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New World

REVIEW

CHIANG'S POLICE STATE

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THE TRIAL OF IMRE NAGY

D. N. Pritt

CHINESE COMMUNES

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VISIT TO THE USSR

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KHRUSHCHEV ON EDUCATION

MIKOYAN ON ECONOMIC GAINS

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Mid-East, Taiwan, Geneva

by JESSICA SMITH

TENSE and dangerous as the world situation remains, there are signs of easing here and there as a result of the growing effect of world and U.S. public opinion in restraining bellicose moves by the Administration.

While certain individual Democratic Senators and others have been increasingly vocal in recent months in criticizing the Dulles-Eisenhower policies in the Middle and Far East and elsewhere, the leadership of the Democratic Party has had no constructive alternative to offer, and indeed has taken the position that they would do the same thing only more "successfully," with greater arms spending, greater positions of strength, and so on. Yet the Democratic sweep in the elections was certainly a reflection of the growing disgust and alarm of the American people over Republican foreign policies and their hope for something better.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon and British troops from Jordan was compelled by the pressure of world and U.S. public opinion and the new alignment in the United Nations. Another U.S. defeat was the shelving by the General Assembly of the question of a UN standing "Peace Force" supported by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, whereby they hoped

to set up a police force which could be shifted here and there throughout the Middle East whenever or wherever a government subservient to the West was in danger of replacement by a government representing the interests of Arab national liberation.

Pressure from America's allies as well as public opinion has so far held the situation in the Taiwan Straits in precarious balance. It became quite clear that the United States could no longer support Chiang Kai-shek's wild dreams of conquering the Chinese mainland. Dulles, on his trip to Taiwan, wrung from the unwilling Chiang an equivocal declaration not to use force "as the principal means of successfully achieving his mission." But this only means that the United States is now turning to the "two Chinas" policy, and intends to continue to support Chiang on Taiwan with ever greater military force. There are not and cannot be two Chinas. There is only one, the mainland, to which Taiwan and the offshore islands belong and must be returned. There can be no solution until U.S. forces leave the area altogether and Chiang Kai-shek is left to be dealt with as the internal business of the Chinese People's Government. When the U.S. forces leave there can be no doubt

that the majority of Chiang's aging retinue and troops will accept the Chinese Government's repeated offers to come home and be forgiven for their sins.

The Chinese stopped the ceasefire they had instituted, as they had said they would do, when U.S. ships continued to convoy Chiang's supply vessels to Quemoy. But their on and off shelling since has been on a very limited scale, sharply demonstrating to the people and troops on Quemoy how much more pleasant life would be if they were back with their own land and people. And the Chinese Government has given further evidence of its peaceful intentions in completing (October 27) the withdrawal of all its volunteer troops from North Korea, although U.S. troops still remain in the South.

The two Chinas policy, completely unrealistic and doomed to failure, represents a retreat by the Administration from its former policy of supporting Chiang's claims to the mainland. The net result of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy on the one hand and the moves of the Chinese Government on the other have thus brought a further defeat for the Administration in concentrating attention anew on the absurdity of non-recognition of China and keeping it out of the United Nations. More and more influential voices are being raised in this country for diplomatic and trade relations with China.

A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 10), noted that despite Secretary Dulles' arguments against recognition of China, "the evolution of U.S. policy seems to gradually move this country nearer recognition."

The removal of Senator Knowland from the political scene should be a help.

The Test Suspension Talks

World attention is now centered on the two Geneva parleys. While sharp East-West differences are proving difficult to resolve, the fact that negotiations are proceeding, however difficult and long they may be, is in itself hopeful.

The conference on nuclear tests, attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, opened November 10. The main point of controversy is that the USSR wants agreement on the ending of nuclear weapons tests immediately and forever, with agreement on the control mechanism to follow, while the West proposes agreement on a year-to-year basis only, with agreement on control measures to come first.

Prior to the opening of the conference, the United States and Great Britain agreed to suspend their tests for a year from the date of the opening of the conference and proposed that the Soviet Union do likewise.

Last March 31 the USSR unilaterally suspended its own tests, despite the fact that it had made considerably fewer than the West, but stated it would feel free to resume them if the United States and Britain failed to follow suit. In resuming tests on September 30, the USSR declared it had been forced to do so by U.S. and British actions in continuing tests of "unprecedented scope." In a statement issued on October 30, the Soviet Government declared that it was ready at once to suspend all nuclear weapons tests

forever if the Western Governments would agree to this, but otherwise would continue testing until its own explosions reached the number set off by the United States and Britain since March 31.

Whatever disappointment might be felt that the Soviet Union should have found it necessary to resume tests, the West is hardly justified in its charges of bad faith in the light of its own previous refusal to follow the Soviet initiative. It should be noted that the head of the Atomic Energy Commission has expressed grave concern lest the meetings at Geneva reach an agreement on ending or suspending tests, continuing the hoax about the need to produce a "clean" bomb, while our own have been dirtier than ever. Recently Los Angeles was subjected to dangerous radioactive fall-out as a result of the intensive series of explosions in Nevada. Norman Cousins, an initiator of the influential "Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy," in an editorial in the *Saturday Review* of November 15, wrote:

Knowing that the President of the United States had declared a one-year suspension of nuclear testing, beginning on October 31, the AEC advanced its own testing program and fired off more shots than have ever been compressed into a single week. In so doing, it substantially destroyed whatever moral power the President's statement may have had before the outside world. It weakened our hand at Geneva. And it exposed millions of people in California and possibly elsewhere to serious danger. On the last day after the deadline, shot after shot tore at the earth and filled the sky with its deathly dirt.

At the opening session of the tests conference, Semyon K. Tsarap-

kin, leader of the Soviet delegation, presented a draft agreement (made public later) to ban nuclear tests forever, containing the following main points:

1. The three powers undertake to make no more atomic and hydrogen weapon tests after the date of the signing of this agreement, and to promote the same obligation for all other governments.

2. To implement this agreement, the parties "shall establish control machinery [which] will have in its possession a net of control posts created with due account of the recommendations of the Geneva Conference of Experts, and each country agrees to establish an agreed number of control posts on its own territory and trust territories."

Mr. Tsarapkin made clear the readiness of the USSR to accept Western personnel on its territory in an international control system as long as Soviet personnel were given similar access to control posts in the United States.

The West was reported "vexed" at the Soviet initiative, but the United States withheld any draft agreement of its own. James J. Wadsworth, chairman of the delegation, set forth the U.S. proposal of suspending tests on a year-to-year basis, on condition that after the first year an effective inspection system should be in operation and progress made on "major and substantial arms control measures." Britain, though less explicitly, concurred. The USSR, previous to the meeting, had made its position clear that the question of tests should not be contingent on other complex measures of disarmament on which no agreement had been reached during thirteen years of negotiations, since weapons testing was a matter that

could easily be separated from all others, and agreement to end tests would open the way for a complete ban on nuclear weapons.

With the United States continuing to press for establishment of controls as the first necessity, Mr. Tsarapkin on November 12 offered an important concession to the Western viewpoint. He said that if general agreement could be obtained on the Soviet draft treaty, it could then be temporarily shelved, while the conference discussed details of plans for establishing a control system. When these had been agreed on, a treaty covering both test cessation and the control system could be signed.

On the following day the United States, rejecting the Soviet proposals, and terming the concessions "minor," finally presented its own formal proposals, in the form of a "working paper" rather than a draft treaty. It called for the establishment of a world control network as proposed by Eastern and Western technical experts last summer and only after this had been accomplished, for a gradually phased coming into force of an agreed treaty on discontinuing tests, with separate provisions for the duration of the ban on testing and for adherence to it by other nations.

The basic differences remain: the USSR, to end tests immediately and combine this agreement with one on control and inspection; the United States and Britain to end tests conditionally on the effective operation of controls.

The statement made by Senator Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) on his return to Washington from Geneva where he was a Senate-adviser mem-

ber of the U.S. delegation, only seemed to confirm the Soviet charge that the United States is using delaying tactics in order to prepare for further explosions and does not in fact want a cessation of tests.

Senator Gore declared (*New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 16) that the Russians are trying "to pressure the United States and the United Kingdom into an agreement to stop all tests immediately, while avoiding the establishment of an adequate system of inspection and detection," and that public opinion in the United States will not accept this. (This, of course, is a distortion of the Soviet proposal which specifically includes establishment of such a system.) He also took exception to the USSR's position that ultimately there should be a complete ban on nuclear weapons and destruction of stockpiles.

The Senator then proceeded, in effect, to provide the argumentation for the Soviet position that agreement to end tests must be the first step. After describing the immense complexity of setting up an adequate detection system, he declared "our delegation in Geneva may be undertaking to negotiate the unattainable."

Expressing reservations on any total ban on tests, he proposed that the first step be an agreement on the ending of atmospheric tests only, leaving aside the question of suboceanic, underground and outer space tests.

Thomas E. Murray, former AEC member and consultant to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, who returned from the Geneva talks at the same time, was even more explicit. Declaring that

the United States already has all the H-bombs it needs and that their testing can be safely discontinued, he said that tests of smaller tactical weapons "must be continued for national security," and that the United States "should accumulate a large stockpile of them."

"Surprise Attack" Conference

The Conference on the prevention of surprise attack opened on October 31, with representatives of the United States, Britain, Canada and Italy on the Western side, and of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Albania for the East. The U.S. delegation is headed by William C. Foster, former Deputy Defense Secretary. The importance attached by the Soviet Union to the Conference may be judged by the fact that the head of its delegation is Vassily V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Foreign Minister.

At the opening session of the conference, Mr. Kuznetsov stated that the question of surprise attack was "inseparable" from the problem of disarmament. Mr. Kuznetsov said that the problem of surprise attack has arisen because "certain countries" have been pursuing a policy of "from positions of strength" that have led to an "unrestrained armaments race." He declared that reliable methods for preventing surprise attack can be worked out only on the condition of complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, removal of such weapons from national armaments, the destruction of all stocks of such weapons, the liquidation of military bases on foreign territory and a substantial reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces. Later he

proposed an international treaty to prevent planes from carrying nuclear weapons over the territory of other countries and the high seas.

Mr. Foster insisted that the purpose of the conference was only to "discuss the technical matters concerning the problem of minimizing surprise attack," such as itemizing surprise attack weapons and their capabilities and working out methods of detection and warning of their use.

