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In a Children's Hospital in China

**China's Different Way: Religion and
Morality, Science, Trade Unions, Role
in the World • Khrushchev's Report**

New World REVIEW

JULY 1956

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

China and The American Tradition

by MURRAY YOUNG



WHEN a country with a civilization as rich and ancient as China's reaches the stage of historical development signalized by the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, and proceeds from this point to move with increasing speed toward the socialist reorganization of its whole social and economic life, the non-Chinese observer finds himself bewildered by the complexity of events which mark these great historic changes. Individual articles on various aspects of this swiftly changing China are, of course, a regular feature of the *New World Review*, but for this issue we have decided to concentrate the main bulk of our material on China—and even so we scarcely skim the surface—with the hope that we will provide some useful information to our readers and stimulate in them a greater interest and concern for this new republic whose destiny is so closely linked, not only with ours, but with the rest of the world.

There are today some six hundred

million people in China with a recorded history that goes back thirty-seven centuries and with a magnificent culture that in many particulars antedates our own and has made invaluable contributions to it. What has happened in China in the past, what is happening now, and what the prospects are for the future is a matter of the first importance for all of us.

China began her emergence from three thousand years of feudalism only in the second quarter of the last century—during the Opium Wars with the British, 1840-42. Since this period—a matter of only a little over a hundred years—China has been in the process of industrializing herself, throwing off the bondage of foreign imperialism, and developing a strong central government whose interests would be those of all her people.

Russia, too, began her break with feudalism, her industrialization, and her struggle for a representative government in the 19th century. Geographically nearer to the West, and

deeply involved in its imperialist ambitions, the First World War made it possible for the people of Russia to take a gigantic step forward several decades before their neighbors in the East.

The other Western imperialist powers, stricken with fear by the withdrawal of one of its members and the proclamation of a truly people's government, isolated the newly created Soviet Union at just that moment when it began the enormous task of reorganizing the country. The long and bitter years of the Soviet's effort to industrialize its production and modernize its agriculture, alone and surrounded by threatening powers, left grievous wounds internally—only some of which we are in the present period learning about, and externally left a heritage of fear and suspicion for which all of us have had to pay dearly.

Largely under the domination of our own country the same harsh isolation has been in part imposed upon China since 1949. Denied her rightful seat in the U.N., she has had to suffer deprivation in terms of economic aid and technical assistance that given would have made the whole vast project of reorganization of the country immensely less costly in human suffering.

Fortunately China has had as her ally the Soviet Union. For the Soviet people have shared generously their scientific and industrial experience with China as well as extending to her vast amounts of economic aid. But possibly the most valuable gift of the Soviet people was the whole history of their mistakes and triumphs for the Chinese to study, understand, and digest.

It must also be remembered that China had another ally—the countless masses of awakened colonial

and semi-colonial people, not only in Asia but throughout the world whose good will and fervent hope for China's success must also be taken in account in measuring the relative speed of China's reorganization with that of the earlier development of the Soviet Union.

As Americans we may well ask ourselves if, as in the case of the Soviet Union, we are to continue to stand aside, hostile, provocative, menacing; to deny, in other words, our common human sympathy with these six hundred million people—and through them to deny the aspirations of the millions upon millions of other people now in movement throughout the world.

We were well reminded during the recent visit to our country by President Sukarno of Indonesia that the traditional object of our policy in foreign affairs was the same as that of his own country, only recently freed from its imperialist yoke, not "the defeat of communism in the world," but of "seeking a larger freedom for all mankind."

Further, Sukarno also did well to remind us that the example of our revolutionary overthrow of British domination in the 18th century which made possible our democratic government and our subsequent great industrial development was still an inspiration to the colonial peoples of the world.

For all that in recent years our actions have seemed to belie our faith in this great tradition of freedom, it remains still in our hearts as our proudest achievement and is the source even today of such honor as we are paid throughout the world.

Our future relations with China—and the other countries of Asia—will be our testament that it remains for us a living faith and guide.

Religion and Morality in China

by REV. HOMER G. and MRS. MURIEL BROWN

NONE of the material improvements we saw in China last summer impressed us as did those in the morality and morale of the nation and the changes in the personality of the people. It seems so hard to believe that these friends of ours for whom "face" was so important can now rejoice over criticism and self-criticism meetings that they may raise their standards of conduct and work. "Steeling one's self" has become a common phrase. Evils and difficulties are not to be dodged but struggled against, and in the struggling one grows strong. Such changes have not come about by government orders but are the indirect result of its policies and plans.

