important milestone in the history of the strengthening of friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, which will still further improve as a result of this step."

## Soviet Proposal to Germany

**A** PROTOCOL wherein the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the German Republic would undertake to be guided invariably in their foreign policy by an agreement to preserve the independence and integrity of the Baltic states and to refrain from any actions capable of directly or indirectly injuring their independence, was proposed to the German government, through Herr Nadolny, German ambassador in Moscow, by Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar of the Soviet Union, on March 28. The protocol was proposed as a means of consolidating universal peace, particularly the peace in the east of Europe, and also as a means of improving relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and was to have been kept open for the adherence of other countries interested in this problem.

On April 14 Herr Nadolny advised Mr. Litvinoff that the German government had rejected the Soviet proposal, and made the following statement on behalf of his government:

### German Government's Answer

If the Soviet government desires to do something concrete with the aim of restoring relations of confidence between Germany and the Soviet Union, we naturally can only greet this with satisfaction. We have ourselves unequivocally emphasized on every available occasion our own desire to bring this about, and therefore it was difficult for us to understand and at the same time regrettable to us when Mr. Litvinoff in his well-known speech of December 28 last year, and in his important interview with the German ambassador on January 4 of this year, expressed such a negative and openly distrustful attitude. We must regretfully point out that the procedure proposed by Mr. Litvinoff for the realization of his object does not, for a variety of reasons, appear to us to be suitable to this purpose.

The fact is in itself noteworthy that Mr. Litvinoff is proposing to us a project for securing the status of the Baltic states which only recently, as is well known, he sought to bring about in cooperation with the Polish government. The Russo-Polish initiative has repeatedly been construed by public opinion as an action of which the political spearhead was aimed against Germany.

Although we do not possess authentic information concerning the manner in which this action developed in its particulars and as to whether it still continues at present, it seems to us rather extraordinary that the Soviet government now desires to realize this plan in the form of a German-Russian pact. But even ignoring completely the foregoing stages and the question of the position which the Baltic states themselves have adopted or may still adopt in relation to the project, we believe that the proposal is devoid of any real political foundation. If the German and Soviet governments, in order to improve their relations, must take upon themselves a special treaty obligation in relation to the independence and integrity of the Baltic states, this naturally implies that the independence and integrity of these states will be threatened by one of the parties in the absence of such a positive undertaking. The German government does not assume that any such threat may be reckoned as coming from Soviet Russia. It goes without saying that even less can it permit intentions or possibilities of this sort to be imputed in any way to itself. The fundamental lines of German policy in the East have been laid down by the Reichschancellor on numerous occasions, publicly, and with the utmost clarity, and we must categorically reject any attempt to throw suspicion on the sincerity of this policy.

If, then, the Baltic states have nothing to fear either from Russia or from Germany, real justification for the proposed pact would lie only in the possibility of a threat to the independence and integrity of these states on the part of other powers. In the opinion of the German government such an assumption is also completely lacking in foundation. For this reason the German government cannot imagine in what measure the Soviet Union and Germany might be justified in undertaking to act as protectors of the Baltic states.

Thus, inasmuch as in the opinion of the German government, the independence and integrity of the Baltic states are threatened by no such danger, it can see no reason whatever for concluding with the Soviet Union a special treaty for the protection of these states.

If the Soviet government will study this point



of view without bias, it will easily become convinced that the course proposed by it for an improvement of German-Soviet relations is in reality unsuitable. If, as I trust will be the case, it will firmly adhere to its desire to restore relations of confidence, another course must be sought for it and can be found. It seems to us, however, that there is no occasion for the drawing up of a new political treaty since all political questions which might be regulated in a formal treaty appear to have been fully covered by existing treaties, especially the Berlin Treaty. It should not moreover be forgotten that it was precisely the new German government which ratified the extension of the Berlin Treaty and thereby formally declared itself to be an adherent of this treaty and of the political position underlying it. We are able to see the true cause of the regrettable alienation in German-Soviet relations only in the attitude of the Soviet government towards the National-Socialist regime in Germany. For this reason we can only emphasize again that the difference in the internal order of the two states should not affect their international relations. Of this we are firmly convinced.

The successful development of these relations is in the final analysis a question of political desire. In the field of foreign policy there are no real developments that might interfere with this desire. On the contrary, numerous common interests of the two states point in this direction. For this reason, everything depends on relations being built not on artificial foundations but on the natural and constructive foundation of the Berlin Treaty.

This treaty provides for the two governments maintaining friendly contact with one another in order to insure agreement on all political and economic problems affecting both countries. The German government is fully prepared to discuss with the Soviet government, in accordance with this agreement, the question of the restoration of relations of confidence useful to both countries.

On April 21 Mr. Litvinoff, in reply, made the following verbal statement to Herr Nadolny in the name of the Soviet government:

#### **Mr. Litvinoff's Statement**

My government, as well as I myself, received with sincere regret the statement regarding the rejection by the German government of the proposed Baltic protocol. The important thing is the rejection of the proposal itself, the more so since the explanations made by the German government do not in the least weaken the significance of this fact.

I should like to point out to you, Mr. Ambassador, certain incorrect assumptions in your explanation about the aims and the motives of the proposal which I have made, and the erroneous conclusions drawn therefrom. I must therefore re-

mind you that we have merely proposed to sign a protocol to the effect that "the governments of the U.S.S.R. and of Germany undertake to be guided invariably in their foreign policy by an agreement to preserve the independence and integrity of the Baltic states and to refrain from any actions capable of directly or indirectly injuring their independence" and that "the protocol is to be open for the adherence of other countries interested in the given problem".

This proposal of the Soviet government was dictated by its policy of consolidating peace in general, and in particular in those countries bordering on the Soviet Union. Incidentally, the realization of this proposal would have unquestionably resulted in the restoration of relations of confidence between the Soviet Union and Germany. The confidence of the Soviet Union in other countries and cooperation with them is possible only on the basis of a common desire to consolidate peace and strengthen the sense of security among all nations.

The conjecture expressed by the German government to the effect that we made these same proposals first to the Polish and then to the German government is not in accord with the facts. We have never at any time proposed to the Polish government to sign any protocol on the Baltic states, but only proposed a joint declaration with the government of the U.S.S.R. regarding their "determination to protect and defend peace in the East of Europe" and to recognize that "The two states consider as a necessary condition of such peace the integrity and complete economic and political independence of the new political entities that have been formed out of the former Russian empire". The difference between our proposals to Poland and to Germany is perfectly obvious from the respective documents, the texts of which I have quoted.

One can deny at the present time the threat to the security of certain small states only by completely ignoring the realities of the international situation and the public opinion of the whole world. Least of all is it possible to regard as free from such threats those countries which the Soviet proposal involved and which are unquestionably seriously alarmed regarding their fate and their independence. Violation of peace in this section of Europe may and in all probability will prove to be a prelude to the outbreak of a new world war. The Soviet government, which is concerned with the preservation of peace generally, must give special attention, both from this general point of view and from the point of view of the security of the borders of the Soviet Union itself, to the preservation of the peace primarily in this section of Europe. It was with this aim in view that the attitude of the Polish government to this problem was ascertained, a step to which the German government is apparently referring. With the same aim in view the Soviet

government made a similar proposal regarding the signing of a protocol to the German government. As an example to other states the Soviet government recently, on its own initiative, prolonged the existing non-aggression pacts with four Baltic states. All these measures which serve one aim and are part of a single system, complement rather than exclude each other.

Obviously, the spearhead of any measure aimed at the consolidation of peace is directed against those states which intend to violate this peace, but no state should see this spearhead directed against itself if it does not entertain such intentions.

The German government quite truly points out in its statement that no threat to the independence of the Baltic states need be feared from Soviet Russia. The Soviet government has given sufficient evidence of this, including the recent prolongation for more than ten years of the non-aggression pacts with these states. Even more convincing proof of it is its own proposal for the conclusion of a Soviet-German protocol for the non-violation of the independence and integrity of the Baltic states. The Soviet government has no fear at all that the signing of such a protocol might arouse suspicion of the existence of any threat on its part against the independence of the Baltic states, but on the contrary regards the protocol as the best means of eliminating or preventing such suspicions against those countries which might agree to sign the protocol or adhere to it later.

The presumption of the German government that the protocol might be regarded as being aimed against other countries is incorrect and does not in any way follow from the draft protocol. According to the draft protocol, each of its participants is responsible only for its own actions and no joint actions against other countries are therein provided. On the contrary it provides the opportunity of adhering to the protocol to any other country.

Nor does the idea of a protectorate arise out of the text of the protocol, but is artificially associated with it. To guarantee the security of any country does not involve a protectorate. For instance, the guaranteeing by the Locarno agreements of France's eastern borders and Germany's western borders by other countries, has never been interpreted by either France or Germany as a protectorate over them. In this particular case we are not concerned even with such guarantees, but with much less, namely, voluntary undertakings by two states to respect the independence and integrity of other countries. Furthermore, any idea of a protectorate is precluded in this case by the fact that in proposing to leave the protocol open for the adherence of any other countries, the Soviet government has demonstrated that it does not seek an exceptional position for itself, but affords all countries the opportunity to un-

dertake equal obligations with it in regard to the security of the Baltic states.

There can be no doubt that the realization of the Soviet proposal could not be interpreted otherwise than as substantial strengthening of peace in the east of Europe. Nor can it be denied that it would have strengthened the sense of security among the Baltic states themselves which, it goes without saying, would have been duly notified and would unquestionably have regarded it in a most favorable light. At the same time the protocol would not, of course, in the least have violated the interests of its signatories themselves, inasmuch as they have no aggressive designs against the Baltic states. Proceeding from these premises, the Soviet government does not find in the statement of the German government a single convincing reason or argument against the signing of a protocol for the non-violation of the independence and integrity of the Baltic states.

There is no need to dwell on the beneficial effect which such an act would have had on Soviet-German relations. In this case I would like to deny another suggestion by the German government to the effect that the regrettable alienation in Soviet-German relations pointed out by the German government, is due to the attitude of the Soviet government towards the National-Socialist regime in Germany. The Soviet government, during the sixteen years of its existence, has demonstrated its ability to maintain the best of relations with other states regardless of their internal regime. The real causes of this alienation are sufficiently well known to the German government both from the public utterances of the members of the Soviet government and from my conversations with you, Mr. Ambassador, as not to require repetition.

You yourself, Mr. Ambassador, have asked me to point out some means whereby this alienation might be eliminated or mitigated. I have, therefore, attempted to propose to you one such means, which would sound more convincing than any speeches and declarations, not only to the Soviet Union, but to the whole world. It remains for me only to express once more my regret that this means has been rejected by your government and without any convincing reasons.

I welcome the statement of your government about its desire to maintain friendly contact with my government in order to secure agreement on all political and economic questions affecting both countries and its readiness to discuss the question of the restoration of relations of confidence. The discussion of this question between us began with my first conversation with you, Mr. Ambassador. One of the roads leading to the restoration of this confidence has been pointed out by me, but your government, while not desiring to take this course, does not, unfortunately, point out any other. In the new international situation devel-

oping today, only concrete proposals based upon this situation, rather than general abstract declarations, are of any real significance. The Berlin Treaty, important and valuable as it is, does not cover those questions affecting the Soviet Union which have been brought into being by the new international situation and by the policy of the new German government.

I can assure you, Mr. Ambassador, that we shall always be prepared to give favorable consideration to any concrete proposals of the German government which would actually lead to an improvement of relations and the consolidation of mutual confidence between our countries.

#### Comment of Izvestia

Commenting editorially on the Soviet proposal to Germany, the Moscow *Izvestia* of April 28 said in part as follows:

"From the Tass report published yesterday the world has learned two very important facts: the Soviet government proposed to Germany that they jointly guarantee the independence and inviolability of the Baltic countries, and the German government rejected the Soviet proposal. In other words, the Soviet government attempted to establish a new factor strengthening the peace of Eastern Europe, and the German government refused to support the peaceful initiative of the U.S.S.R. Any other interpretation of what has occurred, whatever the legal artifice with which it may be advanced, is contrary to normal human logic and sound thinking.

"In Litvinoff's statement, published yesterday in *Izvestia*, the arguments set forth in the German answer are answered sufficiently clearly. Litvinoff was quite correct in pointing out, in the first sentence of his statement, that the very fact of the rejection of the peaceful initiative of the U.S.S.R. by Fascist Germany is of decisive importance.

"If Berlin listened with a more sensitive ear to everything giving evidence of a threat against peace (and Berlin is not a bad place to observe the development of this danger), the German answer would not have contained the assertion, so contradictory to generally known facts, that the Soviet proposal was lacking in any foundation if considered from the angle of *real politik*. The entire world press has been declaring for many months that the peace of Eastern Europe was in danger and that the future independent existence of the Baltic countries was in question. Finally, the heads of the Baltic states themselves have repeatedly expressed their concern in connection with the dangers threatening the Baltic.

"Under these circumstances the German refusal places a grave responsibility on Germany. German political circles must explain to themselves one very simple thing: the whole world knows and the whole world will remember that the U.S.S.R. proposed a concrete method for im-

proving the atmosphere in Eastern Europe and that Germany rejected that method, adducing arguments therefor quite lacking in foundation and not relating directly to the matter in question."

### LONDON CONVENTIONS DEFINING AGGRESSION

All of the countries which signed the London Conventions for the Definition of Aggression of July 3 and 4, proposed to them by Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, have deposited their ratification documents with the Soviet government, and the conventions are thus in effect among all the signatory nations. The dates of depositing ratification documents are given below:

#### CONVENTION OF JULY 3, 1933

Country	Date of deposit
U.S.S.R. ....	October 16, 1933
Poland .....	October 16, 1933
Rumania .....	October 16, 1933
Afghanistan .....	October 20, 1933
Persia .....	November 16, 1933
Esthonia .....	December 4, 1933
Latvia .....	December 4, 1933
Finland .....	January 31, 1934
Turkey .....	March 23, 1934

#### CONVENTION OF JULY 4, 1933

U.S.S.R. ....	February 17, 1934
Rumania .....	February 17, 1934
Czechoslovakia .....	February 17, 1934
Yugoslavia .....	February 17, 1934
Turkey .....	March 23, 1934

### ANGLO-SOVIET TRADE PACT ENTERS INTO FORCE

On March 21 ratification documents of the trade agreement signed in London February 16, 1934, between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., were exchanged between N. N. Krestinsky, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and Viscount Chilston, Ambassador of Great Britain in the U.S.S.R.

### DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

Alexander Eremeyevich Minkin was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Uruguay by a decree of the Central Executive Committee on February 22.

Adolph Markovich Petrovsky, diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Austria, was appointed to hold at the same time the position of diplomatic representative in Hungary, according to a decree issued by the TSIK on March 16.

On April 4 Yakov K. Davtian was transferred from his post as diplomatic representative of the U.S.S.R. in Greece to replace Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko as Soviet diplomatic representative in Poland.

On April 28 Mikhail V. Kobetsky was appointed diplomatic representative of the U. S. S. R. in Greece.

### CHANGES IN NARKOMINDEL

Following the decree passed by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on March 15 with regard to new organizational measures to be taken in the Soviet and economic structure of the country, the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel) was liquidated by a decree passed by the TSIK on May 11. According to the same decree the appointments of Nikolay N. Krestinsky as first assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and of Boris S. Stomoniakov as second assistant commissar, were confirmed.

L. M. Karakhan and G. Y. Sokolnikov were relieved of their duties as assistant commissars in the Foreign Commissariat.

## Book Notes

"DURANTY REPORTS RUSSIA," by Walter Duranty: selected by Gustavus Tuckerman, Jr., New York University, with a note on the author by Alexander Woolcott. The Viking Press, New York, 1934. \$2.75.

This is a collection of articles by the distinguished Moscow correspondent of the New York Times and Pulitzer prize-winner, ranging from 1921, when Mr. Duranty took up his work in the Soviet Union for the Times, to the present day. The articles give interesting and intimate glimpses and interpretations of high spots in the news during the period covered and some illuminating views of Soviet history and progress in the making. Of his own pieces Mr. Duranty says in his modest preface: "Not all of them were wise and not all of them were accurate, because it is hard for a foreign reporter to paint a true picture of the life of any country, and harder still when conditions are as strange and unfamiliar as here. The most one can do is to write the story from day to day as one sees it, without fear or prejudice. In this I am particularly fortunate to have been given from the outset by the New York Times complete freedom in my handling of 'news'."

"RED MEDICINE: SOCIALIZED HEALTH IN SOVIET RUSSIA," by Sir Arthur Newsholme, K. C. B., M. D., and John Adams Kingsbury. Doubleday, Doran, Garden City, New York, 1933. \$2.50.

This story of public health in the Soviet Union was made possible by the Milbank Memorial Fund, of which Mr. Kingsbury is secretary. Both authors have had extensive experience in social investigations. Their investigations in preparation for

the book included a trip of some 10,000 miles through the European portion of the Soviet Union, with visits to hospitals, clinics, sanatoria, schools, factories and recreation centers and conferences with medical authorities. Their volume includes descriptions of living, recreative and working conditions, a comprehensive account of both the theory and practice of public health work, and chapters on such matters as care of children, maternity provisions, social insurance, medical training, tuberculosis and venereal diseases. There are both adequate statistical material and numerous interesting photographic illustrations. The book covers a field not hitherto exploited in volumes about the Soviet Union, it has authoritative technical value and the simple style makes it easy reading for the layman.

"FROM BROADWAY TO MOSCOW," by Marjorie E. Smith. The Macaulay Company, New York. \$2.

Miss Smith's book is a flippant, smart-cracking affair, which in spite of its pose of superficiality manages to hold one's interest and gets into its pages bits of the Russian scene, or at least some of the reactions to that scene on the part of the author. Miss Smith went to the Soviet Union with her husband, Ryan Walker, the cartoonist. She lived there for some months, until after her husband's death from pneumonia. The volume is her chronicle of day-to-day adventures in a strange land.

"MY RUSSIAN NEIGHBORS," by Alexander Wicksteed. Whittlesy House, New York, 1934. \$1.75.

Out of the flood of books which have appeared on the Soviet Union there has appeared recently one which answers understandingly and delightfully many of the questions continually asked about that country by the curious and the uninformed. Alexander Wicksteed, an Englishman, entered the U.S.S.R. in the early nineteen twenties during the famine period, to carry on relief work. For the past ten years he has lived in Moscow, teaching English. Like another countryman of his, Walter Duranty, Mr. Wicksteed has lived through all the changes which those years brought, and like Mr. Duranty, has kept his eyes and ears open. His readers are fortunate in that his ears are delicately attuned, his eyes farseeing and his laugh infectious. In the midst of chapters on the five-year plans, collective farming, standards of living, children, industry, national minorities, and drinking, it is apparent that, as Mr. Wicksteed says of himself, there has been nothing "extra-territorial about the life I lead." For just this reason he has been able to convey the reality which ten years' residence and contact with the man in the street have impressed upon him.