It is reported that the USSR has already made concessions to the Western viewpoint (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 15, 16) and that the Eastern delegations agreed that there must be technical discussions as well as political.

Sober and realistic Western statesman-publicists like Walter Lippmann, after his interview with Premier Khrushchev, are convinced that there is no military threat from the Soviet Union, but that the real threat to United States prestige and control, especially in Asia and the world's underdeveloped areas, lies in Soviet economic progress. This is underlined by Khrushchev's announcement on November 14 of the breathtaking new Soviet Seven-Year Plan, with its goals of increasing production by 80 per cent and its promises to the Soviet people of the highest living standards in the world by 1970. If our government is really concerned with its own interests, it would seem a matter of wisdom to try quickly to reach agreements at Geneva that will promote peace and relieve our country of its vast arms program, and turn to the business of seeing what we can do to meet this great challenge in peaceful economic competition.

Chiang's Police State

by JOHN O'KEARNEY

IN THE late winter of 1955, a period when Chiang Kai-shek was trying desperately to stir up again from Taiwan (Formosa) the cauldron of war that by then had ceased to boil in Korea, a Chinese in Taipei said to me:

"We have to be careful what we say—and to whom. Chiang's secret police are everywhere. But I myself know that many of us who came with him would, if we could, go back without him."

In Chiang's schools the children are taught to sing of the day of their return to the mainland, of the day when "the cruel and murderous Communist beast will have been beaten." At least once a year the Generalissimo exhorts his troops to heat again their passion for reconquest of the homeland. The children know no better. The troops dare not *not* cheer. But over the course of the years in exile the New Year toast to the victorious return has diminished to a withered whisper. And this, as the Chinese say, issues mostly from the opposite side of the mouth.

The policy of the United States

JOHN O'KEARNEY is a newspaperman who has traveled widely in the Middle and Far East. His book on the Middle East and the Eisenhower Doctrine, "Red Mirage" was published in London earlier this year.

in sustaining the fictive sovereignty of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China is more or less greatly opposed by every government except that of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, and is opposed by every rational, informed and unselfishly interested person a traveler would be likely to meet over the face of the earth—excepting only those to whom it would seem rational to risk an atmosphere-destroying war for the sake of being able to say, one moment before the end, that the champions of western enterprise, regarding themselves as the very chemists of the eruptive, prehistoric brew of freedom, never once swerved from their principles. The man—multiplied by countless thousands—who is most opposed of all to United States policy, because his is the greatest suffering and sorrow, is that man in Taipei who came with Chiang but would go back without him.

The people of Taiwan are of three distinct groups. The first in time, but of no diplomatic importance, are the aborigines, a short, stocky, brown-skinned Malayo-Polynesian people, numbering today something less than 180,000, some of whom even lately have been given to head-hunting. The other two groups are true Chinese. The first of these are the Taiwanese, Formosans de-

scended from Chinese who ever since the 6th Century of the Christian Era have been crossing the straits from Fukien and Kwangtung in broken lots from time to time, fleeing famine and other, earlier conquering armies. The greatest of these straits migrations came in the early 1600's, as the Ming dynasty broke under the pressure of the Manchus. In those years the island was ruled by a pirate named Cheng Chen-kung, known ruefully to armed Dutch colonists of the time as Koxinga, a freebooting supporter of Emperor Wan Li. These Taiwanese now number about 8,000,000. And the last group is the horde of soldiers and civilians who fled with Chiang in 1949, or who arrived at the close of World War II, which restored Taiwan to China from the Japanese who had ruled it for 50 years. Chiang brought with him a mixed bag of illiterate peasant troops, Kuomintang officials and frightened bourgeoisie—about 1,500,000 men, women and children.

In reporting now how it is among the people on Chiang's Taiwan, we may surely dismiss the aborigines as candidates for America's solicitude. The aboriginal is home, though I have heard his children in the high mountain schools sing the propaganda of the glorious day of return. Of the two Chinese groups, it would be difficult to say which in their different fashions is more bitter.

The recent mainlanders came away either as ignorant soldiers, to whom the best commander was the one who had, that far, fed them best, or as Kuomintang officials who preferred Chiang to a possible firing squad or as middle folk to whom

any onrushing army was unbearably crueller than exile. They came with the belief that this exile was to be of short duration. The mainland was not to tolerate the Reds for long—though they had driven out a ruler who, in the words of Gen. Joseph Stilwell, had given China only "greed, corruption, favoritism, more taxes, a ruined economy, terrible waste of life, callous disregard for the rights of man." To Kuomintang officialdom Taiwan was a lesser sphere for greedy profit, but it was better than reform or nothing. The ward heelers moved in everywhere. The Kuomintang Party took over. Every petty Taiwanese official became subject to the Kuomintang. Every Taiwanese shopkeeper paid a party levy or was driven off. The Gimo's favorites became directors of the expropriated industries set up by the Japanese, whose fine houses they also took. These elements in the train of Chiang's defeat are the loyal elements, perhaps hungry for the fatter corruption of the mainland they knew, but still loyal; but there are those who got nothing, perhaps sought nothing but peace and quiet; and then there is the army, though a large part of this appears to be made up of intellectual castrati. The truly dispossessed, intellectuals and educated businessmen, and those of both backgrounds who have grown up since their families fled the mainland, were the first as a group to suspect Chiang of having delusions; but these dispossessed were also most deeply and agonizingly affected by the tantalizing, implied cause for hope, hot and cold and hot again, of United States patronage.

"Taiwan is so small, China is so great," it was said to me. "Taipei (the capital) is but a few streets long, a few wide. We feel locked in. There is nowhere to go; nowhere to *think* of going, which is worse. There is no life . . . no stimuli of creation."

And again: "I had a factory. I used to travel all over China, here and there. When the Communists were coming I told my workmen. They left, and I fled with my family. I don't know why now. I was thinking, I suppose, only of my family—mother, father, wife, five children. Even if they had destroyed my factory I could have started another, I could be working at what I know. Here . . .!"

And again: "Last year I could have gone to Hong Kong. I had a good business reason. But they made it clear that my family was my hostage. I did not go. I feared, not for myself, that perhaps I would never come back." He paused and then added: "I have so few books."

Among these people there is no longer any expectation, nor has there been for several years, that Chiang will ever return to the mainland. He is a kite, riding a contrary wind.

Of the soldiers Chiang brought with him, the officers and those who have been mustered out for age are the relatively lucky. The great majority of the rank and file on Taiwan, almost penniless, have been living a barracks life for almost 10 years. United States "defense support" feeds them well, but they are forbidden to stray or to marry; indeed, how could they? Those who have gone on foreign service to Quemoy may feel they have it some-

what better. They are shelled, of course, the military hospital is full of wounded; but on Quemoy there is at least a pleasure palace, gay with young girls who enlisted for patriotic whoredom after published appeals by Chiang. These troops are aware of no version of the world's affairs except the version the Kuomintang feeds them; but they cannot fail to have been impressed of late by the weighty and cannily diplomatic, every-other-day shelling of Quemoy.

[On October 28 Secretary Dulles was asked at a press conference what he thought of the idea of war every other day. His reply revealed that he does not regard war as an extension of diplomacy, as force reserved, restraint allowable, for ultimate political persuasion or dissuasion. His answer (into what sort of thinking does it fit?) was: "If you have a military purpose, you carry on your shooting for military objectives and your purpose is to destroy the capacity of your enemy to resist. When you do it only every other day . . . that shows the killing is done for political purposes and promiscuously." It is promiscuity in the Communists to attempt to achieve their purpose—rebellion and capitulation—of Chiang's followers—through killing only half as many as they could. Dulles called the on again, off again shelling "outlandish and rather uncivilized." He said he knew of no precedent. He forgets the mediaeval Truce of God.]

If Chiang's mainlanders are to wait for his death before they decide their future, then they may hope, with faint hope, for decision only through the army. There is

ould appear that Chiang maintains the tightest of political controls. From headquarters down to battalion, there are political officers whose authority even in military matters is superior to that of the military officers who are their nominal opposite numbers. Command issues from two mouths, but the louder is that of the politicals who, along with the secret police assigned to keep the civil population under surveillance, are under the direct control of Chiang Ching-kuo, eldest son of the Generalissimo.

However, Chiang-kuo is an enigmatic character who moves in shadow. In 1926, when his father was seeking friendly relationship with the Soviet Union, he was sent to Moscow to study. Ten years later, still in Russia, he denounced his father in a letter published in the *Leningrad Pravda*. He spoke of himself in this letter as "wealthy in knowledge of human life and the methods of liberating exploited, oppressed humanity." He called his father a "mountebank . . . preaching the moral principles of Confucius . . . only (as) a new way of fooling the people." This child of Chiang's first marriage returned to China with a Russian wife and made up with his father in 1937, a year after the letter was published. Kai-shek gave Ching-kuo the task of wiping out black marketeering and corruption in Shanghai. He sent many of his father's friends to jail. It is said to be common knowledge on Taiwan that he hates the present Madame Chiang; that she would flee for her life in the first moments of widowhood. It is rumored of Ching-kuo that he favors capitulation to Peking; that he has

directed secret negotiations with the Communists for several years; that he will give in when at last he can do so with the least of bloodshed. Ching-kuo is openly regarded as his father's successor, but the purveyors of studied rumor feel that he would not have been chosen as heir if the Gimo were not so ill-temperedly insulated from what is going on, spending most of his time in these latter years in a penitential sort of meditation. There are elements of inconsistency in Ching-kuo's activity. It is he who developed and refined the political officer system in the Nationalist army, but possibly only ostensibly to assure loyalty to the Gimo's cause, since the system has been criticized severely by United States military advisors. An American officer of high rank told me on Taiwan in '55 that Chiang's army would remain hopelessly inefficient unless the political officer system were done away with. Shortly before this more than 100 military officers had been arrested as Communist plotters who had planned, among other things, to present a petition to Chiang to abolish the system—precisely what the Americans recommend! The ringleader was Major Kuo Ting-liang, aide to General Sun Li-jen. Sun and Kuo fought together in Burma in the only really disciplined fighting done at any time by Chiang's forces against the Japanese. Sun, the Nationalist officer most respected in Washington, resigned.