Everywhere and at all times during our five months in New China we were made aware of THE PLAN. China has a big all-inclusive plan to become a socialist state, industrialized and modernized in every way, within twelve years. This plan is divided and sub-divided till not only has each institution and organization

a plan, but every individual as well; a plan for the total period, for the year, the term, the week, and even for each day. Constantly, and at all levels, there is the check-up to see how well the plan is being realized. There is rejoicing when it is being exceeded and intensive study of how to improve when there is a lag or lapse. When a group needs a bit of outside pressure or encouragement it is usually given through a newspaper or movie.

One result of providing everyone with a purpose for living, beyond their personal concerns, is that opium, prostitution and gambling seem to have disappeared. There may still be plenty but we saw no evidence. Our friends assured us no one had time for gambling. Moreover, all the prostitutes had received medical care and been taught a trade which has given them dignity, security and a share in the Plan, like everyone else. Opium is strictly controlled, for medical use only.

We were told there is very little crime. Certainly it is not reported in the papers nor encouraged by movies which stimulate law-breaking activities.

The Plan includes an institution new to China, the collective, which in its rapid growth throughout the

REV. and MRS. HOMER BROWN were missionaries for the United Churches of Canada in China from 1913 to 1942. They recently visited China for five months.

country is affecting the formation of character. The outcome is increased production, based on the philosophy that whereas competition emphasizes personal advantage, cooperation has as its by-product unselfishness.

The Collective

In New China training in awareness of oneself, as a member of a group rather than as an individual, begins in nursery school days. In primary school the children work to help their whole group attain good standing, not to head the class themselves.

At the age of nine years, pupils are eligible for the Young Pioneers, an organization somewhat comparable to Scouts but composed of both boys and girls and run in all primary schools. The emblem of membership is the red tie, and with what pride it is worn! Good conduct and good grades in school work are required entrance qualifications.

Recognizing the power of the collective, the present Chinese Government, ever since it came into power, has sought to get every person into an organized group. For students and factory or office workers, this was easy. Farmers were a harder problem. Each man working his small plot tends to become self-centered; his production is limited to his strength and tools. When the first men and women were sent amongst them to suggest the forming of co-operatives, the response was: "We are grateful to Chairman Mao for our land. We do not want to risk losing it by experimenting with co-operatives. Thank you."

The suggestion to try Mutual Aid teams met with a better reception. Their success encouraged the braver ones to form small co-operatives in 1953. The number of these greatly

increased the following year. And last autumn (1955) over 600,000 new agricultural co-operatives were organized, bringing the total to well over a million. In each of these, the collective spirit is at work, and men and women are learning the great lessons of fair dealing one with another, of democratic management, with warm concern for the old, the weak and for those in need of moral support.

This concern for the weaker ones seems to be characteristic of the present regime. Through the Land Reform, undertaken while the revolution was still in progress, each peasant rich or poor, old or young, obtained land of his own. Each wife and daughter, formerly a chattel of husband, father or landlord, was given an equal plot to till in her own right. At the same time conditions in factories were radically improved. Private industrialists could continue only if they met a minimum standard set for wages, working conditions and management-worker relations, under the control of trade unions.

Rights of Women

The New Marriage Law has made a comparable change in the lives of women, a change that many men have found it hard to accept. Men and women have equal rights. They have equal responsibility for the care of the home and the children. The woman is free to engage in such work and such social activities as she wishes. The majority of women have taken jobs or are studying. Their children attend nursery school from the age of two to seven, when more formal education begins.

What is going to be the effect on the home and the children only time

will reveal. But for the great group of women who have suffered oppression it is a wonderful day. Minds are opening and becoming alert.

Minorities in China

Thirty-six million of the people of China belong to forty-six minority nationalities. Many of these hold a relationship to the Chinese comparable to that which the Indians hold to us. Others are groups which like the Mohammedans, in Kansu, moved in many years ago and hold a part of the country for themselves. During our missionary years in West China we became acquainted with members of several of these minority groups and learned a good deal of their treatment by the Chinese and of the animosities constantly encouraged between the groups. In 1955 we were impressed by what has already been done to right old wrongs.