# Miscellaneous News

## SOVIET OUTPUT RISES

Early reports of production of Soviet heavy industry for the first quarter indicate a substantial month-by-month rise and a heavy gain for the period as compared with last year.

In the iron and steel industry the average daily output for the quarter showed an increase of 40 to 45 per cent over last year.

The figures for 1934 (average daily and output in metric tons) :

	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Steel
January .....	21,200	22,100	15,600
February .....	22,700	23,500	16,600
March .....	23,700	24,600	18,000

Production of tractors for the quarter was 20,795, as compared with 13,786 in the same period of 1933, a gain of nearly 51 per cent.

In the agricultural field spring sowings showed excellent progress over last year. By May 1 the sowings amounted to 36,229,000 hectares, as compared with 25,320,000 hectares on May 1, 1933. On that date this year 39 per cent of the year's program had been completed, as compared with 26.6 per cent in 1933.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ANTI-RHEUMATIC CONGRESS IN MOSCOW

The Fourth International Anti-Rheumatic Congress was held in Moscow from May 3 to 7. The congress was attended by 873 persons, including 100 delegates representing nineteen foreign countries. The last meeting of the congress was held on May 7 in the Palace of Culture, Proletarsky District. In the morning of that day the foreign delegates were given an opportunity to visit the scientific and medical institutions in Moscow and to participate in a special excursion to the Stalin automobile factory to inspect the organization of health work.

Important reports were made on the latest achievements in the treatment and prevention of rheumatism by Soviet and foreign authorities. The Soviet doctors were brought in touch with some of the newest methods applied in other countries, and the foreign doctors expressed great interest in the work that was being done in the Soviet Union. They were particularly impressed by the growth of the organizations fighting rheumatism in the U.S.S.R. There are forty committees carrying on the fight against rheumatism, and 167 sanitariums, hospitals, clinics and so on carrying on preventive and therapeutic work in this field.

## NEW SOVIET TECHNICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

A Soviet technical encyclopedia comprising thirty-five volumes has recently been completed. Prof. L. A. K. Martens was the chief editor of the encyclopedia. The list of contributors contains 1,720 names, including a number of foreign specialists, among them some Americans. The number of subscribers has already reached 70,000 and the demand is still continuing.

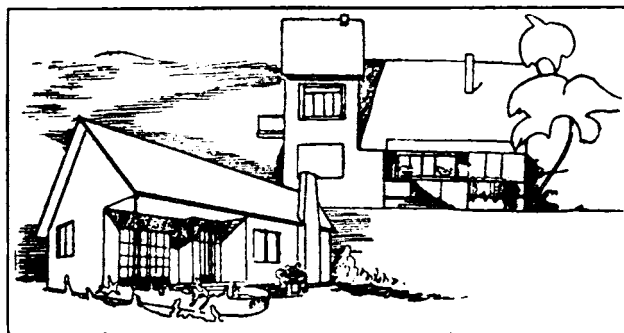
Among the Soviet scientists and scholars who have contributed to the encyclopedia are: Academicians J. N. Gubkin, A. N. Bach, G. N. Krzhizhanovsky, S. I. Vavilov, A. F. Joffe, M. A. Pavlov, S. A. Chaplygin, Prof. A. N. Dolgov, Prof. V. V. Linde and many others holding chairs in the highest institutions of learning or conducting research in scientific laboratories and special institutes.

## "WRITERS' TOWN"

On the shore of the river Setun, in a beautiful pine grove near the station of Peredelkino on the Briansk railroad, twenty kilometers from Moscow, there is growing up this year a new cottage settlement for writers.

The settlement will be built of section-made houses put out by the Bobrinski combinat. Each of the 2, 3, 4 and 5 room houses will be set up on a green plot of about two and a half acres. The cottages will be built for winter as well as summer residence, with central heating, bathroom, kitchen and modern conveniences. Forty of the cottages are being put up this year, and sixty more will be constructed in the beginning of 1935.

About 750 acres have been set aside for "Writers' Town" and it is planned to build a central club, dining-room, day nursery and other community enterprises. It is estimated that the total cost of the project, which is being run by the writers' building cooperative, will be over 2,000,000 rubles. The accompanying illustration shows examples of the three and four room cottages that are being built.



## INSTITUTE OF EXPERIMENTAL MEDICINE

In view of the fact that all the chief medical and biological institutions of the Soviet Union are concentrated in Moscow, and of the necessity of establishing the closest possible connection between the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine and the People's Commissariat for Health of the R.S.F.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars has passed a resolution that the aforesaid institute be transferred from Leningrad to Moscow.

## A FRENCH JOURNAL IN MOSCOW

*Le Journal de Moscou*, a weekly newspaper in French, made its first appearance in Moscow on April 25. The first issue contained articles by Karl Radek, Mikhail Koltzov and other well-known Soviet publicists as well as messages of welcome to the first publication in French in the U.S.S.R., among them one from Edouard Herriot.

## COMMISSION OF SOVIET CONTROL

Following the resolution passed by the Seventeenth Party Congress providing for the organization of a Commission of Soviet Control, a decree was issued on February 11 by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of People's Commissars, carrying the resolution into effect. The decree reads as follows:

With the aim of increasing the control over the fulfillment of the decisions of the government and strengthening Soviet discipline, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. decree:

1. To reorganize the Commission of Fulfillment under the Council of People's Commissars into the Commission of Soviet Control under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., having its apparatus in the center and permanent representatives in the Union and Autonomous Republics, regions and oblasts, appointed and recalled by the Commission of Soviet Control.

2. To liquidate the people's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the Union Republics and the local organs of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, as having outlived their usefulness, and to transfer the apparatus of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to the Commission of Soviet Control under the Council of People's Commissars.

3. To instruct the Chairman of the Commission of Soviet Control under the Council of People's Commissars to work out and present for confirmation within ten days to the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., a draft of statutes for the Commission of Soviet Control.

The election of V. V. Kuibyshev, Assistant Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. as Chairman of the Commission

of Soviet Control and N. K. Antipov as Assistant Chairman, by the members of the Control Commission at their first meeting, was approved by the TSIK and Sovnarkom, as was also the list of members of the Commission of Soviet Control nominated by the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party. The election by the Commission of the following eleven members to constitute the Bureau of the Commission was also approved:

V. V. Kuibyshev (Chairman), N. K. Antipov (Vice-Chairman), B. A. Roizenman, G. I. Lomov, A. M. Tsikhon, I. M. Moskvina, M. I. Ulianova, Z. M. Belenky, R. S. Zemliachka, M. A. Deich, A. I. Gaister.

## REORGANIZATION OF COMMISSARIATS FOR AGRICULTURE AND STATE FARMS

Important organizational changes are provided for the Commissariat for Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. according to a decree issued on April 4 by the Central Executive Committee. The structure of the commissariat, which has been too cumbersome in the past is to be simplified, and numerous top-heavy bureaus are to be abolished. The following centralized departments are to replace the former more numerous ones: for grain and oil crops, sugar beets, cotton, flax and hemp, livestock, horse breeding, veterinary matters, subtropical crops, forestry, tobacco, silk production, agricultural universities and technicums and political sections.

A similar reorganization of the Commissariat for State Farms was provided in a decree issued on April 22. In this commissariat too a number of the departments are to be liquidated, and the central apparatus will consist of the following divisions: state grain farms, state dairy and meat farms, state pig-breeding farms, state sheep-breeding farms, educational establishments and political sections.

## ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Maksum Nusratulli was relieved of his duties as one of the six chairmen of the TSIK (Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.) and as a member of the Presidium of the TSIK, by a decree issued by the TSIK on January 4, in accordance with the request of the Central Executive Committee of the Tadzhik Republic.

On the same day A. Rakhimbayev was appointed to be a chairman and member of the Presidium of the TSIK in Nusratulli's place.

Grigory Naumovich Kaminsky was appointed People's Commissar for Health of the R.S.F.S.R. by government decree on February 15, to replace Mikhail Fedorovich Vladimirov, transferred to other work. Kaminsky is a member of the Central Executive Committees of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R., and a candidate member of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party, and, until his new appointment, was chairman of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee. Valentin Alexandrovich Kangelari was appointed Assistant Health Commissar of the R.S.F.S.R.

At a plenary session of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee held on February 17, Nikolay Alexeyevich Filatov was elected Chairman of the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee, to replace G. N. Kaminsky, appointed People's Health Commissar of the R.S.F.S.R. Filatov is a candidate for membership in the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a member of the Central Executive Committees of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R.

Nikolay Bukharin was appointed chief editor of the Moscow *Izvestia* by a decree issued on February 21, in place of Ivan Gronsky, who was released of the editorship of *Izvestia* to become chief editor of the monthly literary magazine "Novy Mir."

On March 13 Nikolay Ivanovich Pakhomov was appointed People's Commissar for Water Transport in place of Nikolay Mikhailovich Yanson who was relieved of the post at his own request and who will serve as assistant commissar in charge of ocean transport. Pakhomov is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and from 1928 until recently he has been President of the Gorky (formerly Nizhni Novgorod) Regional Executive Committee.

On April 10 Mikhail A. Chernov was appointed People's Commissar for Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. in place of Yakov A. Yakovlev who was relieved of the duties of that position in order to become head of the agricultural section of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

On the same date the appointments of Alexander I. Muralov as first assistant agricultural commissar and of Feodor A. Tsilko as second assistant were confirmed.

On April 25 the following administrative changes were made by decree of the TSIK:

Vlas Y. Chubar was appointed vice-chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and of the Council of Labor and Defense.

Valerian V. Kuibyshev was relieved of his duties as chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R., in view of his appointment as chairman of the Commission of Soviet Control under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Valery I. Mezhlauk was appointed assistant chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Council of Labor and Defense, and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.

The appointments of Emanuel I. Kviring as first vice-chairman of Gosplan and of G. I. Smirnov as second vice-chairman were approved.

## VIACHESLAV MENZHINSKY

Viacheslav Menzhinsky, chairman of the OGPU (United State Political Administration) and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., died in Moscow on May 10 after a prolonged illness. Menzhinsky, the son of a teacher, was born in 1874. He studied law and began to take an active part in the revolutionary movement in 1895, joining the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1902. From 1907 to 1917 he lived abroad. Returning to Russia after the February revolution, he took an active part in the establishment of the Soviet government, held leading positions in military organizations, and edited the newspaper "The Soldier". After the October revolution he became the first People's Commissar for Finance, and subsequently became Consul General in Germany for a time. During the civil war period he worked closely with Felix Dzerzhinsky in the Cheka, later the OGPU. After Dzerzhinsky's death in 1926, Menzhinsky succeeded him as head of the OGPU, a post he held until the time of his death, although he had not been able to do active work for some time.

After a state funeral on May 13, the urn containing Menzhinsky's ashes was sealed in the Kremlin wall.

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(Continued from page 128)

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(Continued on page 127)



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# SOVIET UNION



# REVIEW

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VOL. XII

JULY, 1934

NO. 7

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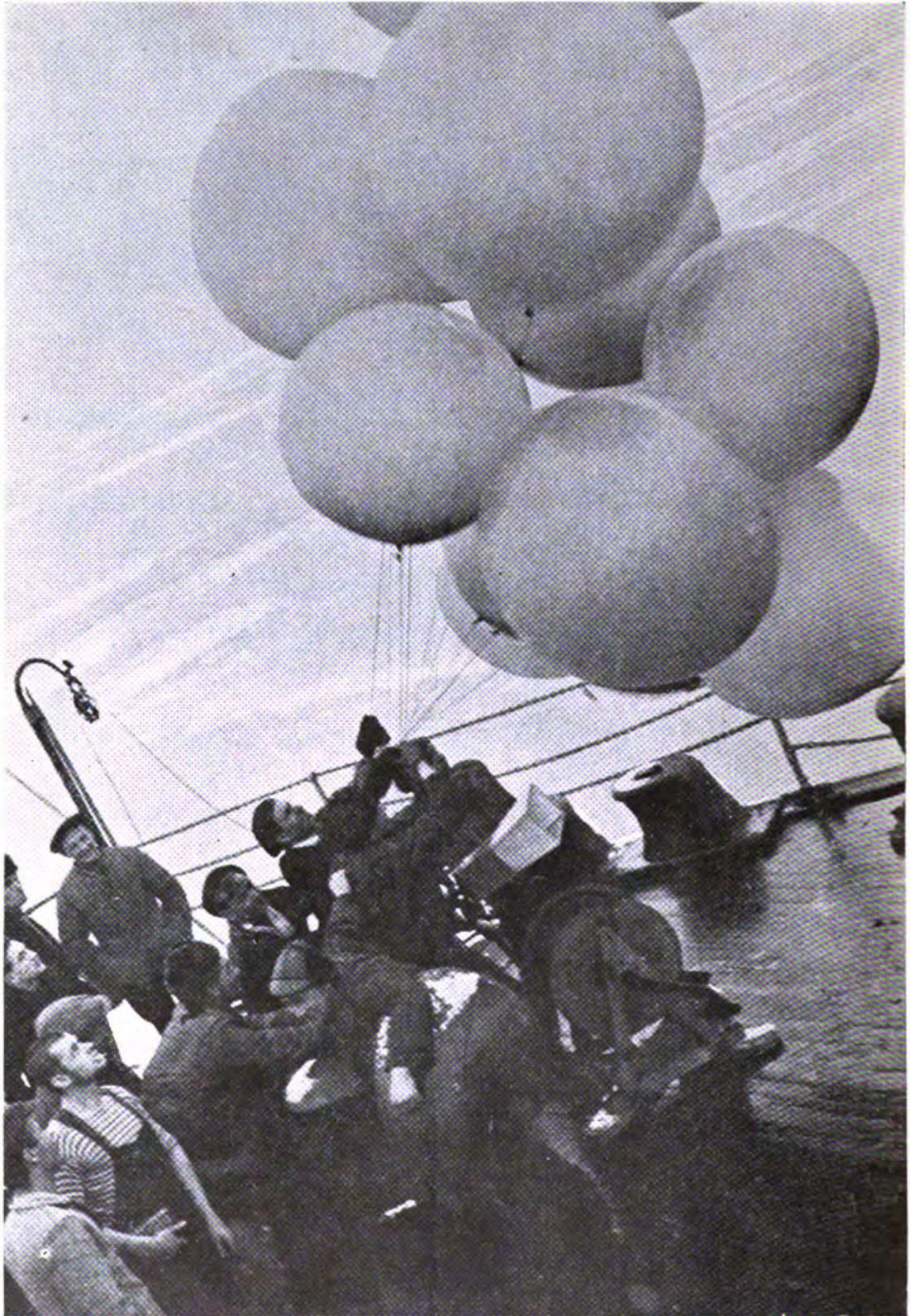
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# SOVIET UNION REVIEW

VOL. XII

JULY, 1934

NO. 7

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Educational Progress and Plans .....	131	An Arctic Robinson Crusoe.....	150
Academy of Sciences in Moscow.....	137	Litvinoff's Plan for Prevention of War.....	154
Housing and Municipal Growth .....	139	"Izvestia" on Litvinoff's Speech.....	158
Kiev Again Capital of Ukraine.....	141	Litvinoff Answers Critics of Plan.....	159
The Soviet Rubber Industry.....	142	Text of Soviet Draft Resolution.....	161
Economic Progress—Six Months .....	144	Litvinoff on the French Resolution.....	161
Volga-Moscow Canal.....	144	Soviet-Japanese Exchanges.....	161
Soviet Women .....	146	Relations with Rumania and Czechoslovakia.....	163
Cheluskinites Welcomed Home.....	148	Franco-Soviet Scientific Rapprochement.....	164
		Changes in Soviet Foreign Service.....	164

## Educational Progress and Plans

A NUMBER of important decisions have recently been made concerning Soviet schools which are designed to consolidate the educational advances made in the past few years.

The decisions, which will have far-reaching effects in the development of education in the Soviet Union, call for more attention to exact knowledge of history and geography, insist on higher standards of teaching and provide for the introduction of a greater degree of order and discipline throughout the whole school program. By correcting the too general application of certain pedagogical ideas and by insisting that the advance in pedagogical methods should not take place at the expense of factual knowledge, a new degree of consolidation is given to the tremendous progress made in education since the revolution.

From the very beginning the whole aim of the Soviet school has been to close the ancient gap between the school and the outside world, between the dry scholasticism of the class room and the real life outside its walls. To this end there was a complete break with stuffy traditions and formal teaching that prevailed in the old Russian schools where the main purpose would seem to have been the stifling rather than the stimulating of ideas.

The whole world was combed for the most modern, progressive educational ideas that could be found. Methods that were being tried out in

isolated experimental schools by progressive educators in the United States and other parts of the world received the opportunity to be tried in all their implications throughout the whole Soviet school system. John Dewey's books were translated and published widely. The Dalton plan, the project method (known in the Soviet Union as the complex method) were widely studied and applied. No one hard and fast method was adopted, because the Soviet educational leaders wisely realized that following such a complete change, the school methods must remain largely experimental at first until a more stable program could be developed on the basis of experience, and teachers trained to carry it out, since errors would inevitably be committed.

### Project Method Widely Used

The essential change was that instead of regular lessons and formal assignments the children as a rule were given group projects to perform. Beginning with the local problems of their own homes and communities, with the things close and comprehensible to them, the range of subjects included in their instruction widened out in concentric circles until it took in other parts of their own country, other countries, the whole world and its inter-relations. The project might be the study of the district where they lived or of a group



*Learning to operate machinery in the Lepeshinsky School*

*Sovfoto*

of Esquimaux. In this study, arithmetic, writing, nature study, geography, history were all interwoven, the children carrying out certain tasks within a given period, the teacher guiding them to discovering facts for themselves rather than dogmatically instructing them. Frequently the project involved a practical job in their own community—the growing of a vegetable garden to help the poorer peasants, a clean-up campaign. The children learned to use their hands in a practical way, to use tools. Artistic expression was encouraged and painting, modelling, dramatics played a large part in the school life. The wall-newspaper, written and illustrated by the children themselves, became an important phase of extra-curricular work.

It required, however, several years of trial to establish the exact limits of the application of the project method. While it has proved to be unquestionably one of the most fertile pedagogical ideas, which will inevitably remain as one of the elements in education, it proved also to require a background of systematic training. This necessary background was for a time overshadowed by the method itself with the result that the factual knowledge of the children often remained far behind their general intelligence and alertness.

An eager, active, radiant group of young people was growing up. Excited about the building of socialism, capable with hand and tool, frequently gifted artistically, politically and technically highly literate so that they astounded foreign visitors with questions about mass production, unemployment, the position of the Mexican peons, airplane motors, the revolutionary situation in Spain, but sometimes dismayed their own visiting

educational inspectors by complete ignorance of the capital cities or the chief rivers of the leading countries of the world and by their bad spelling.

To some extent the intense preoccupation of children with politics contributed to this situation. It was unavoidable in the years of the first five-year plan, when the intensity of the enthusiastic effort of the whole country to break through into a new economic system could not but influence the intellectual and emotional life of the children. Now the whole emphasis has changed, the emphasis is on the mastering of its technique, engineering technique, as well as the technique of administration. The schools have the vital task of giving to the millions of younger people the knowledge and training that

the socialist society requires from all its members.