One thing is certain about Chiang's army: an illiterate rank-and-file may still believe the Gimo could lead them to reconquest of the mainland, but none but ignor-

ant and irresponsible officers would lead them to it; while the rest of the world has long been aware that only an American-established bridge-head could give Chiang a mainland foothold, the better for his troops to desert.

The largest group on Taiwan, the Taiwanese of migratory stock, are sitting out these years of occupation like people brutally dragged in to sit uncomfortably through a boring Chinese play. With the return of Taiwan to Chinese sovereignty, Chiang sent his administrators to the island to prepare for its being milked by the Kuomintang. The Japanese had been fairly benevolent masters, letting the Taiwanese run their small affairs themselves, content that they labored to produce great cargoes of crops on land that to Tokyo was a kitchen garden. The Chiang men were less interested in fruits and vegetables than they were in ready cash to the last groat. They gouged taxes out of everything. One day early in 1947—so the tale goes—mainlander police arrested an elderly woman who was selling untaxed tobacco and matches on the streets of Taipei. She resisted. They clouted her. Someone threw a brick. A soldier fired. The soldier was attacked by passersby; more

bricks, more shooting—riot. The riots spread to other cities down the island.

And then, even as the mainland governor was bringing the trouble under control through negotiation Chiang ordered troops to Taiwan. They landed at both ends and bathed through blood to the middle. Foreign eye-witnesses told of rape, murder, mutilation of men, general slaughter of young and old, in homes, in the streets. The bodies were swept up and carted away like stinking garbage. Some say only 15,000 were killed; others say as many as 40,000.

No outsider can have much opportunity to appraise either the coherence or cohesion of political thinking among the 8,000,000 Taiwanese Chinese. The permeating tyranny of Chiang's police state exerts a force on the island which has crushed their greater number into a lesser, a minority, mass, ever fearful of brutal reprisals for wrong thinking. There can be no organization even "loyally opposed" to Chiang, hence no open expression of political desire which bears any relation to practical reality. There is but one expression, clear though covert: that is to be rid of the warlordism of Nationalist rule.

FOR A NEW CHINA POLICY

AROUND THE COUNTRY more and more voices are being raised for a change in the U.S. policy toward China. On the West Coast, the *Pacific Shipper* carries on a constant campaign for trade in non-strategic goods with Communist China. In the East, a group of prominent Boston civic, religious and academic leaders, including many Harvard professors, have called for "negotiations looking toward the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Peking Government," and with regard to the seating of Communist China in the United Nations declares: "we feel that the United States should cease its active leadership in opposition to such action."

"BIG AND KIND"

by SALLY KENT

THERE'S no question that the latest impressions of the USSR are bound to have something fresh about them because the physical aspect of the country is changing so rapidly that even the people who live there don't recognize it from one month to another. Every time you turn your back around, so to speak, up goes a new apartment and whole block of old wooden houses comes down. And if you say politely to your Russian friends that the old houses are "picturesque" and seemingly well built it is of no comfort to them. They merely shudder and reply, "They'll all be gone next year." The most vivid image I have of Moscow is of a city surrounded with a forest of cranes, and block after block—mile after mile it seems of new houses, none over nine stories high, together with their complement of shops, parks, playgrounds, schools and grassy boulevards dividing the wide streets.

However, Rockwell and I didn't go to the Soviet Union on a special fact-finding mission, and so we have not returned with our heads full of statistics but, rather, with our hearts full of affectionate memories of a wholesome, earnest and completely guileless people energetically devoted to evolving a new way of life for all their people—though rather than "way of life" I would say "way of living," for our term "way of life" has come to have a materialistic connotation that is entirely foreign to Soviet society. The expression "Time is money," for instance, is unthinkable in the Soviet Union. (Their people have, indeed, a lofty disregard for time in terms of the clock that can be quite disconcerting to the visitor from America!) Far more expressive of Soviet life is their own saying, "The poor eat when they can, the rich when they like, and Russians when they have time."

And so we found a people very busy living.

We were particularly fortunate in meeting the people and, in fact, sharing their everyday holiday life, because Rockwell's invitation this time had been not only to come at last to the USSR and see his exhibition while it was still showing there but to go to a Black Sea resort for a period of rest and recuperation

SALLY KENT, of course, is the wife of Rockwell Kent, and well known to all who have read his exciting autobiography "IT'S ME, OH LORD!" Mr. Kent's many speaking engagements have left him no choice but to postpone the article he had hoped to write for this issue, and we are delighted at this time to present Mrs. Kent's report of their trip to the Soviet Union, where she acted as an ambassador of goodwill and friendship on her own account.

after an operation he had undergone last spring. And while, by the time the mechanics of his invitation had been completed, he had pretty well recovered, his health still had priority on the Soviet agenda—or, let me say, in their hearts—and so we found ourselves not staying long in Moscow but on our way to the Crimea by way of Kiev, where his pictures were on exhibition.

"And what do you think of Kiev, Mr. Kent?" say the eager young reporters as he alights from the plane and, for the first time in his life, sets foot on Ukrainian soil. "Well—(with a swift glance around)—from what I've seen of it so far—" he replies. An exaggeration of course, but an approximation of the charming ingenuousness with which the people take you into their confidence, asking you please to share their delight in their pretty city and the wonder of its being there, whole and unscarred after the devastation of so short a while ago as fifteen years. And while the people of Leningrad, as we were to learn later, think of their serene and spacious city as the most beautiful in the country, and the people of Moscow think their busy, bustling, modern metropolis best of all, there's no question that the people of Kiev, in a spirit of friendly rivalry, think of their little garden city as the jewel of the USSR. It did not take us long to share their wonder and joy in Kiev—less to be described as a city containing many beautiful parks than a park containing a beautiful city. And in all our five days there the only traces of war damage that we saw were the stumps of a bridge sticking up out of the lovely Dnieper and the ruins of a

monastery, its gorgeous mosaics lying crushed and quite beyond repair. Fortunately their greatest architectural treasure, the St. Sofia Cathedral, was only slightly shelled, and the restoration work we saw going on there was not of war damage but of the damage done by years of over-painting to the 11th century frescoes that cover the walls and all the pillars from floor to ceiling. This work has been in hand for some time and will take many more years to complete. The visitor can only, so often, be astounded at the time and care that goes into the preservation and restoration of works of art and architecture when, to our materialistic eyes, there are so many other things that might come first.

Though we saw a great deal of art in the many galleries of even so small a city as Kiev, I must confess that the gallery we most enjoyed visiting was the one with wide open doors right off the beautiful Kreshchatik where large posters outside announced an exhibition of the works of Rockwell Kent. What a joy to Rockwell to see his paintings so many thousands of miles away from home, as fresh as the day he left his studio, and to meet the people who, having come to love the paintings, were here prepared to love the painter too. The press of people was, indeed, so great and the enthusiasm so overwhelming that before very long we had to ask to be excused. That was not the last we were to see of Rockwell's fame; however, for one day, walking in the hill-top park that borders the Dnieper, some little boys approached us to make the customary exchange of coins with foreigners and on leave

ing that this was Rockwell Kent, the American artist whose exhibition they had seen, almost embraced him and covered his lapel with their little pins and badges. We met such youthful fans again outside our hotel and in the grounds of the permanent Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition just opened this year where, in splendid buildings set in gracious grounds, one may see all the natural resources and industrial products of the Ukraine most beautifully displayed—including (what delight to our farmers' hearts!) what must be some of the world's largest and most magnificent cows.

A red-letter day for us in Kiev was that of our visit to a collective farm. "This isn't one of the best by any means," our guide, Larissa, told us, explaining that the better farms were farther away from the city and inaccessible at the moment on account of recent heavy rains. Far from being disappointed, we were happy at our friends' feeling they knew us well enough to show us something less than their best. So off we went in the pouring rain, to find the farm indeed looking rather dismal on that dreary day, the wet leaves fallen on the ground, the ground itself a sodden sponge. After meeting and exchanging notes with the administrator in his office we set out to view the buildings, the machinery and the cows. The orchards, which were the mainstay of this particular farm, were not to be reached that day because of the mudding of the roads, for which we were not properly shod. However, we viewed the cows and found them beautifully cared for and munching a delicious green feed that would have made the mouths of the cows

on our Adirondacks farm water. We viewed the machinery and found it excellent in quality and quantity, though we were rather appalled to see it standing out in the rain. "We only just received it from the State Tractor Station," the administrator explained, "and haven't had time to put up the buildings." He then showed us the sheds in course of construction. And then, as though leaving his orchard's best plum for the last, we were taken to see the nursery where the children are cared for during the day—its rows of neat white cots, its playroom full of every imaginable kind of toy. And in addition to this wonderful care for children we saw, in course of construction, a "House of Rest" for the employees of that collective. Our lesson in the care of people coming before the care of machinery!

From Kiev we flew down to Simferopol and there changed from plane to car and drove the two-and-a-half hours that it takes to cover the twenty-five miles from Simferopol to Gurzuf, so winding is the road. Half way we stopped for lunch. "This looks like what we would call the 'divide' in the mountains," Rockwell said to our host. "We use the same word," he replied, "and in fact that is the name of the restaurant: *The Divide*." Across the road was the entrance to a wild animal reservation. At that moment I was to be struck by a feeling that often came over me in the USSR of not being abroad at all but just in some unfamiliar state of the USA, a state in which, by local option, all billboards and other commercial eyesores had been barred. Arrived in Gurzuf, however, there was no question that we were in a foreign

country. The ancient Tatar fishing village, its houses clinging to the hillside like mussels to a rock, its narrow streets teeming with people (mostly tourists) gave one the feeling of having at least half a foot in Asia.

The house at which we were to stay by invitation of the Artists' Union was a big, old, rambling building, formerly the residence of a pre-revolutionary painter of some repute, for whom the house is named, Karolin. "Dear Karolin" we were to come to call it, for though it lacked the elegance of many other hostelrys along that coast (it is to be replaced next year) it possessed an irresistible charm. How irresistible is evidenced by the fact that, though we were pressed from various hospitable quarters to move to some more comfortable establishment we firmly held out for Karolin and its charm—and, above all, its people. For in a very short time we had come to know and count as friends the people, mostly artists, whose holiday life for fourteen days we were to share in such an easy, happy comradeship as we had never known—joining in their expeditions into the hills, to the Botanical Garden nearby, journeying along the coast in a cruiser to take photographs of dolphins leaping out of the turquoise sea, making trips to Yalta just to walk around with all the other tourists, dancing under the stars at night and (the main attraction of that resort area) spending hours on the beach. Oh, that "beach"—that formidable stretch of large hot stones that are an agony to the tenderfoot! And, oh, the countless hundreds of people that spend the whole day there, lov-

ing it, soaking up the sun until they are as brown as Tahitians, exercising in the cool of morning and perhaps returning after sundown for another quick, refreshing dip. Except for those stones we loved it too.