By law, the members of minority groups are citizens of equal rights with the Chinese. Though they form but six per cent of the population they elect fourteen per cent of the members of the National People's Congress. This seemed necessary to insure proper representation to those scattered in the smaller groups. They have been encouraged to change all place names that have a derogatory meaning. Where they have been regularly cheated by Chinese merchants the government has established a few state stores buying and selling at correct prices, e.g., 180 boxes of matches are now paid for a pound of wool instead of one box. Highly successful efforts have been made to heal old conflicts between groups that have long been enemies. Land Reform has been delayed until their own nationality leaders can be trained to handle it.

Special schools have been estab-



Easter Services in Chengtu

lished in Chengtu and Peking where representatives of the various groups are trained for political leadership of their own people and where others are given pre-college education that they may take advanced training in education, medicine and industry. Many of these national minority groups have no written language. Scholars are working on this problem. When an alphabet has been suitably worked out, texts are printed, teachers trained and adults and children become literate in their own language. People who have been scorned and oppressed have entered a new era. And those who scorned are being taught to respect.

Self-Criticism Groups

Very important to the success of the Plan are the criticism and self-

criticism practiced by all groups. In the Institute of Foreign Languages, where we stayed during our visit, the staff were organized in groups of from ten to fifteen. These met at stated intervals for criticism. Each individual presented to the group a prepared statement of his judgment on his own work and conduct during the period just completed. Other members of the group then dealt with his report showing where it was too severe, and where not severe enough, and bringing up things that had been omitted. To an outsider this seems a severe ordeal; to one who had lived in China and knew the importance of "face" it seemed impossible. But the Communist Party leaders had said no plan could succeed unless there were constant criticism. Face-saving was an obstacle to success; so it must go. How completely it can go was revealed by a professor, a former foreign diplomat under the Kuomintang. In answer to our query, "What do you like best in New China?" he replied, "The criticism meetings, I think." To a doubtful, "Why?" he replied, "One leaves such a meeting with a warm feeling of fellowship."

Soon after the Institute of Foreign Languages was established in Peking, each staff member had to make a careful study of himself to find all signs of selfishness. Also he was to try and determine their cause. "Why am I willing to eat better than many of my fellow countrymen? Why am I willing to dress better and live in a better home?" Each spent many hours on the study and periodically time is again devoted to ascertain what progress or slipping is taking place.

The Communist Party believes everyone can be redeemed, even warlords and capitalists. The basic need

is complete confession. It takes some a long time really to get to the bottom of non-social actions. When they do, it is said, they experience "relief, joy and an upsurge of power."

"Steeling" and "Struggle"

During our visit we were kept supplied with books from the library of the Institute of Foreign Languages where our daughter and her husband teach. Some were by English and American writers, others were translations from Chinese, Russian, Polish and Czech novels. Many of the best we read are compulsory reading in the high schools and colleges. The ideals of self-sacrifice and courage they depict are very high. One is challenged to "steel" oneself to meet hardship, pain and strain of all kinds; to be ready if need be, to give one's life for others (the highest Christian ideal). "One gains moral courage through struggle," was a theme frequently found, and another was, "A need is a challenge to be met." Regular free movies presented weekly in most institutions and factories, though only fortnightly as yet in the farm cooperatives, supplement the theme of the books. After five months of seeing movies devoted to the development of high moral standards, we found movies shown in Canada as second features, after reputable films, a discouraging and shocking contrast. Canadians deplore this standard, but the films continue.

For years we Westerners have seen ourselves as China's teachers and benefactors. Now the Chinese are going ahead in areas of life where we are lagging. We have entered a period where both will be able to profit by mutual sharing of our experiences on the spiritual as well as the material plane.

Religion in a Marxist State

Fruitful coexistence between religious and political organizations in any country tends to involve tension. Two conditions make for success; first, a spirit of mutual appreciation; second, a clear recognition of areas of both agreement and conflict.

The important Buddhist leader with whom we talked in a big Peking temple greatly appreciated Communist leadership of the government. He was delighted at the respect and recognition given to the Buddhist priesthood; they are thought of and treated as useful Chinese citizens, not just dreamy drones. In the great patriotic celebration of October 1, we saw the robed priests with their shaven heads marching in procession in an honorable position along with other recognized servants of society. The Buddhists, on their part, have found a basis in their faith and practice for allowing severity in the maintaining of social order. Buddhism in any society has a soothing, quieting influence.

A great section of North China is inhabited largely by Mohammedans who come under the laws governing minority races. Under the present enlightened and tolerant sort of government given to these groupings, the special rules and rites of the Moslem faith fit in without occasion for conflict.