#### **Polytechnical Basis of Soviet Education**

In the Communist program, all education was to have a polytechnical basis. By this it was meant that the school program was to impart a knowledge of the general scientific principles underlying all productive processes, at the same time giving the children practical experience in using the fundamental tools of a mechanized industry and agriculture, always avoiding the teaching of processes beyond the child's strength or specialization at an early age. Thus the attempt to lessen the gap between mental and physical labor begins by bringing education and work ever more closely together as part of a single process. This polytechnical basis was to be introduced first through excursions of the younger children to nearby factories, farms, power stations, or whatever productive enterprise the community offered, to give the child a preliminary picture of the basic processes that made the wheels of the community turn. Then gradually, participation in these processes was to be woven into the school curriculum through the introduction of related workshops and enterprises in the school, as well as by opening up certain sections of the plant itself to the children so that they might learn to perform some of the simpler processes of operation wherever this was practicable. Work was started along these lines, but it was inevitable at first in many cases that somewhat artificial measures had to be taken to link up education with the outside world rather than using the actual productive enterprises.

In carrying out the group projects, the children formed brigades to do certain tasks, challenged

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each other to socialist competition. Through the "laboratory brigade" system, as it came to be called, valuable experience in collective methods of work and study was gained. However, sometimes the more shy and backward members of the group made little progress.

So vigilantly do the Soviet leaders watch for every sign of over-development in one direction at the expense of another that they are prepared to change the emphasis at the first signal of danger, even, if necessary, to reverse a policy if a situation demands it. They have been particularly watchful of the schools since the problem there undertaken was so vast, the materials at first so meagre. Accordingly, during the past few years there have been a series of decrees affecting education designed to eliminate the defects that have been observed in the application of the new methods.

#### Universal Primary Education Introduced

In August, 1930, came the decree calling for the introduction within two years of universal compulsory education in the primary schools throughout the country, and according to the same decree all the schools were organized into a "unified system of polytechnical education." That summer the first all-Russian congress on polytechnical education was held in Moscow. Educators from all over the country came together to compare notes on the methods they had used in linking up the general education programs directly with productive labor. The report of that congress is an important document in the history of education. During the year that followed the foundation was laid for the reconstruction of all schools along genuinely polytechnical lines by attaching them to industrial or agricultural or social enterprises where the children not merely observed but took part in some phase of the work. In September, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued another decree contain-

ing detailed instructions for improving the schools, emphasizing the necessity for children to receive a more thorough grounding in such subjects as physics, chemistry, mathematics, language, geography and so on.

#### Defects in New Methods Corrected

In August, 1932, after a careful checking of the whole school system, an extremely important decree was issued which, while a logical development of the previous one, was far more detailed and drastic in its recommendations. This decree again pointed out that the schools did not yet provide sufficient general knowledge and had not yet proved themselves capable of preparing for the higher schools entirely literate students well equipped with the fundamentals of the basic subjects listed in the previous decree. This decree minced no words in pointing out the defects in the schools. Thorough grounding in the basic sciences was demanded and the necessity for imparting some knowledge of the classical schools of thought in addition to modern theories, was stressed. While actual problems of contemporary life were to remain the center of the school program, far greater attention to historical development than had been the case in the past was



A group of Moscow school children

Sovfoto

insisted on, and especially the strengthening of the historical elements in the social sciences, literature and geography. On the basis of experience already gained in applying the technical methods, more explicit instructions were to be developed regarding these methods and a detailed program of the minimum knowledge of various industrial and agricultural processes was to be worked out. The need for better organization and discipline was gone into thoroughly.

Pointing out the abuses of the laboratory brigade method, the decree stated categorically that henceforth the basic form of school work in the primary and intermediate schools was to be *regular classes with definite lessons according to a strictly determined schedule of work*. The laboratory brigade method was not abolished, but retained as one of various methods to be used at the discretion of the teacher. Independent work of the pupils was to be encouraged, but rather in the various circles developing in connection with all the schools than in the class room. Grading and examinations were to be re-introduced in order that greater attention could be given to the needs of the individual pupil. Training of the teachers was to be still further improved.

Through this decree, calling for the introduction of specific subjects, the attempt at wholesale, indiscriminate application of the project method was abandoned. Certainly its best features were retained. The children still undertook projects—plenty of them—and in so doing the effort was made to weave in the other subjects that were being taught. But the project method ceased to be the basic method of teaching.

This decree, applying to the lower and middle schools, was followed in September by a decree of the Central Executive Committee outlining similar improvements in curricula and methods for the higher educational institutions.

The provisions of these carefully considered decrees were put into effect. The school system became more closely integrated with the productive

life of the country and on a more orderly basis. Less driven by the need for speed in getting the new plants under way, the workers themselves became more interested in the schools. Factories and other establishments became real patrons of the schools that were attached to them. The workers began to supervise the organization of workshops in the schools, became instructors in these workshops, provided material, gathered funds for equipment. The children in turn grew interested in the problems of the enterprise and the life of the workers, were of real service in fulfilling certain tasks that were actually a part of the production program, carefully assigned on the basis of their strength and capacity.

### Training of Teachers Improved

The training of sufficient new teachers to meet the growing demand has presented a serious problem. So great was the shortage of teachers due to the limited educational facilities before the revolution that new ones had, at first, to be trained somewhat too hastily. Provision had to be made for the retraining of the older teachers as well. But here, too, there has been great improvement in the past few years. While there are still not enough competent teachers, enough have been trained so that much higher qualifications can now be expected of them. Accordingly, in January, 1934, the Commissariat for Education of the R. S. F. S. R. passed a decree setting forth the exact training henceforth to be required for teachers of different grades and setting the standards higher than they had previously been able to. Additional training is to be provided for teachers already at work so that within the next four or five years those who have not had normal school or college education are to be given a chance to complete their pedagogical training without dropping their work, through special classes, summer school, correspondence courses and a special system of traveling libraries.

### Further Consolidation of Educational Gains

Further checking up of the preparation of school children this spring revealed that while much progress had been made in the teaching of the sciences, history and geography were still weak. In May the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued three new decrees which are a logical step in the work of consolidation undertaken during the last few years.

The first of these provides three types of schools which are to be universal throughout the Soviet Union: the primary schools, from the first through the fourth grade; the incomplete middle schools, with classes from the first through the seventh grades and the complete middle schools with classes from the first through the tenth. The designation "group" which has been in use, is to be changed to "class."



*Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education, and a group of Young Pioneers*



*Sovfoto*

*Children's Festival at the Park of Culture and Rest on the closing day of the school year*

In the past few years the emphasis has been largely on the primary and the incomplete middle schools, as part of the campaign to introduce universal compulsory education. Now that the base of the educational system has been made solid, more attention is being directed to the next step up. The State Planning Commission has been instructed under this latest decree to submit to the Council of People's Commissars a plan for accelerating the development of the complete middle schools. Students finishing the incomplete middle schools are to have preferential rights in entering the technicums (trade and professional high schools) and those finishing the secondary schools preferential rights in entering the colleges. Only those teachers who have successfully graduated from pedagogical technicums (normal schools) and have had three years record of teaching may be appointed as principals of the primary schools, and only those who have successfully graduated from pedagogical colleges and have a three years teaching record may be appointed principals of the incomplete and full middle schools. Finally, the decision prohibits persons with special teaching education from being appointed to work other than their specialty.

#### **More Exact Knowledge of History and Geography**

The second decree deals with the teaching of history. It points out the unsatisfactory state of the teaching of history in the schools, stating that both text-books and teaching have been ab-

stract and dry. Instead of learning history in a vivid and absorbing manner, with important events and dates presented in chronological sequence and important historical persons adequately characterized, too often the children have simply been deluged with abstract definitions and incomprehensible generalizations. The decree declares that historical events should be presented concretely and chronologically and enlivened by descriptions of the personalities involved. Only so can the children learn to interpret history correctly for themselves, says the decree, and reach a Marxist understanding of historical events. The decree therefore provides that during the coming year the foremost Soviet historians shall be commissioned to prepare adequate text books. The historical subdivisions and the leaders of the groups responsible for preparing the textbooks in these fields, are as follows: Ancient History, Professor S. I. Kovalev; History of the Middle Ages, Professor E. A. Kozminsky; Modern History, Academician N. M. Lukin; History of the U. S. S. R., Professor N. N. Vanag; Modern History of Dependent and Colonial Countries, Karl B. Radek.

Finally, with the object of training qualified specialists in history, the historical faculties are to be restored in the Moscow and Leningrad Universities, beginning with September, 1934, each to contain 150 students and the courses to last five years.

The second decree deals with the teaching of

geography and points out that geography, too, has been taught in too abstract and dull a way, that there has been insufficient physical geographical material, and that both teaching and text books have been overloaded with statistical and economical material to such an extent that the students often leave school lacking the most elementary geographical knowledge. The decree therefore calls for a thorough revision of the program for the teaching of geography. The excessive amount of economic and statistical material with which the program has been burdened is to be unloaded, in favor of more exact geographical knowledge. In the higher classes a careful study of economic geography of the different sections of the U. S. S. R. and the rest of the world will be taught.

The services of the foremost Soviet geographers have been enlisted to prepare the text-books for the various classes on the basis of the above program, to be ready by June, 1935. The People's Commissariat for Education of the R. S. F. S. R. and the United State Publishing House are instructed to issue a special reference book on geography for teachers, a manual on methods of teaching it, a bibliography and a geographical magazine for the use of teachers. The Educational Commissariats of the Union Republics are instructed to publish a short series of books for supplementary reading for the geography classes—biographies of great travelers, tales of important expeditions and of various countries and peoples. Finally, the State Publishing House is instructed to publish new and more adequate maps, atlases, globes, posters and graphic materials of all kinds for use in teaching geography.

#### Artistic Training of Soviet Children

This emphasis on the polytechnical aspects of education might give the impression that artistic training is lacking. Such is by no means the case. Artistic expression of every kind is encouraged and fostered both inside and out of the school walls. In the day nurseries and kindergartens music and singing are part of the daily routine and in the schools music, singing, painting, modelling, dramatics are all woven closely into the school life whether through extra-curricular activities or as part of the actual school program. Every school has its "circles" for children interested in any field of art as well as those technically gifted. The children are closely watched in their performance and those who show special gifts or desires in some artistic direction are given a chance to have special training along that line, at first along with their regular school work, in order in no way to set them apart from the other children, and later, if the interest continues, in a Conservatory or Art School. Special opportunities are provided for the most gifted of the children, who are always carefully watched so that their development may be altogether normal.



Sovfoto

A seventh grade pupil acquiring practical knowledge of tool making

Public performances by young artists are strictly controlled, and every precaution taken against exploitation of youthful talent. The Conservatories of Music in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities have special classes for school children, as have the art schools. There are also special schools where children may study music or art along with their regular school work. In recent years there have grown up a number of "Houses of Technique" for children, where young people interested in inventions and mechanical devices have a chance to work out their ideas. Similarly there are now "Houses of Artistic Education" for children where children may follow their special bent under the supervision of artists, musicians and actors. These houses, in turn, encourage artistic work within the schools, help in the presentation of exhibits, concerts, plays. So effective have these centers become that it is now proposed to organize one in every district.

Marshak, the popular writer of children's books, in a recent article in *Pravda*, pointing out how much was being done for gifted young inventors, musicians and artists, urged that similar outside aid and encouragement be given to young writers and poets. This spring Gorky asked children and young people from all parts of the country to set down their ideas as to what kind of books



the new Children's Publishing House should issue. The replies revealed an amazing number of young people capable of writing down their ideas in a stimulating and delightful manner. Many talented young poets and writers took part in the recent competition of gifted young people in Leningrad. Marshak suggests that special measures should be taken to help these children too, without setting them apart from other children or organizing special schools for them. To this end the writers' commission in charge of the Leningrad competition is already undertaking the organization in Leningrad of a special children's literary club through which young writers would receive direction from older writers as to their reading and help in their writing. The commission proposes the organization of similar clubs in Moscow and other centers.

There are countless other agencies outside of the schools through which the artistic tastes and creative impulses of the children are stimulated—children's theaters, children's motion picture houses, concerts, radio programs, exhibits. Especially striking is the part played by children in the mass pageants staged on the great national holidays, a form of collective expression that has developed into a new national art in the Soviet Union. Conspicuous in them always are the masses of strong, healthy, gay children marching, singing, presenting plays, doing gymnastic exercises—for physical education, too, is being more and more developed.



*Sovfoto*

A promising young musician of the Moscow Conservatory class for school children

Ninety per cent of the population are now literate, as against 33 per cent under the old regime. There are 25,600,000 children in the primary and middle schools, as against 7,800,000 in 1914-15. In the first four classes attendance is practically 100 per cent, and in the larger industrial and agricultural centers, universal compulsory education is in force in the seven-year schools as well. More slowly now, but steadily, universal compulsory education will take in ever higher age groups of the population. By the end of the second five-year plan it will be extended to seven-year schools and on into the ten-year schools. The next step will be college education for everyone. Hundreds of new technicums are training skilled workers and specialists for every branch of the national economy. Higher educational institutions, too, are increasing and improving, with over half a million students within their doors — four times as many as under the old regime. Expenditures on education per capita reached 38 rubles 64 kopecks in 1932, thirty times as much as in 1913. And outside of the formal school system there are countless agencies through which the general cultural level is being raised. Radio, theaters, exhibits, excursions, publishing, and courses of every imaginable nature where those who feel their education still incomplete can carry it further. It has been estimated that every other person in the Soviet Union is engaged in one form or another of study. The task of the second five-year plan is to raise still further the cultural level of the whole population, both through the regular school system and through the opening up of wider opportunities in every field.

## Academy of Sciences in Moscow

ON June 26 the presidium of the All-Union Academy of Sciences held a meeting in Moscow, in the House of Scientists, to discuss the problems attendant upon the moving of the Academy from Leningrad to Moscow which is to take place this summer.

Among those who came to Moscow from Leningrad for the session were Academician A. P. Karpinsky, President of the Academy, Academician V. L. Komarov, Vice President; Academician V. P. Volgin, Permanent Secretary, and members of the construction committee in charge of the arrangements for the new buildings in Moscow. Prominent Moscow Academicians also took part.

The members of the commission inspected thoroughly the buildings of Moscow scientific institutions which had been offered to the Academy to house certain of its sections temporarily, and the site where the new buildings would be constructed.

In his report on the plans for moving, Acade-

mician Volgin stated that the Moscow premises of the Academy will center in the southwestern part of the city, along the southern and western boundaries of the Central Park of Culture and Rest. The presidium of the All-Union Academy of Sciences will occupy the former palace in Neskuchny Sad, situated in the Park. The Chemical Association of the Academy will be housed in Bolshaya Kaluzhskaya Ulitza 73, adjacent to the palace. The Physico-Mathematics and Biological Institutes will probably occupy the present premises of the Textile Institute on the same street. In all ten buildings will be placed at the disposal of the Academy, according to Volgin's report, and the space allotted will provide adequate space for the erection of six new buildings. Two buildings are to be constructed near the entrance to Neskuchny Sad, two along Kaluzhskaya Ulitza and two near the palace. In the construction of these new buildings not a single tree is to be uprooted, and the natural beauty of Neskuchny Sad will be preserved, providing attractive and quiet surroundings for scientific activities. The Botanical Gardens of the Academy will be combined with the Moscow Botanical Gardens and located on former city dumping grounds near the main buildings of the Academy.

In an interview with the press on the importance of transferring the Academy, Academician Karpinsky said:

"If my memory does not fail me this is the first time in history when such a complex scientific organization as the Academy of Sciences, with all its extensive material trappings, with all its set-up of scientific institutions has been moved from one city to another.

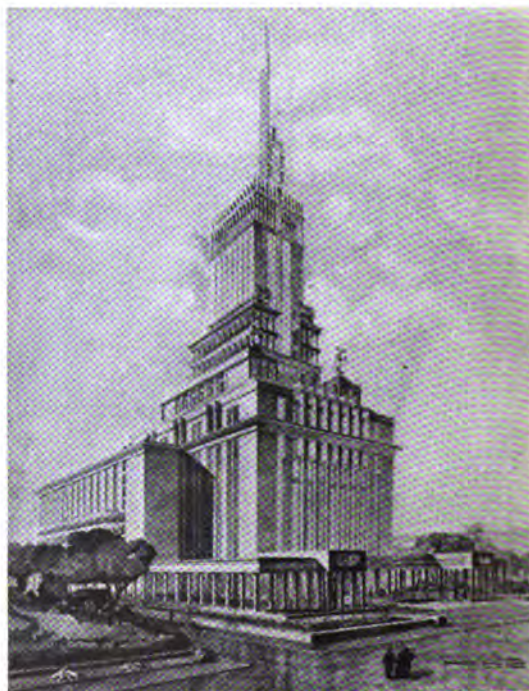
"Vassily Island has already become cramping to the Academy. From the time when the Academy began to gear its scientific activities closely to the socialist construction of the country, we have been forced to go far beyond our territorial boundaries. During the past few years we have carried on several visiting sessions of the Academy far beyond the limits of Leningrad, we have opened new branches in the Urals, in Central Asia, in the Far East. We have attempted to draw closer to the workers and to acquaint them in turn in greater detail with the work of the Academy as a whole and of each of our numerous institutes separately. We placed our scientific research work at the disposal of social construction in the first *piatiletka* and are continuing to do so in the second.

"Of particular importance in the life of the Academy was its transfer to the direct control of the Central Government. This demonstrated the fact that socialist construction and science in the Soviet Union are component parts of a single whole and that practical socialist construction must rest on a solid base of scientific research work in every field of knowledge. We academicians accepted the transfer as a challenge to give

all our powers to the work of economic and cultural construction. Now the second act is taking place—the Academy of Sciences is being moved to the place where the government is situated. This is quite logical and consistent and is due to the fact that the Soviet government regards science as its direct assistant and co-worker in the building of the new life.

"We have been allotted for our work a section where there is a mass of trees and shrubbery, with excellent climatic conditions. All the scientific institutions will be concentrated in one place—whereas in Leningrad our institutions were spread all over the city—and it is proposed to build living quarters for the academicians and permanent workers of the Academy in the same section. All this creates a more favorable environment for our work than we have ever had before. I believe that a better site could not have been chosen for our purposes.

"The Academy of Sciences will be nearer to the government apparatus, to the People's Commissariats, to their scientific research institutes, beginning with the institutes of heavy industry and ending with those of agriculture. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of this step in the life of the Academy. Our chemists, physicists, geologists, botanists, our institutes and laboratories will be able to develop, on their new material base in Moscow, enormous theoretical and practical scientific research work, and I do not doubt that the page which we are opening today in the history of the Academy of Sciences, will be a shining one."