The comradeship I spoke of is one of the most touching aspects of Soviet life. It is very deep and very real; a quality of caring about and for other people, a lovingness for mankind. Another quality that is most appealing is the people's youthfulness. Young and old, of course, take part in active sports, so that one may see gray-haired women playing a fast game of volley ball with young men half their age. But the youthfulness is more than physical, it is of the spirit too. For one thing, I suppose, they do not grow conservative with age. And then they are untroubled by whether to go a little bit to the right or a little bit to the left because they are so sure they are going forward and, perhaps most important of all, they are kept young by freedom from the crippling anxieties of how to pay the doctor's bill, the rent, how to afford the children's college expenses and what to live on in old age. In the Crimea we saw whole new villages of prettily painted little houses and were told that these were the private houses of retired people, many of whom were putting them up at leisure on the "do it yourself" plan. Judging from these houses and the lovely climate of the Crimea we felt quite sure that the inhabitants of these villages were going to spend a very happy and comfortable old age.

We saw also several of the magnificent sanatoria that abound along the coast—all of them palaces, some

old, some new, set in beautiful grounds with stream and pools and statuary and many quiet nooks for rest. Though somewhat too palatial for our taste the important thing is that the sanatoria are there and that, in that part of the Crimea alone some 35,000 people a year are able to take advantage of the special kind of restful holiday they provide. In addition there are many, many "houses of rest" such as ours at Gurzuf, and thousands of tourists come in by bus and train and plane and car to travel around and stay in boarding houses, hotels and tents. The whole Crimea, in fact, was dedicated by Lenin to the health and recreation of the people. There is to be no industry there, ever—just agriculture. In the region where we were staying grapes were the main crop; and we spent one jolly afternoon at Massandra, the local winery, sampling the products and bringing home with us from there a special treasure: two bottles, one each for Rockwell and me bearing the dates of our birth. Those we are saving for our next birthdays, when we will drink them to our friends in the USSR, and to peace—thinking of the long and happy hours of conversation in the gardens of *Karolin* at Gurzuf, of the "velvet" days as they are called in that region; thinking of the bread and salt and vodka with which we had been received at a welcoming supper and of the laughter and some tears at the banquet the night before we left, when a sweet, shy, older woman gave me a sea-shell with a brilliant salmon-colored inside and said: "Put it to you ear and listen. It is whispering 'Peace.'"

And still I haven't mentioned

Artek, the famous international camp of Young Pioneers, next door to us at Gurzuf. It is hard to tell about those lovely, lovely children—clear-eyed, untroubled and touchingly affectionate little beings who take you by the hand in confidence and trust. A few days after we left the Crimea we were in Leningrad, walking in the grounds of the Peterhof and marvelling at the reconstruction of the palace (we had seen a copy of Hitler's order that Leningrad should be razed to the ground), at its fountains playing and its freshly gilded dome glittering in the autumn sun. Our companion, a jovial, round-faced fellow, who spoke such perfect Australian that we could scarcely believe he was a Russian, began to tell us about the Siege, those nine-hundred days of starvation, almost without heat, light and water, when the front was just outside the city at the end of the trolley line. We asked him finally, "How can you talk about the siege without one trace of bitterness against the Germans?" He smiled and said, "Well, you see, we keep all these things in our hearts. We are thinking about the future and the children."

In the Museum of the City of Leningrad we saw the diary of a little ten year old girl, its pages loosened and spread out so that they could be read consecutively. There were about eight entries covering a period of six months. "Today my father died," they began. And next, "Today my uncle died." "Today my brother died." (the names were given). "Today my Aunt died." "Today Grannie died." "Today my mother died." Until, at last, "Today my sister died. Now I am all alone."

"What happened to the little girl?" we asked. "They took her out, but it was too late. She died."

Lovely Leningrad: pink and blue and green and white, with its immense spaciousness, its four hundred bridges, its rivers and canals; city of the Hermitage, where we spent many hours entranced before some of the greatest art treasures in the world; city of the little girl and thousands like her; and of the brave and gentle people who defended it and never once in all those nine hundred days of siege destroyed a single work of art to make the bullets so desperately needed at the front.

Our last night in Leningrad we spent at the house of friends from Gurzuf, two couples who shared an apartment, a very comfortable apartment, with an entrance hall the size of a small New York hotel room, separate studios for each couple, a large dining-room and so forth. Lots of space. And a happy reunion for us with our dearest friends from the South. What a supper party that was! And when at last it came time to pour us on the train our hosts came with us and on the platform were joined by other friends from the Artists' Union whom we had met in the course of our stay. And they stood looking up, and we stood looking down, everyone smiling and waving, and some of them breaking into the strains of "Good-night Ladies" which Rockwell and I had inflicted upon them at Gurzuf, until finally, as the train pulled out, two of the young women ran along beside our carriage for as long as they could, waving and blowing kisses until the train had picked up speed and they were left behind.

Our last four days in Moscow were one long rush to see and do as much as possible in that short time: the Kremlin, the magnificent Moscow Art Theater, the Agricultural Exhibition, the puppet theater, our shopping for souvenirs, and a visit to Zagorsk, fifty miles away, to see an ancient and still active monastery. Our last night there, as in Leningrad, was spent at the house of friends—this time out in the country.

A dark and rainy night it was, and on arrival in the neighborhood of our destination we still had to walk through the dripping woods, picking up our feet and hoping we were not treading on the parsley (I'm sure it *was* parsley) in the little garden. A welcome sight, the glowing fire when at last we reached our host's house, and a friendly dog to greet us along with his masters. Another happy evening of talk and looking at pictures and feasting and drinking to each other's health and to peace. Until at last, and too soon, we said goodbye, pushed the car out of the mud and returned to Moscow.

The other day I read of a student from some distant Republic who came to Moscow to study. On his return to his native village he was asked, "And what did you think of Moscow?"

The youth's answer was laconic: "Big and kind." We found Moscow big and kind. And in our short travels in the USSR we met a people only kindly disposed toward the USA and asking only of their visitors that they tell the truth of what they saw and always, always begging us to say, "Tell your people we want peace."

THE NAGY TRIAL

by D. N. PRITT

This, we believe, is the first article to appear in this country based on firsthand investigation in Budapest, by a qualified observer from outside the country, of the circumstances and procedures of the Nagy trial. The conclusions reached by D. N. Pritt, Queen's Counsel and one of England's most distinguished lawyers, have special weight because of his lifelong experience in political trials in many parts of the world.

In addition to the many cases he has tried in England, the following are some of the famous trials in which he has taken part: India, before liberation, the "Lahore Conspiracy Case" and many others (in the Privy Council, on final appeal)—after liberation, the Telengana rebellion case in the Supreme Court of India and others; in Pakistan, the "Hyderabad Conspiracy Case" of Abka Khan. In the British Colonies: sedition trials in British Guiana, Singapore and Uganda; criminal defamation cases in Kenya and Tanganyika; the "Mau Mau" case, Jomo Kenyatta, in Kenya; also important cases in Cyprus, various Spanish Civil War cases in Gibraltar—and cases in Algeria.

Mr. Pritt, a former Labor M.P., is not now a member of any party, and can best be described as a Left Socialist in his political views.

THERE HAVE been many criticisms in the U.S.A. and Western Europe of the trial, conviction, and execution of Imre Nagy. They come mainly from the same circles as have defended the disgraceful conduct of many political trials in the United States and in the British colonies; and some of those who raise them were largely responsible for fomenting the uprising in Hungary in October, 1956!

Nevertheless, these criticisms must be refuted on their merits. I have myself studied all the available evidential material, and discussed the case with various lawyers in Hungary, including the Public Prosecutor, who answered frankly all the searching questions I put to him; and I have formed the clear view that Nagy was guilty, that it was

morally impossible, when the facts were ascertained, not to prosecute him, and that the sentence of death which was passed on him would have been passed for a similar crime in at any rate most other countries.

I express this opinion notwithstanding that, after a long experience of political trials, I frankly do not like them, and approach them always with suspicion. And I express it although I know that, for a long time after the events of 1956, many well-informed Hungarians thought that Nagy had been nothing worse than a weak and irresolute person confronted with a situation which was more than he could face. And I feel pretty sure that I should still hold the same opinion if I had started with the idea, so jealously cultivated by many writers in the

West, that the events of 1956 were no more than a spontaneous rising of the democratic masses in Hungary against tyranny, instead of—as I am fully convinced after long study—a carefully organized attempt to restore a Fascist regime in Hungary. (This is of course a much larger question, which goes beyond the confines of an article devoted to the trial of Imre Nagy).

So, now, what was this trial? It was a trial by the regular courts, under the regular procedure, of Nagy and a number of members of his group. The indictment charged him with a conspiracy to overthrow the people's democratic state order, and with treason; both these are crimes laid down by the regular law years ago, not "new" crimes created by emergency legislation. There was, in short, nothing whatever that was not normal and regular in the trial, except that it was heard "in camera." The law of Hungary is exactly like that of most other countries in relation to the admission of the public to trials; all hearings must be held in public unless either state security or public morals make it necessary to sit in private. I think it is quite clear from the nature of the Nagy case, and from the evidence so far as it has since been disclosed, that almost any Court in the world would have excluded the public from the hearing in similar circumstances.

The hearing began in February, 1958, and it was adjourned after two days, on the application of Nagy and of some of the other accused, to enable them to procure further witnesses. This sort of application comes up, of course, in many criminal trials. Sometimes it is a trick to gain time; sometimes it is genu-

ine, and the evidence in question is really needed; sometimes the Court—rightly or wrongly—thinks it is a trick, and refuses the adjournment; and sometimes it grants it. (I have myself had to fight, in a British Court, for over an hour, to get an adjournment of 24 hours which was really needed). At any rate, in this case, the Court thought that at least some of the evidence might reasonably be needed; and it granted an adjournment. The hearing was not resumed until June; it then lasted a little over a week, evidence being called by the accused as well as by the prosecution. The accused were found guilty; four of them were sentenced to death, and the four others to imprisonment for terms ranging from five to twelve years.