Taoism, as of today in China, is not considered sufficiently purposeful and organized to constitute either an aid or a threat to government policies. Taoism's relation to national welfare does not seem to warrant serious attention. We asked about the temples and were told they were all in good repair but we did not visit one.

As for Christianity, both Roman

and Protestant, the great problem seems to be not in the Christian religion as such, but in its close relations with foreign capitalist countries. It is apparently felt that these connections might endanger the independence which China feels so necessary at this time.

To us, on our short visit, it seemed that both Roman and Protestant Christianity are permanently established in China, and are already quite independent of their missionary sending churches whether with headquarters in Rome, London, New York or Toronto. When the cold war between capitalist and communist countries dies down a bit more, we may expect a warm reunion of the churches of China and of the West. Even now, the churches on both sides are, doubtless, seeing visions of one great world church helping to bring unity and brotherhood to a divided world.

The Future of Christianity

History records that Christianity, or at least the Christian church, has in whole areas of the world been obliterated by its foes. But both theory and observation suggest a real future for Christianity in China. The church stands for peace on earth and good will to men, though Christian nations do not illustrate the principle very well at times. Chinese ancient faiths, as well as Buddhism, all lean toward these aspects of our faith. Indeed, peace and good will are absolute necessities of a government faced with potential chaos. The Reverend Newton Chiang said words to this effect: "Given pastors with the spirit of Jesus and with the welfare of their congregations and communities at heart, and given members friendly with one another and with a warm concern for the country, churches will continue and will

make a greatly needed contribution to China."

We had long talks with members of the staff of Yenching Theological College in Peking, one of three such colleges which have amalgamated all the Protestant seminaries. The professor of theology reported they had made no change in their teaching—except that they put more emphasis on the facts that Jesus was born in a laborer's home, worked at a carpenter's bench, sought to help the oppressed and was strong in denouncing the money-changers. Also, when teaching to be ready for sacrifice for our salvation, they stress the need of each Christian to be ready to sacrifice for others, following the Great Example. With Communists' readiness to sacrifice for their cause, Christian sacrifice takes on added importance. We would seem to have been very slack in this matter.

Good will and friendly relations are the very heart of Chinese social life. In them the church has an abiding support.

Among those we met in Shanghai was Reverend H. H. Tsui, Secretary for the Church of Christ in China. He sent warm greetings to the United Church of Canada and we are sure would be glad to have these extended to all former missionary-sending churches. He reports that each year more churches are achieving self-support. Two-thirds of the country churches in Shantung Province are now independent financially; others are still being helped by stronger churches or by rents from city property formerly used for missionary residences or for schools.

The Brethren Church of Shansi has recently joined the Church of Christ in China, making a total of twenty synods. There are now in this organization 2,900 churches, 1,-

500 ordained pastors and 160,000 church members. The Chiangnan Synod has had a 30 per cent increase in membership in three years. Mrs. Reynolds, of the English Quaker delegation who visited Chengtu last October, reported one of the churches had a new membership class of twenty. All reports are not so good. In some areas churches are either closed or continuing in a very weak state.

It was a pleasure to chat with Rev. Hwang Pei-yung of Moore Memorial Church and see the great red neon cross placed so high above the church that it may be seen all over Shanghai.

Five national secretaries of the Y.W.C.A. who had been in Chengtu during our years there had a pleasant tea party for us. They seemed very enthusiastic over the progress in their work. They have thirteen associations, all going well. Three things they reported stand out clearly: all religious workers, pastors and Y. secretaries in Shanghai had to get together and clear up all differences, misunderstandings and rivalries. (This is regular Communist routine). The warm fellowship which has resulted is something both they and the preachers wanted to talk about. It has made for a great strengthening of their spiritual effectiveness. To it they credit much of the success they are having in the Young People's Conferences they hold twice a year. Last summer almost six hundred attended the conference in Shanghai and by reports it seems to have been a week of rich spiritual blessing.

Second, women are more awake, more eager to learn new things, more ready to join in new activities. They do not want to be left behind their husbands and children. They enjoy

fun more than ever before. Singing games and dramatic groups are very popular.

Third, the Bible has a much more central place in the Y.W. program than in our time in China.