Sovfoto  
Project Accepted for the new Radio Palace in Moscow



General view of "Armenikend," a new town near Baku for oil-workers

Soxfoto

## Housing and Municipal Growth

THE aspect of the large cities and industrial centers of the Soviet Union has completely changed in the past few years. The old slum districts are being replaced by well-built workers' residential sections with many parks and boulevards. Transportation facilities and public utilities are growing rapidly in these sections. About fifty entirely new cities have grown up since the beginning of the five-year plan, in addition to dozens of new workers' settlements, and extensive construction work is going on in all the older cities as well.

The increase in the urban population from 27,000,000 in 1928 to 38,000,000 in 1933 has put a tremendous strain on the already overcrowded housing space. In the first five-year plan the capital investment in housing construction amounted to 4,000,000,000 rubles and 400,000,000 rubles was spent on capital repairs in addition to this. This meant the construction of 27,000,000 square meters of new housing space. Striking advances have been made in the housing situation in the cities of the border regions of the U.S.S.R. where housing construction in the past has been of the most primitive order. Thus the investment in Transcaucasia for housing was 137,000,000 rubles, in the first five-year plan in Uzbekistan, over 50,000,000 rubles, in Turkmenistan about 20,000,000 rubles, and in Tadzhikistan 16,500,000.

Other accomplishments of the first five-year plan in municipal improvements were 73 new water supply systems and 21 new sewerage systems, 500 new city baths, and 82 mechanized laundries, in addition to the numerous baths and laundries put

up by separate enterprises. New tramway systems were built in 15 cities that did not have them before and 800 kilometers of new tramway lines laid. Over a hundred towns now have motor bus service. The supply of gas and electricity has everywhere increased. Parks of Culture and Rest have been developed extensively.

In all the larger cities street lighting systems have been reconstructed and expanded, bridges built, embankments and pavements put in order, and modern methods of city cleaning introduced.

In June, 1931, a plenary session of the Communist Party passed an important decision on the development of municipal economy in Moscow and throughout the U.S.S.R., emphasizing the need for an improvement in housing and public utilities first in Moscow, so that the capital city should be an example to the rest of the country, and then in other important centers. The concentration of financial and material resources for municipal purposes in the chief industrial regions in first order has meant an appreciable improvement of the living conditions of the workers in the leading branches of industry. In the Donetz Basin, for example, about 40 per cent of the workers lived, before the revolution, in the most miserable mud huts. Now 75 per cent of the miners live in houses built by the government.

This decree gave a new impetus to municipal construction, and now, in the second five-year plan, even greater attention is being paid to housing and municipal well-being than in the first. Capital investment in housing, communal and cultural construction will amount to 32,000,000,000

rubles—one-quarter of the sum to be invested in the whole national economy, which is an interesting commentary on the extent to which attention has been turned to the problem of making day-to-day life easier and richer for the whole population. Of this amount 13,400,000,000 rubles will go into housing projects, more than triple the amount put into this purpose in the first *piatiletka*; 7,860,000,000 rubles will go into communal construction and 10,500,000,000 rubles into social and cultural institutions.

Under the plan the number of hospital beds will increase 44 per cent in the towns and 98 per cent in the country districts; the number of places in day nurseries will increase 164 per cent in the towns and 129 per cent in the rural districts. The number of clubs is to increase from 7,000 to 11,000. The number of public libraries will increase by 10,000. Expenditures on public health, workers' rest and recreation, physical culture, etc., will increase from 5,500,000,000 in the first to 20,000,000,000 rubles in the second five-year plan. The number of cities with modern water supply systems will be increased from 366 to 440; the number with adequate sewerage systems from 55 to 125; the number with tramways, from 50 to 70.

In April a decree was issued by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on "Improvements in Housing Construction" outlining concrete steps to be taken to provide more comfortable, better equipped and more attractive houses for the people of the Soviet Union than they have had in the past.

The decree points out that in many cases the existing standards of construction do not correspond to the growth in the cultural level and to the demands of the population. It declares that the special defects have been bad quality of workmanship in many cases and careless finish, low ceilings and windows, narrow stairways, lack of sufficient space in kitchens and corridors. The decree provides that the main type of new houses to be built shall be four and five-story apartment houses, with apartments of two, three and more rooms, for various size families. The height of living rooms is to be increased from 2.8 meters to

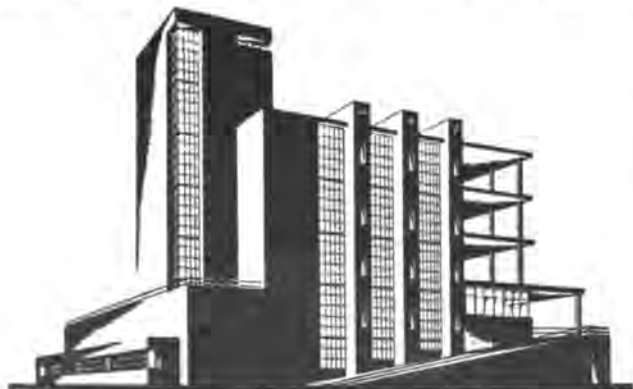


*Plans for factories by Jacob Chernikhov, the Soviet architect*

3.2 meters and stairways are to be widened. Wooden stairways are not to be built in houses with several floors in the future. All apartments are to be provided with lavatories, bath rooms, showers, pantries, and other necessary conveniences. Large houses are to have laundries, cellars, ice-houses and sheds. Provision for day nurseries and kindergartens and for general kitchens and dining rooms are to be made in the plans. Existing standards for doors and windows are to be revised.

The decree emphasizes the necessity for plenty of air and light and for abundant green space surrounding each apartment house. It prohibits the construction of cheaply-built temporary structures except in cases of emergency when special permission must be sought through the local branch of the Commissariat for Communal Economy.

As in every other field, one finds that greater attention is being paid to details, to quality, in the housing and municipal plans that are now going forward, than to sheer magnitude of undertaking, as has sometimes been the case in the past. While excellent long range plans for city development and housing projects were being drawn up, it often happened that houses had to be put up quickly and cheaply and so many of the workers sections, while representing a real advance over what the workers had in the past, are a distinct disappointment when compared with the plans. It is now felt that sufficient progress has been made in providing space so that much more attention can be paid to putting up buildings that are both durable and attractive. A special campaign is under way to raise architectural standards not only of public buildings of all kinds, but of even the simplest of workers' houses. This is one of the problems being developed by the new Academy of Architecture in Moscow. An attempt is being made to get away from the drab, box-like type of structures that prevailed for a while and to develop a new style of architecture that shall be both appropriate to the new order and beautiful.



# Kiev Again Capital of Ukraine

ON January 24 the seat of government of the Ukraine was moved from Kharkov back to Kiev, the original Soviet capital of the Ukraine.

Fifteen years ago, when the Ukraine was overrun with counter revolutionary forces and menaced by foreign invaders, it was found necessary for the Soviet government to evacuate Kiev, and in December, 1919, the decision to make Kharkov the Ukrainian capital was reached.

The transfer is an evidence of the economic, cultural and military growth and strengthening of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Kharkov lies closer to the industrial centers and has successfully directed the great industrial developments that have taken place during the first *Piatiletka*. Under its leadership Dnieprokombinat has been built, Turbostroy (the turbine construction works), the Kharkov Tractor Plant, Krammashstroy (machine construction plant) and other important new industrial projects. The Donetz Basin has been intensively developed and in 1933 the Ukraine produced 45,000,000 tons of coal as against 20,000,000 tons in 1912. Iron and steel production have also shot upward. In 1933 the production of heavy industry in the Ukraine amounted to 4,500,000,000 rubles, and of light industry to 2,750,000,000, whereas in 1912 the combined production of both heavy and light industries amounted to but 2,000,000,000 rubles.

Agriculture has also undergone great changes and improvements. Seventy-five per cent of the peasants are organized into collectives and 87 per cent of the land is collectively sown. The rate of agricultural development, however, has lagged somewhat behind that of industry, and this was one of the reasons for making the change, since Kiev, in addition to being the natural geographical center of the Ukraine, is closer to the agricultural regions.

The decision to shift the capital was made at the Congress of the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party on January 21, after the reports on progress in the various fields had been heard.

Kiev, the oldest and considered by many people the most beautiful city of the Soviet Union, has undergone many changes and improvements during the past fifteen years. Much destruction was caused by the heavy fighting that took place there in the civil war days, and a great deal of reconstruction work had to be done. In the last seven or eight years over 200 large new buildings—apartment houses, clubs, schools, theaters, factory kitchens, industrial structures—have gone up. The population increased from 366,000 in 1920 to 600,000 in 1933.

Even before the revolution Kiev was one of the best equipped cities of the country with regard to public utilities. But they served only the center and residential sections. The workers and poorer elements of the population lived on the outskirts of the town in miserable houses with no improvements. Over 150,000 square meters of new housing space have been built in the last fifteen years, in addition to the very extensive repair work that has been done. The water system, which covered only 180 kilometers in 1913, reached 271 kilometers in 1933 and is being still further extended this year. In 1934 43,000,000 rubles was invested in public utilities, compared with 13,000,000 rubles in 1933, and 35,000,000 rubles during the whole first five-year plan. The appropriation for housing construction for this year is 70,000,000 rubles—ten times as much as last year. Improvements have also been made in the streets and in the city transport system. New trolley lines have been built and auto-buses and taxis are operating.

Before the revolution Kiev was mainly a center for the food industries of the Ukraine and the



The Public Library in Kiev

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The Pechersky Monastery in Kiev, now a museum

Sovfoto

metal industries were a negligible quantity. Now the latter are predominant, and attention will again be turned to the light industries, and especially the food industries, of which sugar is one of the most important. Improvements in the power supply are on the program, and this year will see the completion of the regional hydroelectric station at Kiev.

Further development of the city is to proceed according to a carefully worked out plan with special attention to architectural standards. The architectural section of the city planning commission is concerned about the fact that a number of the new buildings have been of a drab and ugly type, although some fine examples of modern architecture have been put up. In the future they hope to build only beautiful structures that will fit into a unified plan.

Kiev is one of the leading cultural centers of the Soviet Union. There are 250,000 students in its institutes and technicums—a fifteen-fold increase over pre-revolutionary days. Kiev has over twenty scientific institutes under the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and thirty under the

various government departments. There are twenty museums in the city and a large library containing four million volumes.

The work of Ukrainian scientists is known throughout the whole Soviet Union and beyond its borders as well. In Kiev is the famous school of mathematics headed by Academician Grave and the Mathematics Institutes of Professors Pfeiffer and Kravchuk. The work of Academician Krylov, who created the basis for non-linear mechanics, of Academician Plotnikov in chemistry, Bogomollets in pathological physiology, Palladin in biochemistry and Schmalhausen in embryonic growth, all of whom are located in Kiev, is well known.

Particularly important has been the work of studying material resources carried on under the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The medical scientific institutes are highly developed. Historical research, and especially that concerned with the national minorities, is on a high level.

Kiev has a number of fine theaters giving performances in Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, Polish and other languages, and an excellent opera house, which is in process of being reorganized.

## The Soviet Rubber Industry

“WE have in our country every natural resource except rubber. In two or three years we shall have rubber at our disposal also.”

Stalin made this statement at a conference of Soviet industrial leaders in 1931. His words have been realized. The Soviet Union has today 40,000 hectares of rubber-bearing plants which yield natural rubber or rubber substitutes from their roots or stems, and three factories already producing a high grade of synthetic rubber as well as a fourth one nearing completion.

### Soviet Rubber-Bearing Plants

Ten years have elapsed since the Soviet Union began the work of searching for domestic rubber-bearing plants which could be used for the industrial production of rubber, and the organization of plantations for the cultivation of the plants having the highest rubber content. During this period over 1,600 plants have been studied, and of these 600 have been found to contain rubber in one degree or another in their roots or stems.

The first important success in this work came in 1929 when the rubber-bearing plant tau-sagyz, containing 30 to 40 per cent of pure rubber, was found in the Kara-Tay mountains of Kazakstan. This was discovered quite by accident during the search for a different plant, hondrilla. It was noticed that the natives of this district chewed a gummy substance, and on being asked where it

came from, they indicated the tau-sagyz plant. Hondrilla was subsequently found in Azerbaidzhan, but is inferior to tau-sagyz, as it contains only about 15 per cent of pure rubber. Other plants with a high rubber content were subsequently discovered, among them kok and krymsagyz, both of which contain from 35 to 38 per cent of rubber.

The experimental work in growing rubber-bearing plants carried on during the past ten years has given very gratifying results. Soviet rubber plants and gutta percha trees are already cultivated extensively in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Central Asia, Moscow Region, in Kazakstan, in the Central Black Earth District and a number of other sections of the U.S.S.R. Altogether there have been established eleven large industrial rubber plantations, with a combined area of 40,000 hectares. They concentrate on the growing of domestic rubber-bearing plants, since very few of the foreign rubber-bearing plants have proved transplantable. The chief exception is the Mexican guayula plant. A scientific expedition brought back the first seeds from Mexico in 1925. The process of acclimatization of this plant took a long time, but an experimental station for growing guayula was finally started in 1930. Golden rod procured from the Edison studios has been experimented with to some extent.

The model plantation for rubber-bearing plants



Sovfoto

*A conservatory for rubber-bearing plants, at Kiev*

is the Margushevansky rubber farm organized four years ago in the autonomous oblast of Nagorny Karabakh in Azerbaidzhan. In the last few years 28 different varieties of guayula have been studied and grown here. As a result it has been possible to select the variety of guayula which is at one time the hardiest and has the highest rubber content. By crossing guayula with another variety, mariola, a frost-resistant plant with a very high rubber plant has been produced. A variety of guayula plant has been found yielding 6 per cent of rubber the first year and 12 per cent the second. At the beginning of this year the Margushevansky plantation had 80 hectares planted to guayula, with 4,000,000 bushes. Tausagyz and kok-sagyz are also grown here. Tausagyz has so far proved the best of all the plants. It is a perennial plant lasting perhaps fifty years, and gives a very good quality of rubber. The rubber comes out not as sap, as in the tropical rubber plant, but as ready rubber, in the roots, which is obtainable by a very simple process.

Over 700 scientific workers are engaged in the problem of rubber in two scientific institutes and twelve scientific research stations with experimental fields, green-houses, and well-equipped laboratories.

### Synthetic Rubber Production

The production of synthetic rubber takes several different forms. One of these is the procuring of rubber from alcohol according to the method first worked out by Academician Lebedev, in 1928; another, is the procuring of rubber from the waste gases of oil cracking plants.

There are now three factories in operation producing synthetic rubber, at Yaroslavl, Voronezh

and Efremov. In 1934 it is expected that 12,000 tons of rubber will be produced by these three factories, which are not, however, yet working to full capacity. During this year the construction and assembly work on these plants will be fully completed and they will be brought up to their production capacity of 30,000 tons of rubber a year. Construction of a fourth factory is under way. Twelve laboratories and scientific institutes are at work further perfecting methods of production.

The most difficult aspect of getting these factories under way has been the necessity of perfecting the chemical processes of producing the synthetic rubber and the manufacturing of the complicated machinery and apparatus necessary for this purpose. In the first period there were many difficulties, and much experimenting and testing was necessary.

The chief question now is whether or not the synthetic product will be able to replace natural rubber. The answer need no longer be sought through selected tires made of synthetic rubber or laboratory experiments, but in the large amount of goods already manufactured from the thousands of tons of synthetic rubber produced in Soviet factories.

The Kara-Kum auto expedition demonstrated that tires made of synthetic rubber stand up even better than tires of natural rubber. Tires of synthetic rubber, manufactured by the "Krasnye Treugolnik" factory, were used for forty thousand kilometers, a large section of which was very rough going, before repairs were necessary, and the wear and tear was 29 per cent less than in the case of natural rubber tires, a demonstration that the synthetic rubber produced in Soviet factories is an adequate substitute for natural rubber.



Sovfoto

*Central Publishing House at Baku*

## Economic Progress - Six Months

AT this season crop prospects form the most significant economic index in the Soviet Union. The harvesting of winter grain began in the southern districts of the Ukraine about the middle of June, and spring sowings throughout the country were completed June 10 with 100.4 per cent fulfillment of the program. On the same date last year 92.5 per cent of the program had been carried out and in 1932 the figure was 85.7 per cent. The figures reflect the steady improvement in farming methods and the increasing mechanized efficiency in the collective farming program. In the neighborhood of 250,000 tractors were employed in the spring sowing campaign this year. Two-thirds of the area of the collective farms were prepared for planting by tractors. A decade and a half ago there were less than 200 tractors in the whole country.

The figures on spring sowings for this year are all the more significant because weather conditions in many sections were unfavorable throughout a good part of the spring. The Soviet Union did not escape the drought that wreaked severe damage on crops over wide areas of Europe and America. The dry weather hit some sections of

the black earth belt, but even in the bad sections the damage was mitigated by deeper plowing and better cultivation methods under the employment of tractors. General rains broke the dry spell the latter part of May. Many sections that enjoyed normal weather reported crop prospects better than last year. In general it is reported officially that the harvest gives promise of comparing favorably with the record yield of 1933.

The total sown area this spring was 93,283,000 hectares (230,000,000 acres). This was divided as following (in hectares):

Collective farms .....	70,449,000
State farms .....	11,177,000
Individual farms .....	11,657,000
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>93,283,000</b>

The spring sown area set a new record for the Soviet Union.

The output of heavy industry during the first half year was 28.8 per cent larger than during the same period of 1933. Production of crude oil for the first five months was 9,846,000 metric tons, as compared with 8,180,000 metric tons. Production of pig iron for the first four months was 3,115,000 metric tons, as compared with 1,960,000 metric tons. Production of steel ingots for four months was 2,902,000 metric tons, as compared with 1,930,000 metric tons. Coal output for four months was up 28.2 per cent as compared with last year. Output of tractors increased 46 per cent.

Of peculiar interest is the sudden rise of Soviet gold production. Last year the Soviet Union took second place among gold producing countries with an output of over 100,000,000 rubles. Preliminary figures of output for the first half of this year indicate a gain of 51 per cent over the same period of 1933. During the past few years the primitive hand methods that formerly obtained have been replaced largely by modern mechanized equipment. Intensive geological work has opened many new fields to exploration.

## Volga-Moscow Canal

THE construction of the Volga-Moscow Canal, which was commenced last year, is now in full swing. Prospecting work has been completed and digging is under way. By the middle of May 13,000,000 cubic meters of earth had been excavated, or one-tenth of all the digging operations that have to be performed. For the workers engaged in the construction work several workers' settlements with barracks, hospitals, dispensaries, restaurants, clubs, and other social and cultural institutions have been built. Intensive preparations are under way for the beginning of the basic construction work. Tens of thousands of persons and hundreds of machines are engaged in



Ore conveyor at Magnitogorsk

Soefora





Sovfoto

*Cleaning the seed for spring planting at a kolhoz*

this task of linking the Volga with the Moscow River and so transforming Moscow into an important port.