As the law—not any emergency law, but the regular law—did not permit of any appeal, the sentences of death were carried out at once. I do not like death sentences; few people do, and those few are to be found almost wholly in the circles who are protesting so loudly against the execution of Nagy. But the Courts of almost every country would have sentenced him to death, as I have said above, for the crimes of which he was convicted, in the circumstances in which he committed them.

What was the essence of the case made against Nagy, as shown by the indictment, the terms of which have been published, the judgment, some of which has been published, and the evidence, of which some also has been published? And what was the nature and cogency of the evidence brought against Nagy—none of which depended on any confession by Nagy, who defended himself

vigorously, if not very convincingly, and denied all the charges.

Many people who were sympathetic to the Hungarian Socialist State, but who knew that there had been a good many abuses under the Rakosi regime, were puzzled by the facts that the uprising seemed to arise suddenly out of a peaceful and apparently legitimate demonstration of students, and that within a few hours of the demonstration open civil war was raging. Such people were certainly not surprised that a civil war should be started, for they had long known that the U.S. Congress had voted \$100,000,000 a year, rising to \$125,000,000 a year, expressly for the purposes of fomenting such wars, and that many agencies in Europe were working actively to the same end. And there was nothing surprising in a peaceful demonstration of students. But how had the two things coincided in this remarkable fashion? The evidence in the Nagy trial solved that, and other puzzles too. It became clear, largely on the basis of documents, discovered in the course of the investigations, which were either in the actual handwriting of Nagy or were signed by him, that he had been instrumental in organizing and directing the students' demonstration, so that those who were preparing civil war could fit their activities to it.

I give this as just one example of the nature of the case against Nagy; the case as a whole showed that he had, with his group, been secretly preparing for many months for the uprising that took place.

One or two other examples must, of course, be given. The most important, and most sinister, comes during the uprising, shortly before

Nagy was appointed to be Prime Minister—the post which above all he wanted. Faced with the task of suppressing the rising, the Government unanimously decided to arm the workers. That in itself is, of course, a very striking proof of the fact that the rising was not a rising of the workers, but was an attempt to restore a reactionary regime, against which the workers could be trusted to fight; but the important point to consider here is the attitude of Nagy. He was already a member of the Government, and he concurred in the unanimous decision to arm the workers; and it was on the basis of the confidence in his loyalty which he thereby instilled into his colleagues that he was shortly afterward made Prime Minister. When he had succeeded to this post, he countermanded the decision to arm the workers, and indeed ordered, on his own responsibility, that they should not be armed. This enabled the uprising to make headway, and led to many more deaths. That is perhaps the most striking example of his dangerous and treasonable actions, but there are many others.

As time went on, with events moving very quickly, the awful days of the "White Terror," arrived, during which émigrés who had returned to Hungary, and reactionary elements who had remained in the country, with the assistance of many criminals whom they had released from prison, raged round Budapest, murdering indiscriminately thousands of people who were suspected of being supporters of the Socialist state. Throughout that time, Nagy the Prime Minister, who should have been working actively to suppress the massacres, remained silent and

inactive, doing nothing to prevent them; and at the trial he professed to have known nothing of what was happening. These and other derelictions of duty on his part were long thought to have been due to weakness and vacillation; and it was only when full investigations were held into the activities of his group that it gradually emerged that Nagy himself had been working to bring about a rising and install a new regime, with himself at the head of it, and had been restoring many "Horthy" fascists to office for that purpose. It then became clear that he had been guilty of something very different from weakness and vacillation; the evidence consisted largely—as already mentioned—of documents bearing his handwriting, and for the rest of testimony from eyewitnesses as to what he was say-

ing and doing at the vital period. His own explanations and denial in the witness-box, and his attempt to throw the blame on others, seem in retrospect only to make the matter worse.

There it is. It was a sad aftermath of a cruel and brutal attempt to set back the march of history in Hungary, an attempt which failed only by a narrow margin.

Anyone who sees Hungary at work today rejoices that the attempt did fail, and that the country is now building up its strength again. But any careful study of the case of Nagy should bring conviction that his prosecution and execution were a necessity, regrettable only in the sense that it is always regrettable to have to rake over the past and mete out punishment to those whose guilt is clear and whose crimes very great.

ON THE PASTERNAK CASE

WILFRED BURCHETT reported in the *National Guardian* (Nov. 17) on the 12,000-word letter sent to Boris Pasternak on September 1956 by the editors of *Novy Mir*, explaining why they felt *Dr. Zhivago* should not be published. The letter was made public for the first time on Oct. 25 in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Mr. Burchett called it "a most interesting document, far wiser and more balanced than the heated attacks made on Pasternak after his first acceptance of the Nobel prize." He also says that a foreigner living in Moscow is baffled by the question as to "why the *Novy Mir* criticism was not published at the time it was made—or at the latest when the book was published abroad." The same question baffles us all. This serious, detailed criticism and its appeal to Pasternak to "ponder over it," could not but have had a different effect on at least some sections of world public opinion than the denunciations by Soviet organizations and individuals which, lacking a basis for understanding them, unfortunately served to intensify the anti-Soviet campaign around the book and its author.

We regret that the translation of the letter, now published in *New Times*, was not available at our deadline. (See back cover for where to get it.) It should be read carefully. We also refer readers who may have missed it to the review of *Dr. Zhivago* by Murray Young in our November issue, written before the Nobel award and all the excitement around it.

The New Plan For Soviet Education

A summary by MURRAY YOUNG

THE orbiting of the first Sputnik on October 4, 1957 dramatically introduced this country to the reality of Soviet education. In the past year there has been an earnest attempt on the part of American educators to understand how the Soviet educational system functions, for they have seen Soviet education variously as a threat, a challenge, or an inspiration.

This has been a fruitful experience for us: we have come to have a clearer knowledge of the great achievements of Soviet education, and we have been able to view the inadequacies of our own educational system in a more revealing light.

But already in April of this year Nikita Khrushchev, in a speech before the 13th Congress of the Young Communist League, had spoken of the serious shortcomings of the Soviet educational system and had made a series of proposals about important changes in its organization and methods.

The text of a later memorandum by Khrushchev, detailing his proposals more fully, has recently been published. The proposals for a first stage of eight years of compulsory education for all, followed by a second stage with various plans for combining productive work with secondary education, have since been approved by the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party. Countrywide discussions of these proposals are now going on, preparatory to presentation of the plan, in its present or amended form, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the enactment of new legislation.

Khrushchev begins by summarizing the achievements of Soviet education to date: 9,600,000 pupils attended the elementary and secondary tsarist schools in 1914. In the school year 1957-58, the number of students in Soviet schools was 28,700,000 — 30,600,000 if adult schools are included.

In Tsarist Russia 182,000 students attended universities and other specialized schools as against 4,000,000 attending such institutions today.

Altogether in 1958, some 6,800,000 college or technical specialists are working in the Soviet Union. And their achievements, Khrushchev says with justifiable pride, have made major contributions not only to the Soviet Union but to all mankind.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev goes on to say, there are serious shortcomings in Soviet schools and higher educational establishments which can no longer be tolerated: "The chief and root defect in our secondary and higher educational establishments is the fact that they are divorced from life." He proceeds

then to describe these shortcomings and to propose a system that "will help people to avoid being divorced from life, so that our boys and girls will enter life well-prepared, full-fledged workers of a communist society, who directly by their work take part in the creation of material values the society needs."

Khrushchev points out that Soviet education still suffers from what was taken over from the pre-revolutionary schools whose aim was to give students a certain amount of abstract knowledge sufficient for college matriculation. "And at the same time the state and the schools were not interested in the further destinies of the graduates."

Until recently there had been a shortage of young people with secondary education. Now that period is past and the target of universal secondary education—the ten-year school—has been universally accepted. Nevertheless a considerable number of boys and girls do not go on to college but into production, for which they are not prepared by their schooling.

The number of students annually going on to higher schools is approximately 450,000, about half of whom are full-time, the others evening or correspondent students. But in 1957, out of 2,500,000 students who finished secondary school, 800,000 went into production, and not to higher schools:

Owing to the fact that the secondary school curriculum is divorced from life, these boys and girls have absolutely no knowledge of production. And society does not know how best to utilize these young and vigorous people. Hence, a considerable section of the young people and the parents are dissatisfied with such a state of affairs.

Khrushchev then considers the deeper aspects of this situation for a socialist society, pointing out that as a holdover from the old regime, preference is given to going on to higher schools and not into factories or onto collective farms because "manual work still differs essentially from mental work." Thus students who do not qualify for higher education are looked down upon and those who must do farm or factory work consider it beneath their dignity.

This "lordly and scornful attitude towards physical work," Khrushchev says, is also found in some families. "Physical work is represented as something to scare children with, let alone the fact that such views are an insult to the working people of socialist society."

This attitude towards work combined with wrong practices in selecting young people for college has brought about a situation in which parents influence the selection of students—thus a serious violation of the equality of opportunity takes place. (Khrushchev points out in his proposal for higher education reorganization that at the Moscow colleges children of workers and collective farmers comprise only 30 to 40 per cent of the student body.)

But above all, Khrushchev emphasizes, is the necessary change in the attitude towards work:

Any work at a factory, a collective farm, a machine and tractor station, an industrial establishment, a repair and service station, or in an office—any honest, useful work for society is sacred work and necessary for every person who lives in and enjoys the benefits of society.

What changes then are proposed

to prepare young people for life and instill in them the socialist belief in the sacredness of work?

All students, Khrushchev proposes, after eight years of schooling should be placed in production, and says there must be absolutely no exception to this rule. This would mean at about the age of 15. [It should be noted that Soviet law limits hours of work to four hours a day for youths of 15 and 16, and six hours a day for youth from 16 to 18.] He explains the advantages of this as follows:

In the first place it will be democratic, as there will be more equal conditions for all citizens; neither the standing of the parents nor their solicitations will release anyone whatsoever from productive work. In the second place, this will be a wonderful school for fostering in all young people the spirit of the heroic traditions of the working class and the collective farm peasantry.

At the eight-year schools, students all will receive the fundamentals of knowledge, polytechnical training and work habits, communist ethics, physical training and a grounding in aesthetic taste. (Girls will get training in cooking, dressmaking, and home economics generally.)