The Government of China believes in and actively appreciates friendly social cooperation in work, study and the cultural pursuits of its people. In this it is in active, positive harmony with Christian principles. Officially, the government sponsors no religious creed or faith, but it appreciates the social good will, courage and strength given the Christian by his faith in God, and in the One who incarnated Him on earth.

This faith makes both for separation and union between the Church and the Marxist state. Church

Christians feel these two can successfully coexist. The Chinese have long been a people of three religions, at once Confucianists, Taoists and Buddhists in varying proportions. Surely, the Chinese Christians with good will can slowly win their place in a Marxist state.

Jesus spoke of Himself as the Water of Life; also as the Light of the World. Both water and light are out-going in all circumstances. The spirit of Jesus in some way or other can live with and be a blessing in any environment.

Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." This the Chinese Christians are trying to do, and we believe with success.

SHOULD U.S. EASE CHINA TRADE EMBARGO?

THE ANSWER to this question is "Yes," according to Prof. Nathaniel Peffer, of Columbia University, Far Eastern expert. Writing in the "Foreign Policy Bulletin" for March 15, he declared that the present trade embargo weakens our friends and allies more than we weaken China. While not advocating selling arms, he sees no reason not to put "certain of the common articles of trade at China's disposal." He writes:

"Take Japan, for instance. To live, Japan must trade; and China has historically been not only its market but, still more, the source of raw materials essential to its industry. If Japan must buy those materials from the United States at higher prices and is unable to sell its finished products, unemployment will rise, the balance of trade will be increasingly unfavorable and the currency jeopardized. The Japanese people are already acutely conscious that it is America's policy which prevents their country from trading with China. Their expectations from the China trade may be exaggerated, but the effect produced by the embargo remains, nevertheless. It is the United States which the Japanese will blame for making their lives harder. . . .

"In lesser degree the same holds for the countries of Southeast Asia. By refusing to let them sell rubber and metals and minerals to China, we penalize them economically, incur hostility for ourselves, and create support for Russia and China."

Professor Peffer says in conclusion: "The gain from embargoing trade with China is slight and marginal; the loss is potentially disastrous. The generalization can be made that, except in time of war, the economic weapon is a two-edged sword. In a world so complicated as ours it had better be used with caution."

THE POPULATION OF CHINA

Population counts have been a feature of the dynastic histories of China since the twelfth century B.C., but the first scientific census was taken on June 30, 1953. Two and a half million persons were officially employed for the purpose, apart from thousands of voluntary helpers, and the methods of recording, checking, rechecking and analysis ensured statistically reliable results. The following figures have been rearranged by Cedric Dover from official reports in the Chinese press on September 1, 1954:

Total Area (including Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Taiwan) 9,597,000 sq. kilometres

Population
 (directly counted) 574,205,940
 (remote areas) 8,397,477
 Taiwan (estimated) 7,591,298
 Chinese citizens aboard 11,743,320
Total 601,938,035

Urban Population 77,257,282
 (13.26 percent)

Rural Population 505,346,135
 (86.74 percent)

Sex ratio
 Males 297,543,518
 (51.82 percent)
 Females 276,652,422
 (48.18 percent)

Age Composition

under four	15.6 %
5 to 9	11.0 %
10 to 18	14.48 %
over 18	58.92 %
old people (80-99)	1,851,312
centenarians	3,384
(oldest, 155 years)	

Average birth rate 37 per 1000

Average death rate 17 per 1000

Provincial Distribution

Arranged according to population densities. The regional extremes are represented by Chinghai, the province with the least population, and Szechuan, the province with the largest population, though it is somewhat less than half the size of Chinghai.

Central South	176,334,987
Honan	44,214,594
Kwantung	34,770,059
Hunan	33,226,954
Hupei	27,789,693
Kwangsi	19,560,822
Kiangsi	16,772,865

East	156,480,845
Shantung	48,876,548
Kiangsu	41,252,192
Anhui	30,343,637
Chekiang	22,865,747
Fukien	13,142,721

Southwest	98,195,110
Szechuan	62,303,999
Yunnan	17,472,737
Kweichow	15,037,310
Sikang	3,381,064

North	50,299,129
Hopei	35,984,644
Shansi	14,314,485

Northeast	46,893,351
Liaoning	18,545,147
Heilungkiang	11,897,309
Kirin	11,290,073
Jehol	5,160,822

Northwest	35,359,525
Shensi	15,881,281
Kansu	12,928,102
Sinkiang	4,873,608
Chinghai	1,676,534

Inner Mongolia	6,100,104
-----------------------	-----------

Tibet and Changtu (Chamdo)	1,273,969
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Major Towns	
Peking	2,768,149
Tientsin	2,693,831
Shanghai	6,204,417
Shenyang	2,290,000

Nanking	1,090,000
Canton	1,590,000
Wuhan	1,420,000
Chungking	1,770,000

The populations of Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai are **not** included in the regional totals.