The construction of the Volga-Moscow canal was started because of two important considerations. The first of these is the necessity to provide Moscow with an adequate supply of good drinking water as well as water for industrial needs—factories, shops, electrical stations, etc. The requirements of Moscow for water are growing rapidly in connection with the growth of the population and the increasing industrial importance of the city. Moscow now requires 168 litres of water a day per person. It is estimated that after the opening of the canal, when the population of Moscow has reached 5,000,000 persons, it will be necessary to provide not less than 500 litres a day per person. The new canal will open up the waters of the Volga for the use of Moscow, since the Moscow River alone can no longer fully supply the needs of the population and of industry.

The second important aspect of the canal is the transformation of the Moscow River into a waterway of sufficient depth for large boats. Moscow will thus become a port city and will be the center of the new water system of the Soviet Union. The canal is to be made of sufficient depth so that

freight from the Volga, Kama and Oka Rivers may be shipped direct to Moscow by water without being transferred to smaller boats or to rail as has been necessary in the past. It will have sufficient water so that the large oil barges of 18,000 ton capacity may be shipped direct from Baku to Moscow. The large Volga steamers will be able to pass freely through the canal to Moscow, and even the smaller ocean-going vessels will now be able to reach Moscow through the Mariinsk canal system.

The canal will considerably lessen the distance from Moscow to the most important centers of the country. The distance by water from Moscow to Gorky (formerly Nizhni-Novgorod) will be cut down from 960 to 810 kilometers. The distance by water from Moscow to Rybinsk will be decreased from 1,500 to 400 kilometers.

The construction of the Volga-Moscow canal represents one of the largest hydrotechnical projects in the world. The canal will be 128 kilometers wide. It will be necessary to excavate 150 meters of earth, or eight times the amount dug in the building of the Baltic-White Sea Canal. Over 2,500,000 tons of concrete must be laid, two and a half times the amount that was required for Dnieprostroy.

The canal will begin at the Volga near the small river Dubni. Thence it will run to Dmitrov, cut through Kliazma and flow into the Moscow River near Pokrovsko-Streshnevo, a suburb of Moscow. Altogether thirteen or fourteen dams will be constructed, ten locks, and 108 kilometers of actual canal (the remaining 20 kilometers will be taken up by reservoirs). The locks present the most complicated technical problem. They will be constructed not of wood, as was the case in the Baltic-White Sea Canal, where local materials were used as far as possible, but of ferro-concrete. Each lock will be 290 meters long, exceeding the length of any locks yet built in the Soviet Union. In the building of the canal it will be necessary to over-



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*Preparing to sow seed by airplane at a state farm in Voronezh*

come the Voliklamsk elevation, which is the watershed between the Volga and Moscow. Here, beginning at the Volga, six successive locks will raise vessels to 42 meters above sea-level, and the remainder will lower them again until they reach Moscow. A number of huge reservoirs will be built along the course of the canal. The chief one, at the village of Ivankovo, will contain 1,400,000,000 cubic meters of water. This will create a huge basin and will raise the level of the Volga for 120 kilometers of its course. The Uchinsk reservoir which will be equipped with five dams, is designed to provide water for the Moscow system. A special ferro-concrete canal 31 kilometers in length will carry the water from this reservoir to Moscow. Five large pumping stations will be constructed, each of which will be equipped with eight pumps. In order to prevent any pollution of the Volga water all the rivers intersecting the canal will be enclosed in tunnels and passed under the canal. The highways intersecting the canal will be raised over the canal in bridges, and in the case of the Voliklamsk highway a tunnel for vehicles will be built under the canal.

All the work on the canal is mechanized. Altogether 120 excavators, of which over a third are now in operation, will be used. In order to carry away the earth excavated, it will be necessary to lay 500 kilometers of railroad and use 250 locomotives and 5,000 freight platforms.

It is planned to have the canal ready for navigation by 1936.



*Sovfoto*  
Maria Ulianova, sister of Lenin, who has been awarded the Order of Lenin for outstanding public service

## Soviet Women

**T**HOUSANDS of women in the Soviet Union have set forth upon roads where members of their sex have never ventured before.

There is no sphere of scientific thought in the U.S.S.R. where women are not represented side by side with men. Armed with scalpel or surgeon's knife, bent over architects' plans, over a microscope in the bacteriological laboratory, over a chemical retort, studying the movement of stars in observatories, constructing airplanes and stratostats—in every field where people are inventing, creating, directing, the women of the U.S.S.R. are to be found.

The number of women scientific workers increases constantly. In many colleges women students predominate. In the medical schools they make up 72 per cent of the students. In the pedagogical institutes the number of men and women is approximately the same. In the industrial, social science, economic and agricultural colleges the proportion of women students is less, but is constantly increasing. Altogether women make up 33 per cent of the students in higher educational institutions, while at the beginning of the first *piatiletka* their proportion was 28 per cent.

Among these women students, more and more are selecting science as their field, and many women hold important scientific posts. In 1933, out of 1,467 leaders of scientific institutions, 192 were women. Out of 23,359 scientists engaged in scientific institutes, almost a third were women.

At the head of the Physiological Scientific Research Institute in Moscow is Professor Lena Stern, internationally known physiologist and former head of the department of physiological chemistry at the University of Geneva, which she left in 1925 to take the professorship of physiology at the Moscow University. Professor Stern was born in Russia, but left in her late 'teens to study medicine at Geneva. In 1929 she was made the first director of the Physiological Institute. Under her leadership the institute is preparing a new army of women scientific leaders and directors of scientific of scientific institutes. Over half of her students are women.

There are numerous other outstanding women scientists in Moscow. There is A. M. Bukovshaya, Director of the Zoological Institute of the First Moscow State University and Vanovshaya, mathematician and head of the Mathematical and Mechanical Research Institute. There are any number of women engineers, inventors, and many women physicians.

Eugenia Alexandrovna Tolmacheva, sixty-year-old daughter of A. P. Karpinsky, President of the Academy of Sciences, is outstanding among the women scientists of the Soviet Union. She, too, was forced to go abroad for her education, so



A woman motion picture photographer *Sovfoto*

limited were the facilities of old Russia. When she began her scientific career the women scientists in Russia could be counted on one hand. Eugenia Alexandrovna is the mother of two scientists—one a well-known radiologist, one chairman of the Arctic Commission of the Academy of Sciences. While bringing up her sons she continued her work in geo-chemistry and soil science. In 1915 she was the only woman among the 250 delegates attending the International Soil Congress in Rome. The revolution opened up new opportunities for her to carry on scientific research. At the age of fifty she began work in the Seismological Institute of the Academy of Sciences and in the past ten years has published some fifty scientific works on this subject. Able to read in sixteen languages, and with some knowledge of several others, Eugenia Alexandrovna handles a great deal of the foreign correspondence of the Academy of Science.

Then there is Nathalia Sergeevna Gakhontova, who heads the theoretical section of the astronomical institute and young N. F. Boeva, working with her. It was Boeva who located the planet Jupiter's lost companion of the skies in 1930 when astronomers all over the world were searching frantically for the wanderer. Most of the younger astronomers in the U.S.S.R. are women. The now distinguished woman biologist, Berezina, worked at a lathe in a metallurgical factory a few years ago, and could scarcely read or write. Her factory sent her to a Rabfac (Workers' Faculty) where she prepared for college. Within a few years after her graduation this Leningrad working woman became one of the foremost biologists of the Experimental Institute. She learned English, and is now doing special work in the University of London.

The woman architect Zinaida Krylova designed the project for a new linotype factory in Leningrad, the electrolysis plant of the aluminum combine at Zvanka, and other large factories. A woman designed the new textile factory at Ivanovo

Voznesensk, and another the open-hearth furnace shop of the metallurgical plant at Krivoy-Rog. At the Marty shipyards in Leningrad the repair and construction of lumber freight boats is under the supervision of Sophia Greenstein, first woman ship-building engineer in the Soviet Union. Plotnikova, first woman engineer of dirigible construction, takes an active part in the construction of dirigibles at the Leningrad Aviation Institute. The first seismological station in the U.S.S.R. was established by the woman seismologist, Weiss-Ksenefontova. Averkieva, Ershkhina, Palvadre and other women have done important work in ethnography. Julie Averkieva studied at Barnard College, specializing in anthropology. Professor Julia Mendeleyeva, founder of the Leningrad Institute of Maternity and Child Welfare, has done outstanding work in the field of maternity and child hygiene.

Soviet women have distinguished themselves in the field of inventions. There are some 20,000 woman inventors in the U.S.S.R., many of whom have been decorated for their achievements, among them the two young engineers Kuzinova and Levitina, who developed the formula for the envelope of the stratostat "U.S.S.R." Many women factory workers have made important practical and scientific inventions and discoveries.

A number of women are counted among the foremost explorers of the Soviet Arctic. Among them are Irina Rusainova, who was with a wintering party on Novaya Zemlya and a member of the "Sibiriakov" expedition in 1932; Nathalia Ushakova, chief of the meteorological station of Matvey Island; Elizaveta Urvantseva, the physician; Nina Demme, leader of a Kara Sea expedition in 1926, and later chief of the wintering party on Severnaya Zemlya. Ten women were with Professor Schmidt on the "Cheliuskin," some of them accom-



*Sovfoto*

The aviator Liapidevsky with two of the women and children he rescued from the Arctic ice after the sinking of the Cheliuskin. On the left is Karin Vassilevaya, born on ship board

panying their husbands, some Arctic workers in their own right.

Women are prominent, too, in Soviet literature, art and music. Among the women writers should be mentioned Lydia Seilfullina, Marietta Shaginan, Anna Karavayeva, Vera Inber, Zinaida Richter, all of whom are contributing fresh and vital work to the Soviet literature of today.

Over 7,000,000 women are now engaged in the industries of the U.S.S.R., in every possible capacity. The proportion of women in industry has increased from 23.8 per cent of the total number of workers in 1928 to over 33 per cent in 1933. Women are taking a constantly increasing role in administrative work. There are 400,000 women members of Soviets and Soviet Executives, and several thousand of these are presidents of village Soviets. Over 6,000 women are chairmen of agricultural collectives. Hundreds of women are directors of factories or important factory departments.

This growing participation of women in every field of economic, social and cultural activity is first of all due to the absolute equality of Soviet women with Soviet men both in law and in fact, to the increasing educational opportunities and finally, to the measures taken to free women from household drudgery. In 1933 more than half of the women in the whole country were able to have their young children cared for in day nurseries. In the industrial centers, such facilities were provided for practically all the working women. Co-operative restaurants and factory kitchens are serving at least the main meal to growing numbers of the population. Mechanized laundries are being built everywhere, and other socialized household services are increasing.

The emancipation of the women of the Soviet East, formerly among the most oppressed of all women, is a particularly dramatic and inspiring chapter in the story of the advance of Soviet women.

## Cheliuskinites Welcomed Home

ON June 19 the members of the Cheliuskin expedition and the airmen who rescued them from the drifting icepack in the Arctic on which they had been encamped for two months after their ship sank, arrived in Moscow. The leader, Prof. Otto Yulevich Schmidt, who had himself returned to Moscow by way of America, earlier in the month, accompanied by G. A. Ushakov, head of the rescue operations, rode out to meet them, to be with them on the return to Moscow. The demonstration that greeted the heroes on their arrival was one of the most joyous and tumultuous the Soviet Union has ever seen. All along their route great crowds had met them, and the station was massed with people as the train pulled in. After the triumphal ride from the station, through showers of flowers and confetti, they were welcomed by the heads of the government in a huge mass meeting in the Red Square. The meeting was followed by a parade of the Red Army, workers, physical culture groups, children, with airplanes zooming overhead.

One of the events of the day was the maiden flight of the giant airplane "Maxim Gorky," the eight motor, 7,000 h. p., all-metal monoplane, designed by Tupolev and built for cultural activities, which had just been completed at the Moscow Aero-hydrodynamics Institute.

A few days following their arrival, the members of the expedition and the aviators, mechanics, and others who took part in their rescue, were formally decorated with the orders that had been awarded them by the government.

All the members of the expedition with the exception of Schmidt, who, ill with pneumonia,

was flown to Alaska for hospital treatment, had been taken by sledge to Lawrence Bay and Providence Bay, after having been landed at Cape Vankarem by the rescue planes. At those two points the steamer Smolensk picked them up, with the aviators and some of the planes, and took them to Vladivostok, whence they travelled by rail to Moscow. It was no mean feat that the steamer Smolensk accomplished in cutting its way through the heavy ice along the Chukotsk coast, in a section never before navigated in winter by a steamer.

### Scientific Results of "Cheliuskin" Expedition

In a statement made soon after his arrival, Professor Schmidt outlined briefly the scientific results of the expedition, which are being carefully compiled and will be published in detail later.

The scientific work of the expedition, as explained by Professor Schmidt, was divided into two parts. The first part was concerned with the study of the whole Northern Sea Route, from Murmansk to the Behring Strait, a route which had only once before been traversed over its whole length by a ship with scientific equipment—the "Sibiriakov," in 1932. The second part was concerned with the drift of the "Cheliuskin" after the ship was frozen in the ice and driven away from its goal, and later the period when the expedition was marooned on drifting ice. Scientific observations went on regularly during both periods, and all the scientific records, diaries, computations, maps and other material, were saved intact.

Detailed observations of meteorological, aero-

logical and hydrological conditions were made all through the first part of the trip. Shirshov, the hydro-biologist, and Stakhonov, the zoologist, studied the flora and fauna all along the way. A map was made of Lonely Island and a hydroscopic chart of Bielkov Island and a part of Kotelnyi Island. During the expedition 93 probes of sea water were taken at extreme depths.

The forced drift of the "Cheliuskin" in the Chukotsk Sea and later the drift of the icepack, made it possible to carry on detailed study of the movements of currents and of meteorological conditions in this most unexplored part of the Arctic sea. It had been planned to send a special ship to winter and drift in this region, but the "Cheliuskin" was unexpectedly able to fulfill this task instead. A very accurate map of the drift of the ship was drawn up by the geodesist of the expedition, Heckel, and the hydrologist, Komysnikov. Observations of meteorological phenomena and studies of the atmosphere with the aid of radio probes, were carried on by the Komov brothers, meteorologists, and Spakovsky, aerologist. Two of the radio probes sent up by Spakovsky into the upper atmosphere reached the record breaking height of 23 kilometers. This automatic probe, invented by Professor Molchanov, is one of the most valuable instruments for studying the atmosphere. The pilots of the ship, who took part in the scientific work, measured the direction and speed of the ice-drift. When this material has all been compiled it will be possible to draw conclusions as to the extent by which the current in the Arctic Ocean is determined by the direction of the wind, and to what extent by other causes.

Very interesting studies were made by Fakidov, a physicist, and Rass, a construction engineer, of the effect of the ice on the hull of the boat, with the idea of determining what changes should be made in the construction of boats in the future designed for use in ice-filled waters. With the

use of delicate instruments they were able to determine the deformation of various parts of the hull during the movement through the ice, during impact with ice, and under conditions of pressure of ice against the boat. Fakidov also developed a method of recording the minutest fluctuations of the ice in order to know beforehand when a crash might be expected.

The whole expedition, from the time of the departure from Leningrad in June, 1933, to their return to Moscow, has been recorded in the film "Heroes of the Arctic," now being shown in the Soviet Union. The picture was taken by Mark Troyanovsky, a nephew of the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, who left the ship before the voyage was over in order to get part of the film in Moscow, and by Arcady Shafran, who filmed the latter part of the expedition alone.

### New Arctic Plans

A great impetus has been given to work in the Arctic by the Cheliuskin expedition, and extensive operations are being carried on this summer. Over thirty different scientific research and exploratory expeditions are being sent out this year by the All-Union Arctic Institute.

Two new attempts to master the entire north-eastern route are scheduled for this season. The ice-cutter "Lidtke" has already left Vladivostok and will proceed over the route from the East to the West. In the Kara sea she will meet the steamers of the Lena expedition and will conduct them through the ice-fields to the mouth of the river Lena, and then to Archangel. The steamer Knipovich will set out from Murmansk early in August to attempt to reach the Behring Strait by a more northern route than any yet attempted on the theory that the Gulf Stream may find an exit to the surface in this section after having met obstacles in the form of unknown islands or shallow waters which have diverted its course. Water



The new giant eight motor plane, "Maxim Gorky"

Sovfoto

free of ice was observed in more northern latitudes in the summer of 1932. Thus, instead of passing through the Kara Sea along the shores of Northeastern Siberia, as the Sibiriakov and Cheli-

uskin did, the route of the Knipovich is to be Murmansk, Franz Josef Land, North Land, and then still further eastward to the New Siberian Islands, if conditions are favorable.

## An Arctic Robinson Crusoe

By V. KANTOROVICH

*From an article published in Nashi Dostizhenia for January, 1934. This article appeared just before G. A. Ushakov, about whom it was written, was appointed head of the rescue operations which resulted in the safe transport of all the members of the Cheliuskin expedition from the ice-pack on which they were marooned for two months in the Arctic after the sinking of their ship.*

“ ‘**W**ERE you lonely during those winters in the Arctic?

“This question is now asked me very often—”

So wrote G. A. Ushakov in his tiny book, “The Robinson Crusoes of Wrangel Island.” In the autumn of 1929 Ushakov returned from a three-year stay on Wrangel Island. The following spring he was already preparing for a new expedition to North Land. He continues:

“Usually my answer to this question is—

“Yes—I am lonely. I am lonely for the island, for my companions—the Esquimaux, for my dog teams, for the storms . . .” Then he describes the final departure from the island.

“Having given up hope for the arrival of a ship (heavy ice obscured the horizon all around us), the colony on Wrangel Island, started busily preparing for a fourth winter. But the Lidtke, literally ramming its way through the walls of ice, changed our plans.

“How our hearts began to thump when we beheld the icebreaker. It was the first ship we had seen in three years!

“We were eager to get to the mainland as soon as possible, to plunge into the noise of cities, to hear the new slogans of the revolution, to catch the new tempo of life. We hastened to quit the island.

“The day for departure came. The whistles were blowing. It was time to say goodbye. Hands were squeezed until they ached. Still greater was the ache in our hearts. Three years of struggle side by side—three years of frost and storm and ice. Our common failures and joys had made us kin, had welded us into a single family.

“The Lidtke weighed anchor. Soon our hut was hidden in the fog. The outline of the shore faded. The island was left behind us. There had been plenty of occasions during those three years when each of us had cursed that island! But now we only felt how strongly we were bound to it, to its grim nature, to its storms.

“Terrific cold, constant storms and the two-month polar night in winter—fogs in the summer—and ice all the year round; these were the conditions under which we lived and worked and struggled.”