After this period of schooling, several possible further stages are suggested: attendance at a factory trade school or agricultural school where vocational training will be given; direct entrance into work where special shops, work benches, etc., will be arranged at which the young people will learn a trade while on the job; attendance at evening schools or participation in correspondence schools. Khrushchev also suggests that it might be possible to provide two or three free days a week for

young people working in production so that these days may be devoted fully to study.

As for those who do not choose to study further after the eight years of formal training:

It may happen that a boy or girl, upon finishing the 8-year school, will not feel the need of studying further; he or she may grow tired or may not realize the necessity of having a secondary education. For some time this boy or girl will not study, but will work. These young people will have a certain lapse in education, but when they have entered life and the urge and realization of the need of supplementing their education awakens in them, they will always be able to study, to receive secondary and, what is more, also a higher education.

Productive work is not only to be the basis of relating young people more closely to life as, Khrushchev points out both Marx and Lenin had insisted it be, but it is to become the necessary background for higher education:

Working in production and studying at school, a young person will more easily find his place in society and will ascertain his inclinations and desires. He may specialize in one field or another, and, having worked in production, may go on to an appropriate educational establishment. But before this he should be tested at spare-time evening school—I repeat that there must be no exceptions in this matter, regardless of the standing of his parents in society and the posts they hold.

Aware that this reorganization of the educational system will be interpreted as aimed at the reduction of the scale of secondary education, Khrushchev strongly emphasizes that this is not the purpose. He points out that the broad extension of the network of evening and cor-

respondence schools will make it possible for everyone who really wants a full secondary and higher education to receive it.

In actual fact, he goes on, although the present 7-year school is compulsory, only about 80 per cent of the children entering the first grade complete the seven years. These new proposals, he declares, will facilitate the practical realization of the compulsory 8-year school; a universal, compulsory, full secondary education in the form so far practiced is not at this time expedient.

Appropriate secondary schools for particularly gifted children who clearly show at an early age talent in mathematics, music, or art, as they have all along been functioning in the present system, are an essential part of the plan.

The transition period of three or four years which will be necessary for instituting the new system will, of course, present certain problems, particularly in the training of specialists at the specialized secondary and higher educational establishments. The suggestion is made that certain 10-year schools should be retained for this period and other temporary schools set up for specially chosen children with exceptional aptitudes.

Graduates from the system of higher education also suffer from inadequate preparation for work, Khrushchev points out, citing the frequent complaints of the chairmen of collective farms about the graduates who are sent to them. He mentions with approval the practice in many capitalist countries of students in agricultural colleges being obliged to work on farms.

Like the eight-year school, higher

education must be drawn closer to actual production. Young people with some experience of life and with a record of practical work are the ones who should be enrolled in higher educational institutions. The reorganization of secondary education will help in determining such students. Further, Khrushchev suggests, the applicants for higher education should be assessed by the trade unions and the Young Communist League so that an objective picture may be obtained of their seriousness of purpose and actual ability.

Khrushchev then suggests that the first two or three years of higher education should be combined with a job; in the third year students should be freed from work for three days a week; only in the last two years should they become full-time students.

Further recommendations are made in the report about the much wider establishment of educational opportunities for working people who want to study "the arts, painting, music and the humanities." The trade unions are especially asked to carry on this kind of cultural work.

In closing, Khrushchev indicates other failures of the school system: students are over-burdened with obligatory classes and have little time for independent work; teachers do not have time to go on with their own scientific research; instruction in the social sciences and in ideological education leaves much to be desired. He suggests that reorganization of both secondary and higher education along the lines proposed will help correct these serious faults.

This frank appraisal of the Soviet

educational system, combined with the practical suggestions for ways to overcome its weaknesses, indicates how vigorous this system is. In the course of its 41 years the Soviet educational system has made a series of sharp changes both in methods and organization, each change resulting in a higher level of achievement. That this present reorganization is only one in a series—of which there will be more in the future—indicates the vitality of a system which can redirect itself when a new situation makes it imperative.

It is clear from the proposals that the number of students now going to higher institutions for special training is adequate for the present needs of industry and agriculture. This fact has made possible the reassessment of the secondary schools and their redirection so that they will conform more closely to the needs and spirit of a socialist society. It is believed that the reorganization of the schools will not only draw students closer to life, but will broaden the base of the education system itself. The *British-Soviet Newsletter* for October 18 makes a pertinent comment on this aspect:

From the standpoint of the parents in the administrative ranks to whom a university education for their children

has become a fetish, Khrushchev's new proposals will come as a serious blow. But it is hard to imagine any worker or collective farmer not approving the proposed changes in their general outline, whatever disagreements there may be—and will most certainly be—over details.

In judging these new proposals we in this country must remember what has been firmly established in this past year of intense study of the Soviet educational system by American educational authorities: the passionate devotion to learning throughout the country and the universal interest in literature, music and the arts generally that all observers have reported with awe on their return. Moreover, the Soviet Union's rise to world prominence through its scientific, agricultural and industrial achievements has been made possible in great part by its educational system, as has been the continuous rise of the living standard within the country. Any questions as to whether this proposed reorganization means a lessening of the quality of Soviet education because of its emphasis on productive work at an early age and its suspension of the hitherto steadily rising number of compulsory school years must be considered only within the context of these facts.

SOVIET EDUCATORS ARRIVE

NINE SOVIET educators arrived here on November 16 for a 5-week tour of American educational institutions. This is an exchange visit for American educators who visited the USSR last summer.

According to the *N. Y. Times* (November 17) their first visit was to an integrated school in Washington, D. C. After observing a demonstration by students of the theory of flying, Dmitri Tapytkov, chief of the Division of International Relations in the Soviet Ministry of Education, complimented the teacher on the excellence of her teaching.

Mikoyan on USSR Economic Gains

We print below, in slightly abridged form, the section dealing with economic achievements of the report delivered by A. I. Mikoyan, First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the meeting in Moscow November 6, commemorating the 41st anniversary of the Socialist Revolution.

THE year 1958 was marked by new victories in the struggle for the building of communism in our country. . . .

Socialist industry and above all its bedrock—heavy industry—has as always developed at the most rapid pace. The state plan for industrial output has been fulfilled by more than 103 per cent during the ten months of 1958, showing a ten per cent increase as against the corresponding period last year. The production plan for the output of the most important industrial items has been overfulfilled. The growth of industrial production during the current year alone exceeds all the output of Tsarist Russia in 1913: in power generation—twelfefold, oil—more than 50 per cent, and cement—200 per cent. The Soviet Union's industrial output is now 36 times greater than pre-Revolutionary Russia. Every ten days the country produces the same amount as it produced in the whole year of 1913. At the same time the 1913 level of production in Britain was surpassed last year by only 80 per cent and in the U.S.A.—by 310 per cent. . . .

This year we have made another big step toward the solution of the Soviet Union's main economic problem—to overtake and outstrip the chief capitalist countries in per-capita production.

The past year has particularly borne out the benefits derived from the implementation by our Party of Lenin's appeal: "More scope for independent local enterprise; more forces to the localities; more attention to their practical experience."

The improvement of the management of the national economy, the establishment of national economic councils, the enhancing of the role of the Union Republics and local organs in the guidance of industry and construction were of great significance in the light of these directives. Whereas in 1952 the Union Republics supervised the work of industrial undertakings accounting for 30 per cent of the output, today they administer enterprises accounting for 94 per cent of all the industrial output.

New Construction in 1958

A vast program of new construction is being carried out in 1958. The government will invest more than 230 billion rubles in the national economy this year, 11 per cent more than in 1957. Moreover, this year alone capital investments in the national economy will ex-

ceed the total sum of all capital investments made throughout the First and Second Five-Year plan periods taken together.

An important role in the implementation of our plans for communist construction is played by our glorious and heroic Komsomol which has just celebrated its fortieth anniversary. Just think of the outstanding part played by our young people in the development of virgin and long-fallow lands, in the construction of coal pits in the Donets Basin. Now the young Communists have committed themselves to help in the construction of new blast furnaces; and they are displaying real heroism in this effort.

Seven blast furnaces with a total annual capacity of 4.7 million tons of pig iron, twelve per cent more than the total output of pig iron in pre-Revolutionary Russia of 1913, will be tapped this year. Six highly-mechanized and automated blast furnaces had already been commissioned by November 1, including Europe's two largest blast furnaces, the one at the Cheliabinsk Iron and Steel Mill and the Krivorozhstal Mill. Their annual output capacity will amount to some one million tons each. The world's largest coking battery has given its first production in the Stalino Region, and a giant open-hearth furnace has been put into operation in Lugansk Region.

A powerful, fully-automated, continuous hot plate rolling mill is being built at the Novo Kramatorsk Plant. Its production capacity will almost equal all the rolled stock put out by Tsarist Russia in 1913.

This year has seen the completion of the world's largest power

plant, the Lenin Hydroelectric Station on the Volga, and the damming of this river in the area where the still larger Stalingrad Hydroelectric Power Station is going up. By the fourth quarter of this year two turbines of 105,000 kilowatts will be commissioned there. An even greater hydroelectric power station is going up at Bratsk on the Angara River. You have all read in the papers about the commissioning of a new atomic power station. The first section of the giant Tom-Usinsk Thermal Electric Station has also been put into operation. A new high-voltage transmission line linking Bugulma with Zlatoust has been built and commissioned. It is to be extended to Cheliabinsk by the end of the year. Thus, this year will see the completion of a single high-voltage line linking Moscow and Cheliabinsk, a distance of more than 1700 kilometers (A kilometer equals .621 miles.) This high-voltage line is the biggest and most powerful in the world.

The country's fuel policy has been revised to step up the introduction of oil and gas, expand open cast coal mining, and promote the construction of thermal electric stations. The savings in capital investments derived from this, specifically from the fact that no more expensive coalpits will be built, is to be used for the solution of other important construction problems.

A vast program for the stepped-up development of the chemical industry has been adopted and is now being implemented. It is of great importance for the whole national economy and for the advancement of consumer-goods production in particular.

A large number of light and food industry undertakings are being put into operation. Thus, seven new, large sugar refineries will be commissioned in the Kuban this year, while another seven refineries now under construction will be put into operation next year. The Kuban is becoming a new, major sugar-refining center in our country.