Ethnic distribution

Han	547,283,057 (93.94%)
-----	-------------------------

Total Minorities	35,320,360 (6.06%)
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Chuang	6,611,455
Uighur (Moslems)	3,640,125
Hui (Moslems)	3,559,350
Yi	3,254,269
Tibetan	2,775,622
Miao	2,511,339
Manchu	2,418,931
Mongolian	1,462,956
Puyi	1,247,883
Korean	1,120,405
Others	6,718,025

Altogether there are about ten million Moslems in China of ten different nationalities: Uighurs, Huis, Kazakhs, Kirghizes, Tajiks, Tatars, Uzbeks, Tunghsiangs, Salas and Paons.



China's "Different Way"

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

THE day Shanghai entered socialism was the way they announced it. Not the day in 1949 when the Liberation Armies took the city; that seemed already a lifetime ago. It was January 20 of this year 1956—a day neither you nor I noticed—that Shanghai's workers, office folk, ex-capitalists and out-of-town peasants poured celebrating through the streets. Six million people can make quite a celebration.

The unique feature was a scene that might have been out of Alice-in-Wonderland by Edward Bellamy. A cavalcade of shiny limousines bore smiling, well-dressed businessmen, their wives and children, Shanghai's ex-capitalists all "going into socialism" in one day. They drove to various offices bringing the news that the municipal government had "accepted the mass applications" of the majority of Shanghai's 200,000 industrialists and merchants who had been operating private business, and that, through this acceptance, they were now and henceforth "joint-owned." They had entered a new type of partnership with the socialist state.

The full name is "state-private

joint enterprise," a cumbersome term. It is known now in China as "the highest form of state capitalism," just one jump away from socialism itself. The former capitalists no longer own or control the enterprises; but they still own "shares" on which they draw "fixed interest," and they also may hold managerial jobs as employees of the state.

This is the present stage in the "gradual peaceful transformation" to socialism in which the new China takes pride. They are not bumptious in their pride; they hasten to tell you that this is not at all their invention, but is rather to be attributed to Marx and Lenin. Last November an editorial in *People's Daily* carefully pointed this out. Marx said that "under certain conditions it might be expedient to buy out the capitalists." Lenin "tried to achieve socialism through a transition of state capitalism," but was prevented by "international and internal conditions"; i.e., the armed intervention in Russia and the armed opposition of the Russian bourgeoisie. Thus the Chinese modestly disclaim credit, and seek to raise the "face" of their Soviet ally. Chinese have tact.

However tactfully they explain, the Chinese methods are "different." Their policy was explicitly stated in the National Constitution. "The state makes use of the positive sides of

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capitalist industry . . . which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; it restricts their negative aspects . . . encourages and guides their transformation into various forms of state-capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist ownership by ownership of the whole people . . . by means of control exercised by administrative state organs, by leadership given by the state sector of the economy, and by supervision of the workers." This is clear, complete confession of the government's intent.

As to how this intent works in practice, obviously the capitalists have one view of it and the Communists another. *U.S. News and World Report* has just published as the "True Story of Red China" . . . long excerpts from a book by a foreign capitalist who escaped from China, after his "personal fortune had been wiped out." The author admits that "since 1949 the Communists have done nothing illegal affecting private capital." "But the government lays down the ground rules; it is judge, jury and hangman as far as the capitalist is concerned." He tells of a manufacturer of light bulbs, selling through both state and private outlets, who "couldn't compete at the price fixed by the state and pay his overhead." In a "normal" country, he would have "gone into bankruptcy"; but Chinese law did not permit this. He must keep producing to pay his workers. So at last he begged the state to take him into "joint enterprise" and the state did. . . .

In the view of the above writer, the capitalists are harrassed by regulations and beaten by terror till they apply for state absorption as relief.