This was written about Wrangel Island. Of the first Polar night on North Land (Severnaya Zemlya) Ushakov wrote:

“The days grew shorter. The sun showed itself very rarely. The light diminished each day. The sea was covered with ice. Great blocks of ice heaped up on top of one another, thrusting up into high peaks. All living things gradually vanished. First the gulls flew away. Then the seals disappeared. Bears were seen more and more rarely. On October 21 the sun shone for the last time. The long polar night had started. The Arctic was shrouded in darkness. For four months we did not put out the light in our hut. The difference between midnight and noon could be told only by the chronometer or sometimes, when the sky was clear, by the stars. When we went outside we carried lanterns. Only at the time of full moon, if the weather was good, the ice shone like burnished silver, and ash-gray shadows lightened the landscape a bit. Radio connections with the mainland were broken off. The four men on North Land were cut off from the whole world . . .”

“We felt our separation from the world most strongly on the anniversary of October. On November 7 there was a blood red dawn in the south, but in half an hour not a trace of it was left. Gathering our torches and our rockets we went out into the darkness, we pierced the darkness with the flame of our fireworks, furrowed it with our rockets. But the darkness grew still thicker, and became the embodiment of our longing for the October streets . . .”

The above is from a sketch written by Ushakov which was printed in *Izvestia*. A few more lines of longing for the collective, for the city, for dear friends. But immediately these restrained words about the hardships of the Arctic winter give way to reminiscences about the work. They had taken a large library with them. At night, groping through the darkness, they placed traps for the Arctic foxes, hunted for the polar bears, prepared for their spring exploratory work.

“Our meteorologist was the first to rise,” writes Ushakov, recording the regime during the long polar night. “In the beginning he had to set his

alarm clock. Then his reflexes started to operate, and he woke up on time. The meteorologist made his morning observations and notations. The other members of the collective arose in time for nine o'clock breakfast. After breakfast each had his own work to do. The geologist Urbantsev carried on magnetic observations or worked on material already gathered. The radio operator Khodov was constantly on the look-out for sources of power. We had a small accumulator battery and a wind motor. In his free time Khodov helped me. I charted courses, worked over the meteorological material. Zhiravlev also had plenty of work. He fed the forty dogs, trained them, and often went hunting. It was necessary to economize on our supplies, and to feed the dogs fresh meat. It was also his job to mend the footwear, to keep the equipment, tents, harness, sleds and boats in order. There were periods when the days were not long enough for all the work we had to do." Ushakov finished his account with the laconic phrase.

"There was no time for psychoanalysis."

With the end of the polar night "harvest time" began for the Arctic expedition. Before that there had not been enough light to start surveying unexplored territory, the most important task of the wintering party.

In his book about Wrangel Island Ushakov writes briefly:

"Most difficult of all was the surveying work. It was finished in the spring of 1928 after a twen-

ty-eight day trip with dog teams in ferocious frost."

The first sortie to the northern part of the island had already shown the difficulties with which the surveying party would be confronted. Ushakov and his team led the procession. After him followed the teams of the Esquimaux: Anakuli, Etui, Inoto.

The north wind blew against them. The snow smoked beneath their feet, and a fine snow dust rose in the air like steam. A storm commenced. It transformed the streams of snow dust into a mighty spouting avalanche of snow. Their faces ached tormentingly. The tiny crystals of snow bombarded them with amazing force. Soon their faces ceased to feel the blows. They were covered with solid masks of ice. The lungs became filled with moisture. It was difficult to breathe.

"In exhaustion," relates Ushakov, "I flung myself against the sledge. And suddenly . . . a miracle! Just a little while before the dogs had barely been able to drag the sled along. Now they flew forward like birds. The thought flashed into my mind—"The dogs are excited—it must be a wolf!" I take my rifle from my shoulder. The sledge flies on—in my ears there is a sharp whistling, my head is whirling. My whole body is braced for a sudden stop, and—another miracle! There is no resistance. I peel the ice crust from my face and peer through the storm. The dogs nearest to me are lying down, rolled into balls. They are already half covered with snow. The



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The Red Square during the celebration in honor of the returning members of the Cheliuskin expedition. On the left is a plaster model of the ship



George A. Ushakov

Sovfoto

runners of the sledge are buried. Then I understood. The dogs had stopped a long time ago. The whirlwind of snow, borne from the north, created the illusion of wild speed. Anakuli's dogs were also lying quietly behind my sledge. Anakuli himself was sitting with his back to the wind and, out of habit, was still urging on his dogs: "Ech! Ech!" I go to my dogs. On their snouts is a crust of ice as thick as a finger. I remove their masks. The poor things whimper, lick my hands, leap at my chest, and again, rolling themselves up into balls, lie down in the snow. The attempt to start them going again fails. The dogs stop heeding commands. Finally, the whole team turns around and, almost upsetting the sledge, tears home . . .

On the next day the attempt is repeated.

The ground is so hard that when they stop the dogs are unable to dig themselves into the snow. The men carve out holes in the hard snow with their knives. The dogs lie in them, covering their frozen noses and paws with their furry tails.

This time, as in many other cases, under even more difficult circumstances, Ushakov conquered.

The experience on Wrangel Island equipped Ushakov for the struggle on North Land, which covers five times the area of Wrangel Island. It is gloomier, more lifeless than Wrangel Island. In one of his first communications from North Land Ushakov radioed:

"Knowing the ill-favored Chukotka, Wrangel

Island, the shining beauty of Franz Josef Land, the dreary fogs of Novaya Zemlya, we are struck by the harshness of North Land. The sun rarely appears for even a few hours; the sky is always leaden; only at night, usually in the north, do we see a narrow, knife-thin strip of dawn red sky."

As an alternative to the expensive and therefore unfeasible projects for large, "complex" expeditions to North Land, Ushakov placed before the government the economical and practical scheme of exploring the island with the help of a small group of experienced and devoted Arctic scientists who would stay there the year round. The government approved the plan. In the summer of 1930 the icebreaker "Sedov" landed the wintering party of four persons on the Islands Serdtse Kamenev, close to North Land, direct access to which was barred by ice. So began a heroic two-year period, ending with the complete elimination of still another "blank spot" on the map of the Soviet north.

In the incredibly severe conditions of wintering on North Land, Ushakov, usually accompanied by his assistant N. N. Urantsev, traveled over 3,000 kilometers with his dog teams in those two years. Never for a single day were meteorological observations nor hunting neglected. And every inch of the way most careful observations were made and noted of the flora and fauna, the climate, the geological structure of the island.

The first excursion from the Kamenev Islands to North Land was made in 1930, before the beginning of the polar night. They traveled over the ice covered sea. A change of wind brought the risk that the ice might be carried to the open sea. Exhausted, they helped the dogs pull the sledge. Blinded by the driving storm, they made a short stop, and then went further. Only on the fourth day, gathering their last strength, were the dogs able to pull the sledge on to the mysterious shore of North Land. Ushakov wrote in his diary:

"On the cape which the expedition reached at noon on October 5, the Soviet flag was raised. Three men with a salute from their guns greeted the red banner which fluttered over the grim shore and the ice. Then the Arctic seemed warmer and more hospitable, kinder."

After that first expedition to North Land there followed one after the other four expeditions of 700, 800 and even 1,250 kilometers each. Ushakov surveyed over 30,000 square kilometers. Geographies all over the world added new names to their maps which loudly bespoke the heroic work of the representatives of Soviet science in the Arctic.

For his work on North Land Ushakov was decorated with the Order of Lenin. He had previously received the Order of the Red Banner for the Wrangel Island expedition.

Ushakov is 32 years old. The revolution brought him up. Almost all of his conscious life



has been lived during the years of revolutionary struggle.

Ushakov looks older than his years. His appearance is unexpected for a hero of the Arctic. His face not striking, but memorable for its assured serenity, bespeaks a will strong as flint, that never misses fire. But that one does not grasp all at once. At first one is struck with something quite else, with the contrast to one's traditional conception of a "conqueror of the ice."

The sinewy, compact figure, the eye-glasses, the quiet voice, the slow, fluent speech—in none of these does one feel that abundance of physical energy, that impetuous surge of power seeking to be discharged in fierce conflicts with nature. Quite the contrary, Ushakov gives the impression of being a "city" type. On first meeting him one gets the impression of an intellectual type who is probably most happy at his writing table. His office, incidentally, is full of books and in it one

inary, the university. In order to exist, he dug graves in the cemetery, gave lessons. Once more the civil war rolled over the Far Eastern section and Ushakov dropped his studies to take part again, finally returning to Vladivostok with the victorious Red Army.

When he went to Wrangel Island, Ushakov was not a professional scientist. He had specialized in no branch of science. But he took with him to winter quarters a library and a rich assortment of scientific equipment. Into this went his two year's salary, drawn in advance. As a result—the botanical and geological collection brought from Wrangel Island, the economic and meteorological notations, the maps, filled out by Ushakov himself, were all given the highest praise by the scientists on the Lidtke to whom they were turned over. After five years of wintering in the Arctic Ushakov had become an experienced, skilled and thoroughly trained Arctic explorer.



Winter Quarters in the Arctic

Sovfoto

may find almost everything that is new in belles lettres.

The biography of Ushakov reveals two outstanding traits of his character—the boundless desire for knowledge of the scholar and the courage and perseverance of the soldier.

As a child Ushakov, against the will of his father, ran away to the city to study. Not able to enter the gymnasium, he entered the city high school. There he studied, earning his living meanwhile by selling papers, copying, sometimes living in flop houses. In 1918 his studying was cut short by fighting with the Whites near Blagoveshensk. The next year found Ushakov attending the technicum. The revolutionary situation sharpened, and Ushakov left the technicum to join the Red Army. Then again, studies, pedagogical sem-

The objective importance of scientific work in the north is very great. "Weather is made in the North"—the Arctic scientist Vize has declared. It is in the Arctic that the cyclones and the anticyclones are born. From the Arctic they move to the South, becoming an important factor in determining the weather in the central latitudes. Systematic observations of the air currents in the different sections of the Arctic, of changes in temperature and in the moisture of the air, not only facilitate navigation in the north, but also make possible the more exact foretelling of the weather in the populated regions. The stations on Wrangel Island and North Land which were built by Ushakov have successfully fulfilled this scientific function.

Interest in scientific work greatly lessens any

loneliness in the Arctic. But the expeditions to Wrangel Island and North Land had other purposes than purely scientific ones. There were other even more important and compelling tasks. The policy of the Soviet Union in the Arctic is based on a serious estimate of the future role of the northern outposts of the country. The wealth beneath the surface of the land in the

north has not yet been touched by exploration. It remains as a fabulous reserve for humanity. Modern transport penetrates ever deeper with each year into the Arctic regions. Radio unites the most far-flung wintering groups with the cultural centers. Technique is winning for the Soviet Union a new and strong position in the Arctic.

## Litvinoff's Plan for War Prevention

*Full text of the speech by Maxim Litvinoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, at the session of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva May 29, 1934.*

**T**HERE are two questions before the present session of the General Commission. First, it must state whether the direct purpose of the Conference, namely the solution of the problem of disarmament, can be achieved or not, and in the latter event establish the causes of failure. One might be permitted to doubt whether all the delegations present here can arrive at a common conclusion as to the causes of failure, but, in my opinion it would be necessary and extremely useful for the individual delegations to express their separate considerations on this subject. The next question, which will probably be of chief concern to the Commission, is that of the future fate of the Disarmament Conference itself. It will be necessary to decide whether it should continue its existence at all, and if so for what purpose, or whether it should voluntarily pass into a state of oblivion.

### Disarmament Only Effective Guarantee of Peace

Without awaiting the forthcoming discussion I shall take the liberty here and now of basing my arguments on the assumption that it will be impossible to find a solution of the problem of disarmament on account of the irreconcilable nature of the differences that have appeared. For the sake of brevity I shall enumerate only the fundamental differences. From the very beginning of the work, not only of the Conference itself, but also of the Preparatory Commission, two basic tendencies were revealed: one represented by the Soviet delegation, and the other by nearly all the remaining delegations. The Soviet delegation was unwilling to consider disarmament as an independent, self-sufficient problem, serving merely economic, budgetary, propagandist or other ends. We desired to see in disarmament the most effective means for abolishing the institution of war, for the concrete realization of the idea which subsequently became the foundation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes, which was signed by every state in the world.

We believed and still believe that a genuine renunciation of war cannot be effective without a

complete renunciation of armaments; that so long as armaments exist there can be no guarantee of peace; that only one kind of peace is possible—an unarmed peace—and that an armed peace is only an armistice, an interval between wars, a sanctioning of war in principle and in fact and a negation of the principle embodied in the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The Soviet delegation therefore began with the proposal of total universal disarmament. The adoption of this proposal would have eliminated in advance the numerous differences which arose at the Conference on the subject of dividing armaments into defensive and offensive, on the criteria of security, on various formulae for the reduction of armaments, on equality of armaments and particularly on the subject of control, etc. Nothing could be simpler than the control of the complete absence of armaments and nothing more difficult than the check-up on the extent of the reduction of armaments.

The adoption of the Soviet proposal, I may add, might have prevented the many deplorable political events which have taken place since that time in various countries, the rising tide of nationalism, chauvinism and militarism, and would not have been without effect on the international economic situation. We made our proposal in the heyday of the so-called pacifist ideology, which led many people to believe that war was impossible, at all events in the immediate future. The Soviet delegation, however, even then foresaw and foretold that the coming of an era of new wars was inevitable and close at hand, and it therefore insisted on the most speedy adoption of radical measures for the prevention of these wars. I believe that if the peoples of the world, who at that time had more influence over the policy of their governments than they have today, had seen with equal clarity the development of international political life then beginning, they would not have permitted the conference to dispose so easily of the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament.

Unfortunately, our proposal was opposed by all the other delegations with the exception, I believe, of the Turkish. The basis of their position was that the question of war and peace was not a

pressing one, and that history would give us decades during which the question of guarantees of peace might be solved by easy stages and in homeopathic doses.

We are convinced as before, and even more firmly than before, that should the peoples of the world—after possibly more painful and catastrophic experiences—return once more to the idea of seeking international measures for preventing war through disarmament, then they cannot fail to recall the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament and take it up with all seriousness, since as long as the present social and economic system of the non-Soviet states exists, there is no other guarantee of peace.

#### Irreconcilable Differences Revealed

The difference of principle which I have mentioned could not, however, stop the work of the Conference, because the Soviet delegation did not submit its proposal as an ultimatum but declared its readiness to cooperate with the other delegations also in working out a system for the partial reduction of armaments. But it was just at this point that the real difficulties began. While the Soviet delegation declared its readiness to accept any measure of reduction applied to any form of armaments, disagreements arose among the other delegations. The differences were centered mainly around the question of whether existing armaments should be reduced or limited to their present level.

Although it appeared at one time that this dispute had been settled by a vote of the Conference in favor of the reduction of armaments, we now have before us once again a proposal merely for their limitation. As to the reduction of armaments there is to this day no unanimity as to the degree, the principles or the criteria for such reduction. There is no single established opinion as to whether reduction should embrace all forms of armaments, by land, sea or air, or only some of those forms. A decision seemed at one time to be approaching for the complete prohibition of aerial bombardment, which should logically have led to the necessity of abolishing the instrument of bombardment itself. But here again, we came up against the proposal to preserve these instruments, limiting their activities to definite regions and special purposes, as though we might be content with affixing to the bombers placards, like those in railroad cars indicating the route "Ostend-Interlaken," or "No Smoking." The question of control is also in a far from satisfactory state. I shall refrain from enumerating the many other differences. Suffice it to say that there is not a single question raised at the conference on which we have either concrete decisions or even theoretical formulæ on which all the delegations could agree.

To this should be added the fact that political events have not waited for the end of the disputes

in Geneva but have followed their own course. In various countries governments have changed, parties in power have changed, the ideology of parties and governments has changed, and their methods of settling international problems have changed. In spite of the international obligation to renounce war as an instrument of national policy undertaken by every state by virtue of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, we are witnessing methods of furthering national policy precisely by the development of military activities on the territory of neighboring states. Other states, which do not as yet possess sufficient power to pursue such a policy, confine themselves for the time being to oral and written propaganda of the idea of expansion and the seizure of foreign territory by armed forces, and they even give notice in advance as to which countries they are preparing to attack first. Is it any wonder that the states which are interested in the maintenance of peace have redoubled their vigilance and display even greater hesitation than previously on the question of disarmament? The principle of equality of armaments, already adopted by the Conference, has also been seriously shaken. No one can object to equality when all the states are equally active in their efforts to maintain peace, even though it be only in words and in adopting international obligations. But the question has now arisen, as to what is to be done with states whose rulers have quite openly set forth in their program the conquest of foreign territories (of course by means of war, as no one yields territory voluntarily) and in situations when the abstract principle of equality comes face to face with the quite real dangers involved in its application.

I am saying this not at all in order to draw conclusions as to the equality or inequality of all states in respect of armaments. The Soviet delegation is not faced with this question, because it arises from documents with which the Soviet Government has no connection. Furthermore, such a question when discussed in the sense of rearmament of whatever state may be concerned, cannot concern a conference for disarmament or for the reduction of armaments. I merely wanted to point out the new atmosphere which has arisen as a result of certain political events, which has appreciably complicated the work of the conference, involved as it was in sufficiently vast difficulties. And today summing up the more than two years' work of the Conference, we must say frankly that the difficulties which made their appearance at the very dawn of its existence have not been allayed with the passage of time, but on the contrary, have proceeded crescendo until they have finally brought us to a deadlock.

#### No Degree of Disarmament Achieved

Indeed, what solutions do we see before us? There was no way out when the last session of the General Commission closed, and it was closed pre-

cisely for that reason. There were some who pinned their faith on the conversations which had begun within the narrow confines of a few states, but no agreement was reached even in that limited circle. At all events, we have before us no draft decision arrived at by all those who participated in these negotiations. And even if such an agreement existed, it would scarcely be likely to receive the endorsement of the vast majority of states which took no part in the negotiations I have referred to. We know of the statements made by some states—by no means among the smallest of states, and hardly suffering from an excessive love for peace—to the effect that they will not accept any measure of reduction of armaments whatsoever, displaying real aggressiveness in so saying. These statements alone are sufficient to register the complete failure of the conference, in so far as disarmament is concerned.

Delegations may perhaps be found here to suggest to us that we be satisfied with crumbs—with measures which, although they have little in common with disarmament, were none the less touched upon at the Conference. For example, we might once again confirm what has already been adopted as an international obligation, such as the prohibition of chemical warfare, or we might again undertake not to increase armaments above the existing level. But who can believe that such an obligation will really be universally observed under present conditions, and that the fulfillment of such an obligation can be effectively controlled? And if this is so, would it not be politically more honest and courageous openly to admit that international life, and particularly political events in certain countries during recent years, have not permitted the Conference to carry out its direct task and to work out a disarmament convention?