Having pooled the efforts of workers, engineers, technicians and scientists, the Party has achieved new successes this year in the advancement of technology; in the development and production of new machines, electronic instruments and apparatus; in the extensive introduction and practical use of telemechanics and automation.

In 1958 labor productivity in industry went up six per cent as against 1957. The above-plan savings derived by cutting the net costs of production amounted to more than eight billion rubles in the past ten months.

New Steps in Agriculture

The year 1958 is a momentous one for Soviet agriculture. . . . This year the Party and the government have taken two important steps in agriculture, basically altering the relationships existing between the state and the collective farms in the economic sphere.

Economic relations between the Soviet state and the collective farms have been shaped for more than 28 years on the premise that farm machinery belonged to the machine-and-tractor stations and was not sold to the farms, that there was a great variety of procurements mainly in the form of obligatory deliveries resembling taxation and also in the

form of payment-in-kind for the work done by the machine-and-tractor stations.

This year the country has changed over to the practice of selling farm machinery to the collective farms (in the main this has already been done), and a single system of state procurement of agricultural produce has been enacted.

The new system of procurement and the new purchasing prices will be particularly beneficial for those collective farms which have hitherto lagged behind in agricultural production and have had low incomes. Every condition has now been created to eliminate weak collective farms. Socialist agriculture must and can insure incomparably lower costs of production than capitalist farming and thereby tap an additional source for the further raising of the living standards of collective farmers and state farm workers, the further lowering of retail prices in the interests of all the people. . . .

This year the country has raised a rich harvest, the procurements are all but completed, and we are in a position to sum up the happy results. The grain procurement program has been fulfilled, and the country has received more grain than in the record year of 1956. This year the country will get some 30 per cent more sugar beet than in the fruitful year of 1957. Thirty-six per cent more oil-bearing crops have been produced than last year. The cotton crop was also richer than last year.

By November 1 the country had stored 145 million tons of silage for the cattle as compared with 88 million tons last year, with 100 per

cent' more corn silage prepared than in 1957.

During the past ten months the country has procured 580,000 tons more meat (live weight) and almost 1.1 billion tons more milk than in the corresponding period of last year—and all this without obligatory deliveries to the state. This year the total production of milk in our country will rise to the level of the United States. . . .

Living Standards and Consumer Services

The current year has been one of a further advance in the material well-being of the people. The national income of the USSR during the year will have increased by eight per cent. Its increment this year equals the total national income of 1930. The rapid rate of increase of the Soviet national income has made it possible to raise the real incomes of the urban and rural workers.

During the year the total number of factory and office workers has increased by 1,500,000, while the wages fund has increased by six per cent. Large-scale work is under way to shift factory and office workers to a seven- and six-hour working day primarily in coal mining, iron and steel and the chemical industries. As you have read, a decision has been taken lately on the transfer of another 6.5 million factory and office workers of the engineering, petroleum and gas industries to a shorter working day in the fourth quarter of 1958 and in 1959.

The total sum of all payments and benefits to the population from state, cooperative and public organizations will exceed 215 billion

rubles this year, an increase of 14 billion rubles over the past year. The 1958 pensions alone will amount to 64 billion rubles, double the sum of 1955.

A striking indication of the advance in the Soviet people's material standards is furnished by the steady rise in the volume of retail trade. This has increased by more than 20 per cent during the past two years alone. This increase is equal to half the total national trade turnover of 1940. This year 2.7 times as much goods (in comparable prices) will be sold as in 1940.

In spite of the great increase in the sales of goods to the population, there is still a shortage of some goods which disrupts trade sometimes in some places. This is aggravated also by shortcomings in the operation of the distribution network.

To improve consumer services and to increase the capacity of the distribution network new advanced trading methods are being introduced, such as self-service in the public restaurants and shops, the sale of packaged goods, vending machines, etc. These advanced forms of consumer service are being introduced too slowly, however, because of the hidebound conservatism of some workers of the distribution network. There are still too many shortcomings in the operation of trading establishments, and instances of abuse have unfortunately not been eradicated as yet. The work of educating workers in trade has yet to be improved. To do away with these shortcomings the masses should take into their own hands the control over the operation of trading establishments. It is necessary to draw into it all those ac-

tive in the community who are aware of the needs of the public and can check the operation of the distribution centers, uncover the shortcomings and—what is most important—have them eliminated.

Housing construction has assumed a wide scope. To gain an idea of its sweeping scale, it will suffice to say that the total housing floor space to be built for the urban population in 1958 will exceed 62 million square meters (one sq. meter equals 10.764 sq. ft.) or fifty per cent more than was built under the Second Five-Year Plan. Collective farmers and professionals living in rural areas are also building homes at an increasingly fast pace.

The increase in the living standards of the working people and the government's far-reaching public health activities have ensured the population a better health and a longer life expectancy. There are 17 physicians for every 10,000 people, whereas there was only one for as many people in Tsarist Russia and there were only 12 physicians for the same number of people in the United States in 1955. This year's output of medicines and medical equipment represents a 4.1-fold increase over that of 1950—a 10.5-fold increase over 1940. It should be pointed out, however, that for all the achievements, we have still many shortcomings in medical services to the public which must be removed.

The success of our economic development is due to a very great extent to the increased activity of the masses of the people in the urban and rural areas, the expansion of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the Party's bonds with the masses. . . .

Education, Culture, 7-Year Plan

Further progress has been made this year in improving the government administration, enlarging the functions of public organizations and, above all, trade unions, and in stepping up their activity and increasing their influence at factories and offices, in combatting bureaucracy and in the important business of serving the needs of the people.

Increasing importance is attached to criticism and self-criticism as the most important means of discovering and eliminating shortcomings and one of the factors in the molding of the communist outlook.

The Party's constant concern for the communist education of the Soviet people is a guarantee of our successful onward movement. The Party regards as intolerable such throwbacks of the past as drunkenness, hooliganism and other manifestations of indecent behavior, and declares a resolute war on them. The future of our society depends largely on the younger generation whom we want to see educated in every respect, enthusiastic toward work, cultured, morally integrated and ideologically steered.

The Party will continue to consult the people on vital problems of economics, politics and culture, and will soon submit for nationwide discussion the targets of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan. The widest possible discussion by workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians, scientists and the rest of the working people of the Soviet Union, of the prospects of our development will help bring out our potentialities and find the right solutions.

The Chinese Communes

by LIU YI-HSING

We are glad to announce that in the next issue we shall publish an article by Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley based on a visit to some of the new Chinese communes. Meantime, we feel that our readers will be interested in this article, slightly abridged from "China Reconstructs," giving some of the basic facts regarding this new form of organization that is sweeping the Chinese countryside.

NEARLY all China's rural households have entered into a new form of social organization. This is the people's commune, created by the amalgamation of a number of farm cooperatives in the same area. Most of the communes were formed between July and September. Altogether there are now over 26,000 communes in the country, taking in about 750,000 cooperatives.

The chief characteristics of this new form are that communes are big and publicly-owned. An average people's commune embraces nearly 4,800 households, or about 30 times the number in a typical cooperative. Thus with more land, more hands and more funds, it can do many things a co-op is unable to do.

The move for the forming of the people's communes is a logical result of the march of events in the Chinese countryside this year. It

rests mainly on the all-round continuous leap forward of agricultural production and the constantly growing political consciousness of the 500 million farmers. The desire to further raise production and improve the rural living standard brought many new tasks. The co-ops found that they wanted to extend irrigation, level and improve land, make and buy new machinery, develop forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and various agricultural sidelines, set up local industries, build power stations, improve highways and housing, and establish more schools, clinics and cultural facilities.

But for the typical cooperative, with perhaps a few score or a few hundred households, this was impossible in terms of investment and manpower. Moreover, the building of many large-scale water conservancy projects was already beginning to break down the demarcation lines between co-ops and even between townships and counties. Many of the smaller farms had already amalgamated themselves into larger ones.

Through the great debate on the two roads, socialism or capitalism, held in the winter of 1957-58, co-op members came to understand better that only through socialism could they steadily improve their living standards. The rectification movement had brought Communist

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Party and Government workers closer to the co-op members, resulting in an improved leadership in agricultural production. Coupled with the peasants' own high enthusiasm, this has contributed to this year's big leap forward. The farmers have not only become convinced that agricultural production can progress rapidly; they have also seen the prospects for industrializing the countryside through their small industries. They deeply understand the strength of collective action.

The actual movement for the formation of communes began among the co-ops in Honan province early in the summer. After the first few proved successful, many others followed. On August 9, during a tour in Shantung province, Chairman Mao learned about a township where the farmers wanted to group several co-ops into a state farm. He advocated instead a people's commune because it facilitated leadership for all-round development. His comment acted like a match, kindling the idea of communes all over the country. Twenty days later, to guide the co-ops merging into larger ones and forming communes, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a resolution outlining steps and methods.

Just as in all previous movements, the Party relies on the former poor and lower middle peasants, who will benefit most from the commune and firmly support it, and unites with the majority of the upper middle peasants who favor it. After discussion, with most of its members willing, a co-op is ready to join with others in the new step.

A people's commune is bigger than a co-op not only in size but also in the scope of its management. Unlike a co-op, which was mainly engaged in farming, the commune will manage the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishing. Industry (the worker), agriculture (the peasant), exchange (the trader), culture and education (the student) and military affairs (the militiaman) will merge into one.

Since a people's commune is generally formed on the basis of one or sometimes several townships, it is incorporated into the township, with the elected officials of the township people's council serving at the same time as the commune management committee. Thus it becomes a basic unit of society in which all aspects of the work of local government are well coordinated for unified leadership.

As in the co-op, the system of collective ownership still prevails in most people's communes. The land which has been collectively owned by the co-ops is transferred to the commune. The few small personal plots, privately-owned draft animals and farm implements still held by co-op members, will be gradually taken into the commune. With the extension of collective labor and economic abundance, such private ownership has become both inconvenient and unnecessary.

A people's commune provides a more efficient way of organizing labor and a fuller utilization of all labor power so that workers can be deployed with greater freedom and on a large scale. One

important factor for this is the addition of a large number of women to the labor forces. Millions of community dining rooms, nurseries and kindergartens as well as numerous tailoring and laundry services have been formed all over the country to free them from major household cares. In seven provinces alone this has already enabled over 20 million women to join in full-time production.