It may appear that way to many capitalists. Workers, however, might contest the type of "overhead" the capitalist maintained; Marxists might note that it is a common fate of capitalist enterprises to be absorbed by bigger enterprises, often under brutal pressure and without continuance of job. But if China's capitalists have seen the "writing on the wall" and decided to yield with smiling countenance, rather than contest by civil war, and even if the smile is only "face-saving" and conceals malicious intent, nonetheless a celebration by Shanghai capitalists of their own absorption is a testimony to the cultural manners of China, and to a realism that takes the inevitable with grace.

The sequence whereby capitalists are thus absorbed can be given briefly. In 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek was politically dispossessed, the properties of the "bureaucratic capitalists," i.e., the warlords and officials who used their power to become monopolists, were seized without compensation for the state. This was an actual relief to the remaining capitalists, who had been cheated, squeezed out and kept poor by official pressure and graft, bankrupted by the specially privileged Chiang-clique. The new regime now gave these "national capitalists" relative freedom to make profit, even assisting them with loans and raw materials, on the ground that the Chinese people needed their production and that, being against imperialism, they were a "revolutionary force." The final intent to take over all enterprises for the state was never concealed; but it was to be done by "buying them out" and the buying was not all done at once.

My old friend Chao-ting Chi, whom many Americans will recall as a dis-

tinguished economist, and who later held a high post in Shanghai in a bank, thus knowing China's capitalism from within, gives in *China Reconstructs* for March 1956, the history of how "Capitalists Cross Over." Many of them fled at first from the new regime, fearing "Communists." Then they saw the nation unified, inflation curbed, peace and order restored, a widening home market. "These solid facts restored their confidence in the regime. They went into business and flourished; by 1950-51 their high profits gave them a 'dizziness from success.'" They "forgot that China had a new policy"; they fell into "old ways of bribery, smuggling, tax evasion, shoddy work on government contracts, theft of state goods."

Against these evils was launched the "Wu Fan" movement, a clean-up campaign based on public confessions. This Dr. Chi sees as the "preparatory step for transformation." The writer in *U.S. News* agrees. To him, however, the "Wu Fan" confessions were an outrageous humiliation of capitalists, breaking their reputations and thus their wills. From Dr. Chi's standpoint, it merely broke their evil habits, and made them conscious of an ethic different from that under which they had lived. It prepared them to cooperate honestly with the state, in various forms of "state capitalism."

The lowest form of state capitalism, says Dr. Chi, is the government purchase of products from the capitalists; at this stage the government cannot control what the capitalist makes, but buys in the market. Since this hampers state planning, the stage does not last long. It passes quickly into a second stage: the government makes contracts with private enterprises, and supplies raw mate-

rials which the private enterprise processes. This form grew fast; by the first half of 1955, some 83 per cent of all private industrial output was made on contract with the state.

Meantime state enterprises also grew and proved more efficient than many of the private enterprises; they have more capital, more modern machines. Private enterprise cannot compete; they begin to "fail" but are forbidden to close down, lest this throw workers out of jobs. More or less sourly they consider asking for "joint-ownership" with the state. The state does not want any productive enterprise to fail; it has no interest in destroying any productive ability. But if the private enterprise is irrationally located or poorly equipped, the state can give planning means and order. So the capitalist "applies" and the state "accepts," and the enterprise becomes a "joint concern."

There is no disorderly seizure. The entire stock of the enterprise, its buildings, equipment, circulating capital and other property are appraised by experts. (I see no mention of "goodwill"). The valuation, when accepted by the owner, becomes his "share" in the new concern. The workers stay on the jobs, usually "with new enthusiasm" because the enterprise will grow, pay more and they will have a share in the planning. The state puts in some capital to modernize the business. The former owner may, or may not, continue in a managerial job. By June of 1955 there were 2,068 "state-private joint enterprises." The number was not large but they were by far the biggest enterprises; their total output was 60 per cent of all output of private or partly private business.

In the latter half of 1955 the change began to take place not by

single enterprises but by entire trades. In Shanghai, which was crammed with many small uneconomic enterprises, eight branches of production were "converted" at once: cotton, linen and wool textiles; paper, cigarettes and enamelware; flour-milling and rice-husking. Many factories were combined; managerial and technical personnel redistributed. In these eight trades 563 capitalist owners were involved. Of these 22 became managers or assistant managers of bigger concerns; 190 became directors of factories; 267 department heads; 26 members of boards of directors; 28 engineers or technicians; 13 were retired on pension as over-age; while 11 were considered not fit for re-employment. This was indication of what jobs the capitalists might expect after the take-over; they also got interest on the assets they had contributed.