#### **No Universally Accepted Proposals**

I do not wish to be misunderstood. The Soviet delegation has not altered by one iota its attitude to the cause of disarmament, which it still regards as of paramount importance. We do not in any way propose to abandon the further discussion of the problem of disarmament. Even less do we raise any objection to this or that disarmament scheme which other states, especially our immediate neighbors, might adopt. Let anyone produce such a scheme as is likely to receive the support of all the delegations. But there is none. Neither our respected President nor the previous speaker has given any indication of a scheme of this kind. I have no reason to expect that later speakers will introduce new schemes or proposals, or that such proposals will meet with a better fate than those which were discussed already. We are, therefore, obliged to record that the futility of such a discussion on disarmament, in the absence of any proposals whatsoever which have a chance of securing universal acceptance, has been demonstrated. After all, we cannot engage in discus-

sion for the sake of discussion, or offer up prayers for disarmament. We do not wish to close our eyes to the facts, however unpleasant they may be, and we are drawing the inevitable conclusions from the situation which has been created.

#### **The Question of Guaranteeing Peace**

From what I have said it would seem logically to follow that the Conference itself should be closed down. This would be correct if the question were to be approached only from a purely formal or pedantic point of view, taking into account merely the title of the Conference. But the Soviet delegation, as I have already mentioned, continues to hold a broader conception of the Conference as having the task to provide one of the guarantees of world peace by means of disarmament. Hence the question before us is not one of disarmament itself, since that is only a means to an end, but of guaranteeing peace. And since this is so, the question naturally arises, cannot the Conference steer its way toward other guarantees for peace; or at any rate, may it not increase the measure of security for at least those states which, cherishing no aggressive designs, are not interested in war and which, in the event of war, may therefore become only the objects of attack?

I may be asked, what guarantees have we that this Conference will be more unanimous on such questions than it was on the question of disarmament, and that the new activity of the Conference will therefore be any more fruitful or successful? To this I shall reply that in order to achieve any degree whatsoever of reduction in armaments, the unconditional agreement of nearly every state is essential and that the whole thing might break down by the disagreement of even one more or less important state, let alone one of the great powers. But unanimity is not required for the realization of other measures of security. Of course the Conference must do everything in its power to induce every state to accede to these measures. I hope that that will happen, and that consideration for their own interests will induce even states which do not sympathize with the measures not to exclude themselves from the general system set up. But even if there should be dissident states, this should not by any means prevent the remainder from coming still closer together to take steps which will strengthen their own security.

#### **Regional Pacts Not Military Alliances**

Questions of security are far from unknown to the Conference. The Conference has even set up a special political commission for these questions. More than that, it has already dealt with these questions without, it is true, carrying the discussion on to its conclusion. I shall remind you in the first instance of the Soviet proposal for the definition of aggression, which has already been approved by one of the commissions of the Con-

ference, and which has already been embodied in a number of international treaties. The further increase in the number of supporters of the Soviet definition of aggression would considerably facilitate the application of other proposals dealing with security that have been made at the Conference.

Finally, new proposals of a similar character may be made, as for example, proposals for sanctions of various kinds against an aggressor in the meaning of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. A graduated scale of such sanctions might be established, without pursuing it to the point of military measures not acceptable to all states. Independently of this more or less universal pact there might be concluded, in addition, separate regional pacts of mutual assistance, as proposed on a former occasion by the French delegation. There is no question of military alliances, or of the division of states into mutually hostile camps, or still less of a policy of encirclement of any state. We must not create universal pacts which would exclude any state wishing to participate or such regional pacts as would not admit all those interested in the security of the particular region concerned. In measures of security of this kind, the principle of equality of all states without any exception cannot arouse any doubts or hesitation.

If we proceed along these lines the time and energy spent on the Conference will not have been in vain and we shall not return empty handed to the peoples who sent us here. And who can say whether the reinforcement of security and the effect which this would have on aggressively inclined governments, might not create conditions under which it would be possible again to return, and with greater chances of success, to the problem of disarmament?

As you see, I do not by any means speak of security in contrast to disarmament. Nor do I propose to exclude disarmament from the program of work of the Conference. Everything that bears upon the system of guarantees of peace, and consequently on disarmament, must receive the careful attention of the Conference. But every question should be raised at a time when it has some chance of satisfactory solution. Today it may be security, tomorrow disarmament. I ask forgiveness for so frequently using the word "security," which to many of us appears an antagonist of disarmament, but I can find no other suitable term to express that which is understood by the word security.

#### **A Permanent Body to Safeguard Peace**

But I am far from wishing to put a limit to the Conference, either in scope or time: I propose something much more, namely the transformation of this Conference into a permanent body concerned to preserve by every possible means the security of all states and to safeguard universal peace. In other words, I propose that this Con-

ference be transformed into a permanent and regularly assembling conference of peace.

Hitherto peace conferences have for the most part been called on the termination of wars, and have had as their object the division of the spoils of war, the imposition on the vanquished of painful and degrading conditions, the redistribution of territories and the refashioning of states, and have thus sowed the seeds of new wars. The Conference which I have in mind would sit for the prevention of war and its terrible consequences. It should work out, extend and perfect the measures for strengthening security. It should give a timely response to warnings of impending danger of war, and to appeals for aid, to SOS signals from threatening states. It should afford the latter timely aid within its power, whether such be moral, economic, financial, or otherwise.

I can foresee objections pointing to the existence of the League of Nations which is bound by Articles XII, XV, XVI, and others of its covenant to pursue the same objects as those toward which I should like to see the work of the Conference directed. But, in the first place, the League of Nations has a multitude of tasks, it is occupied with a great deal of business, great and small, it was created at a time when the peril of war seemed to many to have been eliminated for years to come. Today, when the danger of war is before our very eyes, we might consider the creation of a special body with all its activity concentrated on one objective, the preventing or the lessening of the danger of war. Secondly, the League of Nations is too straightly bound by its statutes. Appeals to its authority and the taking of its decisions are too stringently regulated, whereas the tribunal of the Conference might be made more accessible, more free, more responsive to the needs of the moment. Let the Conference continue to be considered an organ of the League, using the services of the League. Let it be far from replacing the League of Nations, which will maintain its prerogatives in their entirety. I am fully aware of the difficulties of setting up a new international organization entirely divorced from the League and competing with it, and such a proposal is far from my intention. But, after all, the very convocation of this international Disarmament Conference proves that the framework of the League is inadequate for such great problems as disarmament, while my proposal involves a still greater problem—the permanent safeguarding of peace.

#### **Danger of War Overhangs Every Continent**

I see no other alternative. The Disarmament Conference was called at a moment when to many war seemed only a theoretical or a historical possibility. Can the Conference, must the Conference, close down completely, disappear without a trace; can we calmly disperse to our homes with the consciousness that we have not done our duty now of all times, when the peril of a most san-

guinary war, or rather of a series of such wars, overhangs every continent, the whole of humanity? There are few states nowadays which can consider themselves removed from such peril. It may effect some earlier, others later, but there is no escape from it.

I know that there are politicians, the sum total of whose wisdom consists in beating out a track for this peril away from themselves, in the hope that having chosen one direction, the danger will never change it for another. Vain hopes! History knows of no cases in which imperialist states, inclined to conquest and to the extension of their dominion, displayed affection for only one part of the globe—south, west, east, or north. Having consolidated their forces in one direction, they hurled themselves with renewed and increased energy into new conquests in other directions, and most frequently in all directions. In the face of such a danger, no single state, if only in the interests of self-preservation, has the right to wash its hands of responsibility and refuse to participate in the common international cause of averting this terrible peril. In adopting effective measures of security we shall be doing a service not only to our own peoples, but also to those peoples who, against their own will, and for the purposes which are foreign to their real interests, may be thrown into the furnace of sanguinary and adventurist experiments.

#### Soviet Efforts for Peace

The Soviet Government looks back, not without pride, to those measures of security which on its initiative have been adopted during recent years in that part of Eastern Europe with which it is particularly concerned. By means of pacts for the definition of aggression, pacts of non-aggression, and their prolongation for the maximum periods possible, the Soviet Government has succeeded in strengthening mutual confidence with the vast majority of its neighbors, and in reinforcing their feeling of security. It has devised a new variety of pacts and declarations which, I trust, will in the future find widespread practical application—namely, pacts and declarations by stronger states guaranteeing the independence of weaker states lying between them or close to them. Not on all occasions has the Soviet Government succeeded in these efforts, and not always has it found a response from those states which it approached. But even in such cases the Soviet proposals have done their service to the cause of peace, by helping to bring out into the light of day the points at which a breach of the peace might be expected.

But the Soviet Government is prepared to add its contribution to even broader measures for the safeguarding of universal peace. And the cooperation of the Soviet Government in any international cause, or in any international organization, brings with it the tremendous moral force of an

increasingly powerful state of 170,000,000, which has definitely broken with the common past of military conquest, plunder and annexation, and during the sixteen years of its new existence has given abundant proof of its sincere devotion to peace.

#### “Izvestia” on Litvinoff’s Speech

*An editorial published in the Moscow “Izvestia” of June 1*

The Disarmament Conference met to bury the corpse. The Great Powers actually had one thing only in mind, how to rid themselves of the bankrupt conference without complete loss of authority. The representative of the Soviet Union, People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinoff has set forth, in his speech, the real state of affairs. He declared that the Conference not only had failed to abolish armaments, as the Soviet Union had proposed, but had not even achieved any reduction of armaments. On the contrary, the period during which the Conference has been meeting has been distinguished by particularly intensive armed measures in all the imperialist countries. One of the participants in the Conference even withdrew from it in order to free itself completely from any hindrance to further armament. This is the naked truth which the masses of people throughout the world must know in order to be on their guard against the danger of war, which grows closer with each day, because the capitalist governments are arming for war and not for peace.

But Litvinoff was not satisfied merely to record the symptoms of death of the Disarmament Conference. If the Great Powers have not been in a condition to arrest the fatal course of the race for armaments, if the danger of war draws nearer, then it is necessary to do everything possible to oppose the outbreak of war. Obviously, the chief guarantee of peace is the struggle of the masses of the people against war. It is the duty of the Soviet Union, as a participant in the Disarmament Conference, to utilize every opportunity also to coordinate those government forces which might be interested in the struggle against the war danger. Litvinoff has proposed a project for the organization of a permanent Peace Conference to which any state threatened with attack might appeal. And he has proposed that the governments, understanding how great a crime a new war would be, should coordinate their forces. The People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs knows too well the history of the unfulfilled promises of the League of Nations, the history of the universal pacts which have remained on paper, to desire to urge new general declarations on all the powers. How far he was right in rejecting such plans may be seen best of all from the attitude expressed by the “Daily Telegraph,” a paper close to the British

Foreign Office, which says in its issue of May 24:

"Great Britain has always firmly rejected any attempt at 'defining' an aggressor. She is unwilling to bind herself for the future by the obligation to accept the decision of other powers as to what constitutes an act of war, and what an act of technical attack." A government which distinguishes between "technical attack" and *de jure* warfare, will hardly undertake any obligations in the event of war.

But there are governments which, confronted by the approaching danger of war, wish to undertake exact and definite obligations regarding mutual defense. There are others which wish to undertake only obligations of an economic nature. There are, finally, certain regions, which are in definite danger, where a concrete number of powers may create a certain guarantee of peace through joint efforts, concretely outlined in advance.

Litvinoff's speech is addressed to all governments and to all peoples. He puts the question before them as to whether it is necessary to look upon the approaching danger as on an unavoidable fate or whether it is necessary to take measures against it. There can be only one answer to this. If the powers in which aggressive tendencies have the upper hand, perceive a decided will to check such tendencies in other countries and a strong determination for coordinated action against the aggressor—it is still possible that they might stop and consider whether it is worth while to them to risk their necks. No one has cut off the road to retreat of these countries. The opportunity of participating in the pacts proposed by Litvinoff must be open to all countries. It was for this reason that Litvinoff proposed that the Peace Conference should be organized outside of the framework of the League of Nations, so as not to create difficulties for states not belonging to the League.

Litvinoff's proposal represents the only remaining way out of the situation. It is a proposal for the organization of those who wish to fight against the danger of war. The duel between the French and British Foreign Offices which began after Litvinoff's speech, demonstrated this. Japan and Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference. The United States does not wish to undertake any binding obligations in the event of the danger of war. England and France disagreed on the question of disarmament and the question of security. Only one thing remains. To gather together those who wish to fight against the danger of war, to define precisely the obligations which each of these powers undertakes, with the proviso that no obligations shall be forced upon anyone, but that once obligations are undertaken, they shall be adhered to. With inexorable logic the chairman of the Soviet delegation outlined the real state of affairs and at the same time

indicated what is to be done. His proposal fully corresponds to the seriousness of the situation.

## Litvinoff Answers Critics of Plan

In the discussion that followed the speech of Litvinoff a tendency to shelve the Soviet proposal was displayed. In response to some of the points brought up Mr. Litvinoff again addressed the Commission on June 1, as follows:

I am glad to note that the delegates who spoke after me, while they did not express themselves with the clarity that might have been desired concerning the ideas which I developed, did not, at any event, submit any proposals that would contradict my proposals or take their place.

The speakers rather indulged in explaining the significance of disarmament or in deploring the impossibility of realizing it. In this respect they have said nothing with which the Soviet delegation could not agree. It is doubtful whether any other delegation throughout the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission and the Conference itself has advocated disarmament with greater energy than ours, explaining its enormous, exceptional significance among the guarantees of peace.

We too share in the sense of grief aroused by the failure of our efforts to attain any measure of disarmament. But when all this is said what else remains to be done? What good is it for us to sit and weep at the Geneva waters and recapitulate again and again the pious intentions of this or that delegation as expressed in this or that memorandum or draft convention which have not, however, met with universal approval? We are still confronted with the question as to with what concrete proposals the General Commission might usefully occupy itself with some chance of success.

I have not yet had the time to study in detail the document which has just been read to us in the name of six delegations by M. Sandler, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs. At first glance I can only say that I do not see in it a single question which has not already been discussed, more than once, in the commissions of the Conference or in the General Commission, without any results, however, and I have no reason to expect results from a new discussion of the same questions.

Sir John Simon, like M. Sandler, suggests a convention for the prohibition of chemical warfare. I shall take the liberty of reminding you that such a convention already exists and has already entered into force between many states, although more than ten countries have not ratified it, and that it can be only a question of broadening it and giving it greater precision; this I presume is what Sir John Simon has in view. But a new draft convention of a broader and more precise nature has already been approved by the General Commission.

It only remains, therefore, to draw up the document and request the delegates of the governments represented here to sign it. I have no objection to this and am even prepared to second the motion of the British Foreign Secretary. But our sense of satisfaction would undoubtedly be increased if anyone here could tell us whether all the states which refrained from ratifying the far more limited convention on chemical warfare would sign this obligation and whether this obligation would be accepted without any conditions by a certain great power which is absent.

We are further offered budgetary publicity. But here again the question arises whether the publicity

obligation will be undertaken by the absent state. As we have already pointed out in the declaration of May 25, the whole complex of disarmament questions, including the question of chemical warfare and budgetary publicity, has the drawback that it requires unconditional acceptance by all the more or less important states and, by taking them up under present circumstances, we would be able at best to leave behind us only a number of unfinished symphonies, lacking, however, the charm of Schubert's music.

I am thus prepared to speak entirely in favor of the adoption of both British proposals. But shall we be able after that to go home with a sense of duty fulfilled? And if not, we shall still be faced with the formidable questions: What now? What is to be done? To these questions we find no answer in the statements of the previous speakers. The answers to these questions cannot be discerned in the proposals for a permanent disarmament commission since precisely in the field of disarmament it is that the commission will be unable to function. In principle I have nothing against permanence or against any commission, provided it is permanence of action rather than permanence of inaction. The reason that I have proposed, and still propose, to declare the whole conference, and not merely one of its commissions, permanent, is that it could be occupied with other questions serving the same aim as disarmament, namely, security and guarantees of peace.

A commission limited in its functions to disarmament alone would exclude all these questions, while the conference which I propose could engage in problems of security, disarmament, and control of execution of the obligations undertaken on the question of chemical war preparations, as well as in all preventive measures aimed at the preservation of peace.

Sir John Simon has stated that measures of security, such as the protocol of 1924, which have been discussed in Geneva and in the League of Nations particularly, had as their premise a certain reduction of armaments. But those making decisions are able to cancel and alter these decisions. It is also permissible to ask whether these decisions have always been strictly observed. The Locarno agreements, for example, were adopted in 1925 as a measure of security although they were not preceded by any reduction in armaments. The same may be said of the Briand-Kellogg Pact which represents a measure of security. I shall not mention the more limited and local pacts which were also concluded without any reduction in armaments.

The question is why cannot agreements analagous to the Locarno agreements be concluded in 1934? In Geneva for the past seven years I have always vigorously advocated disarmament, either to precede or accompany security. The Soviet delegation has done everything within its power to bring the disarmament proceedings to a successful conclusion.

But if we have now come to the conclusion that the political situation has considerably changed in Europe and that for reasons beyond our control a disarmament convention cannot be signed, and when we see that the danger of war, far from declining, grows with every year and every month, must we fatalistically fold our hands and wait for the coming events and reject all other possible measures outside the field of disarmament, which are capable of forestalling or lessening this danger?

No doubt the absence of a disarmament convention will lead to an increase and race in armaments. But I ask, will this increase be greater or less, will it be swifter or slower, should the states, in addition to their own armed forces, be able to rely on the solidarity and assistance of a greater or lesser number of other states, and will not the system of security itself lead to automatic reduction of armaments, at least as far as the participants in the system are concerned?

I think there can be only one answer to this question.

That is why I propose, regardless of the proposals made by Sir John Simon, immediately to call together the political commission and resume the discussion of the question of security from the point where the proceedings of the commission were interrupted. I need not submit any new concrete proposals as very much could still be done within the limits of those proposals which have already been introduced in the political commission and on which discussion has already commenced and passed the preliminary stages in the commission.

As regards the proposal to rename the Conference a Peace Conference, and the question of its permanence, obviously a decision can be adopted only by the plenary session of the Conference, and the General Commission merely has to make a corresponding recommendation to the plenary session. I am therefore making a motion to that effect.

## Text of Soviet Draft Resolution

On June 3 Mr. Litvinoff submitted a draft resolution on behalf of the Soviet delegation, embodying the plan for a permanent Peace Commission. The text of the draft resolution follows:

On the basis of the report of the Chairman of the Conference and on documents circulated by him, bearing evidence to the fact that "parallel and supplementary negotiations," which took place between various governments after the last session of the General Commission in October, 1933, did not remove obstacles which previously prevented the General Commission from drawing up a draft convention acceptable to all nations, and did not create conditions from which to expect a successful outcome of the discussion and drafting of a conversation at the present time,

Taking into account that "the general political atmosphere, which was not particularly favorable before the opening of the Conference, has hardly improved during the existence of the Conference" (see speech of Chairman of Conference of May 29),

Continuing to recognize the tremendous importance of a reduction in armaments and its necessity as a measure in the general system of guaranteeing the security of nations and lessening the danger of war,

But considering that the further prolongation of the discussion on a reduction in armaments cannot at the present moment be expected to produce any effective results,

Maintaining a firm decision in no event to abandon efforts to attain a unanimous decision for a reduction in armaments, as soon as circumstances permit,

Noting that the present international situation is full of menacing symptoms of a growing danger of war and that the people, alarmed by this danger, expect from the Conference the speedy adoption of effective measures for the preservation of peace,

Taking into account that the Disarmament Conference has included among its tasks not only the drafting of a disarmament convention, but the adoption of other measures of security for all nations, and that in its decision of February 25 it provided for the examination of all questions serving the "organization of peace," and that the lack of results up to the present time in the work in the field of disarmament and the political situation which has caused this lack of results, demand the most speedy adoption of all possible measures of security,

The General Commission decides:

Firstly, immediately to resume the interrupted work on the consideration of existing proposals for pacts of mutual aid and defining aggression,

Secondly, to recommend to the plenary session, in



view of the special importance acquired by the universal and uninterrupted organization and guaranteeing of peace at the present time, to declare the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments a permanent body, renaming it the Peace Conference, with the following tasks:

a) Continuation of the work to reach an agreement on the drafting of a convention for the reduction and limitation of armaments;

b) Drawing up an agreement and deciding on measures for creating new guarantees of security;

c) Taking every kind of preventive measure for the avoidance of military conflicts;

d) Control over the carrying out of the convention and decisions of the Conference,

e) Consultation in the event of violation of international agreements for the preservation of peace.