Three slogans are widely used by the commune members: "Get organized along military lines. Do your work in the way battle duties are carried out. Live collective lives." This does not mean that they are being organized into military barracks. It simply means that they want to strengthen their organization and act more quickly with greater discipline and efficiency through work brigades or corps, usually based on existing production teams.

Already hundreds of millions of commune members have been organized into special "field corps" for smelting iron and steel, building water conservancy projects and carrying out transport and other farm work. This raises efficiency by 20 to 30 per cent. In Chuhsien county, Anhwei province, the organized force of the communes only took three days to build all the highways the county needed. In Shuangyan county, Kirin province, the commune-organized peasants in only a few days built 18,000 small packed-earth walls for terracing fields, dug some 150 miles of flood-prevention channels and carried out anti-erosion measures on 386 hills.

In co-ops, payment for labor was

made on the basis of work-points or work-days fixed according to labor performed and harvest conditions each year. Now this is being changed into a wage system, which guarantees the members a fixed income.

This system is still based on the socialist principle of distribution "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." However, after this year's unprecedented harvest, which allows over 1,000 catties (a catty is 1.1 lb.) of grain per capita—more than any one person can eat—many communes are supplementing wages with another system which provides grain without charge. This is the gradual institution of the communist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

In Honan province, nearly all the communes have already adopted the wage system and nearly three-fourths are providing grain without payment. In some of the more wealthy communes, provision-without-charge has been extended to all basic food and clothing, housing and heating, medical care, education, and bathing and barbering facilities.

With the forming of community dining rooms and other services, the commune is furthering all-round arrangements for collective living. It has also set up hospitals, maternity homes and sanatoriums as well as retirement homes for elderly people with no means of support. Libraries, playgrounds, clubs with recreational facilities, dramatic troupes and even cinema houses have been established in a number of communes as part of the cultural program without charge.

The greater concentration of manpower and further accumulation of funds has also enabled the communes to better develop educational and scientific work. The Honan communes have financed and set up over 100,000 primary and middle schools and "red and expert colleges." In the latter, after work, adults study political courses and hear lectures by experienced farmers and craftsmen on agricultural or industrial techniques. Combining theory with practical work, they are being trained to become "all-round people" who know many aspects of agricultural science and even industrial skills. This helps to speed up the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Through their present task of accelerating socialist construction, the people's communes are preparing conditions for China's eventual transition to communism. Communes are doing this both by laying the base for material abundance and in schooling their members in devotion to the collective. Already the members, through their labor, have ended their worries about food, clothing and fuel. Now they say: "All we have to think about is how to work harder to create a better life." But as the productivity of labor is raised through mechaniza-

tion and electrification, and with an increase in the social wealth, the working time will be shortened.

The people's commune is a step toward communism because it represents collective ownership of the means of production by a much larger group of people than a co-op. Within three to six years, ownership of the commune's land and other means of production will be transformed into ownership by the people in the country as a whole. But even then the commune will remain socialist in character because the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" will still prevail.

After a number of years, as the social product increases, and the communist consciousness and morality of the entire people are raised to a much higher degree through the communes, Chinese society will enter the era of communism. By that time, the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" will be fully practiced. Universal education will have been instituted, and the legacies of the old society, like the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual labor, will gradually vanish.

THE SPUTNIK PEOPLES' COMMUNE

A RECENT REPORT from China's most famous commune, Weihsing (Sputnik), which was set up last April, says that since its organization the commune has built more than 50 reservoirs, dams and irrigation canals; set up 1,142 factories and workshops; opened an iron mine where 3,000 people are now working; instituted 27 "red and expert" colleges; opened enough canteens to feed all the members of the commune; organized hundreds of nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools and established 27 rest homes for old people without families. On September 1 peasants received wages for the first time in their lives.

The Nearings' New Book

A Review by JESSICA SMITH

The Brave New World, by Helen and Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine. 247 pp. \$3.50.

IN 1956-57, the Nearings made a world tour out of which came their book *Socialists Around the World*. They reported faithfully and clearly on contacts in Canada, Western Europe and Asia, mostly with the Social Democrat type of Socialist. With few exceptions, the total impression was one of frustration, opportunism, confusion, pessimism, weakness, on the part of those they interviewed.

What a contrast in their present book, infused with energy, excitement, progress, optimism, life! In the winter of 1957-58, visiting the Soviet Union and China, the Nearings found the whole people of these countries busily and enthusiastically building, under Communist leadership, that brave new world of which the tired Social Democrats had forgotten even to dream. They found in both countries, at their different levels of development, planned, rational and just societies rising on new and solid socialist foundations, changing nature to meet man's needs, changing man to be useful and happy in his new world. They make no pretense that perfection has been achieved—but lapses along the way did not disturb the Nearings because they saw too clearly the reliability of the foundations, the readiness to rectify when things go wrong, the sure progress toward the shining goals ahead.

Careful students and teachers, keen observers, who have worked out for themselves that combination of manual and mental labor that makes for the good life, they were able to establish warm and direct contacts with all kinds

of people. Helen and Scott Nearing have written the best book available covering the two giants of socialism, giving essential historical background, facts on the political, economic and social organization and vivid pictures of the people in their daily life.

We have already been privileged to publish sections of this book in recent issues, so shall not try to review all its contents. Excerpts which have appeared in NWR, we are sure, have served to whet the appetites of our readers for the rest.

As educators, the Nearings spent a lot of time in the schools of both countries. Their testimony as to the efficacy of the Soviet educational system and the warmth of family life is in this comment:

Children and young people in the Soviet Union seem neither petted nor spoiled, though they are greatly loved. They are healthy, upstanding and self-reliant. They feel secure and confident, and radiate friendliness and good cheer. They have a part to play in society; they know where they are going and they are on their way. The forty years of revolution and pioneering have produced a fine new crop of Soviet citizens.

In the USSR they visited a number of cities and the new workers' communities springing up around them "designed and laid out with the general welfare as the first consideration." They saw the great gains of the people, and especially the women, in Uzbekistan and learned why both by example and direct aid the USSR "stands ace-high" among the people of Asia.

In China the Nearings were simply bowled over by the mass enthusiasm with which they found the people par-

ticipating in great irrigation, planting, flood control and other projects that are transforming the land and lifting it out of its ancient poverty. With joy they themselves took a hand in carrying earth for a vast circular dam to stem the Yangtse River floods, near Wuhan in Central China. They visited farm co-ops, iron and steel plants, small industries, schools and colleges, saw the great rectification campaign in progress, talked with both leaders and people, and came to deeply respect the "discernment, infinite patience and the determined persistent efforts" brought to the Herculean task of restoration and reconstruction of the vast area of China. They concluded:

The purposes have been noble, the conceptions splendid, the execution has been magnificent in scope and workmanlike in detail. The main objective—richer and more rewarding lives for all members of the human family, including the people of China—has always been kept clearly in view.

The last section tells how much China owes to the USSR—while fully retaining its own initiative and following its own special road to socialism. It describes the new type of friendly, fraternal, socialist international relations established between the two countries, based on mutual aid and mutual respect, the devotion of both governments and societies to peace for themselves and mankind—"Their aim is to build socialism and live at peace with the world."

An American in Tsarist Siberia

Siberia and the Exile System, by George Kennan, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958. 244 pages. \$5.00.

THIS is an abridged version of a book which appearing in 1891 was

to play an important role in Russian-American relations. The author, uncle of George F. Kennan, was one of those remarkable 19th century Americans whose adventurous and purposeful life was a result of daring, vigorous intelligence and great independence of judgment. Viewed from our present period of timid conformity, we are struck by how much American life has lost of its once peculiar flavor and quality by the disappearance of these highly original men and women. It is always inspiring to be reminded of them.

Kennan had gone to Russia first as a young man of 19, in 1865, as a member of an Alaskan-Siberian expedition to explore the possibilities of laying a telegraph wire over Alaska and Siberia. He returned to Russia in 1870 and explored the great Caucasian mountain range. These two trips had provided material for books, articles and lectures which made his name widely known.

In 1885, sponsored by the Century Magazine, Kennan made his third trip accompanied by an artist-photographer. His purpose was to make a study of the exile system in Siberia; interest in this peculiarly Russian system had grown as a result of the political unrest of the late 1870's and early 1880's which had greatly increased the number of political prisoners sent to penal servitude or exile in the remote vastnesses of Siberia. Because he had generally been friendly to the Tsarist government in reports of his earlier trips, Kennan obtained permission to make his unusual expedition from government authorities not ordinarily disposed to have their notorious exile system observed at first hand.

Siberia and the Exile System is an account of his investigation and a memorable record of an American of the finest 19th century type brought face to face with the excesses of an autocratic government for whom the slightest expression of liberal opinion was met by the most savage punishment. And not only the expression of liberal opinion, for mere association by family or friends

could bring equally savage reprisals. It was this "guilt by association" that more than anything else shocked Kennan and turned his sympathies towards the political exiles. Odd reading for us in an America still darkened by the legal practices of the Cold War!

Prepared to believe the political exiles were fanatics and cranks, Kennan was soon deeply impressed by the high intelligence, courage, and calm nobility with which the exiles conducted themselves, undaunted by the most terrible suffering, in pursuing their aim of establishing political democracy in Russia.

The exiles were not of course the Marxist group who began to appear only in the 1890's and provided the leadership of the October Revolution. According to the Introduction written by George F. Kennan, Kennan did not understand the Marxist opposition and was in no way sympathetic to its methods and aims. Nevertheless the illegal translation and publication of his book shortly after it appeared made it an important influence among those who were to be known, later as Bolsheviks. George F. Kennan relates how Mikhail Kalinin and other members of the older Bolshevik generation told him that his uncle's book had been a veritable "Bible" for them.

Apart from its contribution to the struggle of the Russian people for a better life, Kennan's book helps us see more clearly the nature of the system against which the political exiles—many of whom became Kennan's lifelong friends—were pitted, and at the same time deepens our understanding of the revolutionary movement that in the 20th Century was to bring this system to an end.

In 1903 Kennan visited Russia once more but was promptly expelled by the government which was fully aware of the services he had rendered the revolutionary movement by the publication of his book.

The book is written with the vigor, directness and carefully controlled feeling that reflects the character of the

writer himself, and throughout reminds us of an earlier American attitude of concern and anger at injustice and inhumanity wherever encountered which once identified us, as a nation, with the aspirations of people everywhere in the world for a more just and truly human life.

MURRAY YOUNG

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