Note: The renaming of the Conference in no way infringes the former relations existing between the Conference and the League of Nations.

Thirdly, to instruct the Bureau of the Conference to work out rules for the Conference in accordance with its extended tasks and submit them for discussion to a plenary session of the Conference.

## Litvinoff on the French Resolution

At the meeting of the General Commission on June 8, M. Louis Barthou, French Foreign Minister, presented a draft resolution, which the British and American delegates had cooperated in preparing, one of the points of which provided for postponement of consideration of Mr. Litvinoff's proposal that the Disarmament Conference be turned into a permanent Peace Conference in order that, in view of its novelty, the proposal could be first submitted to the various governments. While continuing to urge the immediate adoption of the Soviet proposal, Mr. Litvinoff concurred in the French resolution and in so doing, spoke in closing as follows:

I do not know how far this resolution will take us, but I must say that long speeches will undoubtedly not take us particularly far. I shall not try to convince you that I am delighted with this resolution. I can hardly be expected to be pleased with any resolution which can be accepted here, in any case with any resolution which does not provide for the tempo to which we are accustomed in our country. But if I am asked whether I will vote against the resolution then I will reply in the negative, since there is nothing in it which would meet with the opposition of the Soviet delegation.

In actual fact, the resolution proposes that the Bureau should seek for a solution of immediate problems. We are ourselves seeking for this, and if the Bureau will help us we shall be grateful to it. What can there be said against this?

The possibility of Germany's return, against which we also have never spoken, is mentioned. It is not we who have discussed here the question of whether those absent are always right or always wrong, whether we feel here the presence of those absent, or the absence of those present. I might say, that the Soviet Government has already done not a little to hasten the return of Germany not only to the conference, but to other international organizations.

Further, it is proposed that we again take up the question of air armaments and of manufacture and trade in arms.

Well, if there are people here who believe that the resumption of the hitherto unsuccessful work of the Conference in this sphere can now lead to a disarma-

ment convention, I have no intention of doing anything to disillusion these people and to dampen their enthusiasm—but on condition that this work does not take the place of work to which I attach great significance and which, in my opinion corresponds more to the international demands of the moment.

I am glad, however, to note that in the program of work indicated by the French delegation, a very honorable place is given to the problem of security, which is one of the essential proposals of the Soviet delegation. True, I proposed to take up not only the question of regional pacts, but also the definition of aggression. One question brings the other in its train. The pacts should, in my opinion, contain a definition of aggression, and therefore both questions might be discussed together.

Further, our second proposal concerned the establishment of a permanent peace conference. The resolution refers back this proposal to the governments but, I hope, not in order that it should be lost in the archives of the foreign ministries. I hope that the governments will carefully study the proposal and give instructions to the delegates to discuss the question here. The fact that the danger of war has not disappeared but has on the contrary, sharpened, will, unfortunately, still long remind you of my proposal.

I must remark that to the terrible spectres of international life there has been recently added still another: the passing over of the fate of whole nations into the hands of the military. We know that there are among civil statesmen not a few with military sentiments, and possibly that there are not a few peacefully minded people among the military. At least, the leaders of the Red Army are the most peacefully inclined people in the world. But all the same we should carefully follow the new phenomena in question, which are liable to increase the danger of the violation of peace.

It has been a great satisfaction to learn from the discussion that there are not a few statesmen here who perceive the danger which we are constantly pointing out, and who are ready to cooperate with us in preventing and diminishing this danger.

In short, I can assure you that the government that I represent, irrespective of decisions taken here, will not only at the Conference, but outside the Conference, continue with unabated energy the work of strengthening universal peace—peace for all peoples and nations—that work in the sphere of which it has already done so much.

## SOVIET-JAPANESE EXCHANGES

In response to protests regarding the alleged firing on a Japanese steamer from the Soviet shore, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on June 1 instructed Mr. Slavutsky, Consul General of the U.S.S.R. in Harbin, to send the following note to Mr. Simamura, Assistant Diplomatic Agent of Japan in Harbin:

On May 24 I had the honor to inform you that the investigations conducted by order of the central authorities had established that the "Di-Chen" steamer incident had been caused by the steamer's unwarranted approach to the Soviet shore, by the systematic photographing of coastal defenses and by the steamer's continually steering its course along the Soviet shore despite repeated warnings from that quarter.

In reply to your statement of May 28, I wish to advise you that the further information received by the central authorities in Moscow fully confirms the results of the investigations made.

As regards the legal aspect of the question raised by you in our conversation of May 17, I must draw your

attention to the fact that on the basis of the general principles of international law pertaining to the shore of the Amur River, each of the neighboring states has the right to apply its own laws and regulations on that section of the river which lies between the line of the state boundaries and the shore of the corresponding state. In accordance with Article 25 of the "Statutes on the Defense of the State Boundaries of the U.S.S.R." issued on June 15, 1927 and published in the Collection of Laws, 1927, No. 62, Article 625, the organs of the Border Guard of the U.S.S.R. on the Amur in question had the right to stop the steamer "Di-Chen" which had unlawfully approached the Soviet shore and notwithstanding repeated warnings continued for some time to steer its course along the Soviet shore, continually taking photographs of the coast line, particularly of coastal defenses. Article 2 of the R.S.F.S.R. Law of Feb. 23, 1929, forbids the taking of photographs in frontier regions without special permission. On the basis of Article 35 of the above-mentioned law of June 15, 1927, the frontier guard had the right, in view of the illegal actions of the steamer after "preliminary blank shots and two warning shots had been fired," to use firearms. However, in view of orders from the command regarding the necessity, except in an exceptional emergency, to avoid anything that might lead to complications with neighboring states, the Soviet border guards did not use the right given them under the above-mentioned article. In particular, as it appears from the statement published in the *Harbin Nichi-Nichi* of May 26 from the Japanese officer Captain Taki who was on board the steamer "Di-Chen" at the time of the incident, the Soviet border guards did issue several signals to the vessel both by shouting and shooting into the air. Only after the vessel evinced a total reluctance to heed the signals of the coastguard, the latter fired several shots aiming high above the funnels of the ship, as a result of which the ship finally made its departure toward the Manchurian shore. During the investigations, all the coastguards stated and confirmed that none of them had shot at the vessel itself. As regards your statement that one person was killed and another wounded on board the "Di-Chen," I consider it necessary to draw your attention to the fact that in accordance with the statement made on May 22 by M. Oto, the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, to Mr. Stomoniakov, the Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, the "Di-Chen" had approached the Soviet shore owing to shots fired at it by bandits from the Manchurian side.

This statement is further confirmed by information published in the "Jehjeh Min Pao," a Sakhalian (on the Amur) publication, on May 18, according to which the "Di-Chen" had been shot at by bandits on the Sungari River, 25 versts from the confluence of the Sungari and the Amur, in the Manchurian village district of Tusyik. Two ship employees were killed as a result of this shooting, according to the above paper. Inasmuch as after the incident of May 12 with the Soviet coastguard in the district of the Bidzhan River, the "Di-Chen" sailed up the Amur River to Sakhalian, it is obvious that the shooting by the bandits referred to by the Sakhalian newspaper took place before the incident with the Soviet coastguard and was the shooting referred to by Ambassador Oto. From these facts it can be deduced that the victims on the "Di-Chen," consisting of one killed and one wounded of which you notified me on reports from the captain of the said vessel, were the result of shots fired, not by the Soviet border guards, but the result of the shooting by the bandits mentioned by the Sakhalian newspaper. Nevertheless, the Soviet side has no objection to conducting additional investigations of this incident if the Manchurian side will provide fresh facts.

The Soviet government very much regrets the occurrence of late of incidents between Soviet coastguards and three Manchurian vessels, due to the latter's illegal actions in violating the Soviet borders and systematically taking photos of coastal defenses, utterly disregarding the signals and warnings given in these cases by the Soviet coast-

guards. Considering that such incidents jeopardize the relations between neighboring countries, the Soviet government feels it necessary that both sides take measures to avoid the further repetition of similar cases. Although all three above-mentioned incidents with the Manchurian steamers occurred as a result of their violation of the Soviet borders and their illegal actions near the Soviet coast, the Soviet government has once more given its border organs stringent instructions to abide closely and strictly by the laws and has ordered them to limit the use of firearms except in cases of urgent necessity. The Soviet government, however, draws attention to the fact in order to eliminate the further repetition of incidents with Manchurian vessels near the Soviet shores, it is above all incumbent on the Manchurian authorities to take energetic measures to impress upon all ships sailing under the Manchurian flag not to violate the borders of the U.S.S.R. and, when in Soviet waters, to observe Soviet laws and regulations.

The Soviet government trusts further that the forthcoming negotiations between the Amur River Shipping Line and the Manchurian Shipping line on technical questions will also assist in insuring normal conditions for sailings on the Amur with the observation of the laws and regulations of both sides pertaining to their particular sections of the Amur waters.

#### Note of Japanese Ambassador

On June 5 Mr. Ota, Japanese ambassador in Moscow, sent a note to B. S. Stomoniakov in connection with the above communication. In his note Mr. Ota took exception to the interpretation of his statement, in his conversation with Stomoniakov on May 22, to the effect that the approach of the steamer to the Soviet shore was caused by shots fired at the vessels by bandits from the Manchurian side. He said it was quite true that during this talk he had cited the incident of the firing on a Manchukuoan vessel from the Soviet side, at a time when the vessel, in an endeavor to save itself from an attack by the bandits, moved away and found itself in the vicinity of Soviet waters. Mr. Ota declared that in so doing he was not referring "to the cases of death and injury which as indicated in the diplomatic representations of Manchukuo, occurred as a result of shots fired from the Soviet side." Mr. Ota objected to the reference to that part of his talk with Stomoniakov and, expressing anxiety regarding "the danger of misleading public opinion," requested that measures be taken to prevent this, stating that he would have no objection to the publication of his note.

#### Note of Stomoniakov

In reply to the note of the Japanese Ambassador, Stomoniakov wrote again to Mr. Ota on June 10, stating that there was no basis in the published text of the statement of the Soviet Consul General for the interpretation Mr. Ota seemed to have drawn from it. The letter said in part as follows:

"In actual fact, the reference to your words made in the statement of the Soviet Consul General in Harbin is limited exclusively to a statement that, according to your statement to me on March 22, the approach of the 'Di Chen' steamer to the

Soviet shores had been caused by shots fired at the vessel by bandits from the Manchurian shore. Inasmuch as you, in your note of June 5, confirm in essence this statement made by you on May 22, I do not quite understand what exactly you wish to correct or refute from the statement contained in the reply of the Soviet Consul-General in Harbin to the Diplomatic Agent of Manchukuo."

### DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH RUMANIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Notes establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Rumania and the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia were exchanged on June 9 between Maxim Litvinoff and M. Titulescu, Foreign Minister of Rumania and between the former and Dr. Edouard Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia on June 9, in Geneva.

The policy of restoring normal diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. was established in principle by the foreign ministers of Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia at a conference in Zagreb on January 22. At this conference it was decided that each country belonging to the Little Entente should be given the right to restore normal relations with the U. S. S. R. "as soon as the necessary political and diplomatic conditions for this step should arise."

As a result of conversations that took place in Geneva between Litvinoff, Titulescu and Benes, the permanent council of the Little Entente, meeting in Geneva, decided that such conditions already existed and that any of the Little Entente countries might act upon the Zagreb resolution when the moment seemed propitious.

In accordance with this decision the Rumanian and Czechoslovakian foreign ministers informed Mr. Litvinoff that their countries had decided immediately to establish normal diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. and to appoint ambassadors. Mr. Litvinoff in turn informed the Rumanian and Czechoslovakian foreign ministers of the decision of the government of the U. S. S. R. to establish normal diplomatic relations with Rumania and Czechoslovakia and to appoint its diplomatic representatives.

The text of the notes establishing diplomatic relations follows:

#### Titulescu's First Letter to Litvinoff

Geneva, June 9.

M. People's Commissar.

I have the honor to advise you of the following:

At the conference of the Little Entente held in Zagreb on January 22, 1934, all the three ministers of Foreign Affairs agreed that the time had come for the states which are members of the Little Entente to establish normal diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. as soon as the necessary diplomatic and political conditions should be at hand.

As a result of conversations which took place between you and me, M. People's Commissar, at the beginning of June, the Permanent Council of the Little

Entente assembled in Geneva, found that the political and diplomatic conditions now permit each of the states composing the Little Entente to act at the opportune moment in accordance with the resolution adopted in Zagreb.

In view of the above I am pleased to advise you that as the result of conversations which have taken place between us, His Majesty's Government of Rumania has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the U.S.S.R. and to appoint its envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

I am firmly convinced that the relations thus established will remain forever normal and friendly and that our peoples will continue to cooperate to their greatest mutual benefit in the maintenance of world peace.

Please accept, etc.

TITULESCU.

#### Litvinoff's Reply to Titulescu

Geneva, June 9.

M. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I am pleased to advise you that as a result of conversations which have taken place between us, the Government of the U.S.S.R. has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with His Majesty's Government of Rumania and to appoint its envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

I am firmly convinced that the relations thus established will remain forever normal and friendly and that our peoples will continue to cooperate to their greatest mutual benefit in the maintenance of world peace.

Please accept, etc.

M. LITVINOFF.

#### Titulescu's Second Letter to Litvinoff

Geneva, June 9.

M. People's Commissar.

By the exchange of letters which took place between us on June 9 normal diplomatic relations have been established between our countries.

In order to secure normal development of these relations in the direction of an ever-growing rapprochement and true and lasting friendship I have the honor to confirm the following agreement:

The Governments of our countries mutually guarantee fully to respect the state sovereignty of one another and to refrain from any direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs and development of the other country and particularly from any agitation,



Sovfoto

French scientific delegation arriving in Moscow

propaganda and any kind of intervention or support of it.

They undertake in addition not to create, support or permit the existence within their territories of organizations aiming at an armed struggle against the other party or attempting by force to change its political or social system, or advocating or preparing terrorist acts against its official representatives as well as organizations attributing to themselves the role of the government of the other country or part of its territory.

They also undertake to forbid the recruiting as well as the importation into or transportation through their territory of armed forces, arms, military stores, ammunition and any other supplies intended for these organizations.

Please accept, etc.

TITULESCU.

### Litvinoff's Second Letter to Titulescu

Geneva, June 9.

M. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

By the exchange of letters which took place between us on June 9 normal diplomatic relations have been established between our countries.

In order to secure normal development of these relations in the direction of an ever-growing rapprochement and true and lasting friendship I have the honor to confirm the following agreement:

The Governments of our countries mutually guarantee fully to respect the state sovereignty of one another and to refrain from any direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs and development of the other country and particularly from any agitation, propaganda and any kind of intervention or support of it.

They undertake in addition not to create, support or permit the existence within their territories of organizations aiming at an armed struggle against the other party or attempting by force to change its political or social system, or advocating or preparing terrorist acts against its official representatives as well as organizations attributing to themselves the role of the government of the other country or part of its territory.

They also undertake to forbid the recruiting as well as the importation into or transportation through their territory of armed forces, arms, ammunition and any other military supplies intended for these organizations.

M. LITVINOFF.

### Benes's Letter to Litvinoff

Geneva, June 9.

M. People's Commissar.

I have the honor to advise you of the following:

At the conference of the Little Entente held in Zagreb on January 22, 1934, all the three ministers of foreign affairs found it necessary to establish normal diplomatic relations between the states which are members of the Little Entente and the U.S.S.R., as soon as the necessary diplomatic and political conditions should arise.

As a result of conversations which took place between you and me at the beginning of June, the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, assembling in Geneva, found that the political and diplomatic conditions now permit each of the states composing the Little Entente to act at the opportune moment in accordance with the resolution adopted in Zagreb.

In view of the above I am pleased to advise you that as the result of the conversations between us the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Gov-

ernment of the U.S.S.R. and to appoint its envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

I am firmly convinced that the relations thus established will remain forever normal and friendly and that our peoples will continue to cooperate to their greatest mutual benefit in the maintenance of world peace.

Please accept, etc.

DOCTOR EDOUARD BENES.

### Litvinoff's Reply to Benes

Geneva, June 9.

M. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I am pleased to advise you that as a result of conversations which have taken place between us the Government of the U.S.S.R. has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the Czechoslovakian Republic and appoint its envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

I am firmly convinced that the relations thus established will remain forever normal and friendly and that our peoples will continue to cooperate to their greatest mutual benefit in the maintenance of world peace.

Please accept, etc.

M. LITVINOFF.

### FRANCO-SOVIET SCIENTIFIC RAPPROCHEMENT WEEK

A group of outstanding French scientists visited the Soviet Union during the latter part of May to participate in the activities of "Franco-Soviet Scientific Rapprochement" and to help bring about closer understanding and cooperation between French and Soviet scientific and cultural circles. Among the French visitors were: Academician Perrin, head of the delegation, member of the French Academy of Science and the oldest physicist in France, Academician Jacob of the Sorbonne, Professor of Geology, Academician Regaud of the Pasteur Institute, Professor of Radiology, Professor Hadamard, member of the French Academy of Science and author of well-known works in mathematics, Professor Gosse, Dean of the Natural Science Department in Grenoble University, M. Lemoigne, Professor of agronomical chemistry at the National Institute of Agronomy and author of books on agronomic chemistry and Professor Cellerier, director of the Experimental Laboratory of the National Museum of Applied Arts.

The visiting scientists were entertained extensively by Soviet government and scientific circles and given every opportunity to acquaint themselves thoroughly with work being done in scientific and other fields of interest to them.

### Changes in Soviet Foreign Service

On June 10 Leo Mikhailovich Khinchuk was relieved of his duties as Soviet diplomatic representative in Germany, in accordance with his own request, and on the following day Yacov Zakharovich Suritz, who had been holding the post of Soviet Ambassador to Turkey, was appointed to represent the Soviet Union in Germany.