A turning-point came when the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce held a conference last November; this is the organization of the private industrialists and merchants, their Chamber of Commerce. Before the conference, Mao Tse-tung held "informal discussion" with the executive committee; this may explain why seventy-three leading capitalist businessmen then told in the full sessions their personal experiences in the "change-over" to "state-private joint ownership," their emotional difficulties, their soul-searching, and the arrangements made by the government to ensure their "reasonable private income." After considerable discussion, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce went on record as favoring a gradual change from the former "profit-dividends" to a "fixed interest rate." This is a technical way of saying that, whereas formerly the

gross profits of an enterprise were split four ways: in taxes to the state, in reserve fund for expansion; welfare fund for the workers and in "profits" to the owner, henceforth the method of giving a fixed interest to the owner on his assets would be favored. In a capitalist country, this would be a change from living on stocks to living on interest from bonds; under China's regime, it meant that the capitalist's control became depersonalized; he got interest from the state instead of "profits" from the enterprise. One more step in buying the capitalist out.

A new wave of "joint ownership" followed the Federation's recommendation. Peking took the lead; all private enterprises in that city came into "joint ownership" by "mass applications" early in 1956. Shanghai followed; other large cities came next.

At the time when "Shanghai entered socialism," an energetic reporter named Yeh Chou went around to see what was happening to the various capitalists. He talked with Yung Yi-jen, whose enterprises were valued at \$30,000,000 American dollars but who pioneered in the movement for "joint ownership" with the state. Yung was a patriot; he stayed in China when one of his brothers fled. Yung reported that the brother set up a factory in Thailand; it went bankrupt under the competition of the "imperialists," i.e., the Americans. Yung went through many misgivings and mental adjustments; but he is now a member of the National Congress, the highest governing body in China; he is also, under new forms, one of the nation's leading industrialists. He does not envy his brother.

What happened to the Ta Lung Works, once the biggest producer of

textile equipment in Shanghai, was told by its manager Yu. Under Chiang's regime, it was "long idle"; under the new regime, textiles boomed and Ta Lung got plenty of orders. By 1952 the many orders smothered it; the government ordered half a million spindles to be delivered from 1952 to 1954; Ta Lung fell behind schedule. Manager Yu, seeking new methods, visited a state factory making the same line. In equipment and efficiency it was already beyond him. This made him apply for "joint ownership"; the state agreed. But since the state factory already made textile equipment, Ta Lung was given orders to make oil-well machinery. The government put up a couple of million to pay for re-tooling; some smaller machine shops were then added to Ta Lung. In 1955 it produced 970 kinds of oil-drilling equipment. "We will soon have 2,800 workers instead of the 1,000 we had in 1954," said Manager Yu.

As the cities moved into "state-private joint ownership" in a great surge at the beginning of 1956, the peasants throughout the rural areas were similarly moving into the "farm producing cooperatives." This is a separate story for which there is here no space. Every peasant was a little would-be capitalist who went through the same mental struggles and adjustments that the bigger capitalists did. Here also it was a gradual change. First came the "mutual aid teams," in which peasants cooperated on special jobs without affecting ownership. Next came the "farming producing cooperatives," which is the strategic stage today. The use of the land is pooled, but its individual ownership is recognized by paying "dividends" on the amount of land a peasant puts in. A cooperative dis-

cusses long and in detail before it can decide what proportion of harvest goes to "dividends on land" and what proportion goes to "work-credits." All these things are decided by the membership.

To succeed and grow a cooperative must meet three tests: 1) it must get better harvest yield than the members got as individuals; 2) it must divide the income fairly, in a way that benefits all; 3) it must have a sound management. To build a sound cooperative is thus to difficult job. Yet the movement snow-balls. The February number of *China Reconstructs* published an article: "The first million Cooperative Farms." By mid-March there were already two million. Soon this will be the dominant type of farming. But beyond the farming cooperative lies still the aim of "collective farming," when land, stock and tools are joint property, and income is divided not by these but by labor. There are not many such farms today in China; here also the plan goes "step by step."

The steps, however, seem to go ever faster. For now in 1956, as the city industries are swept into "joint ownership" and the peasants move into cooperative farms, the planners in every field, health, education, science, already revise their program and set their sights higher, to meet the rising demand of the nation's life.

Last July Mao Tse-tung spoke of socialism as possible in eighteen years; this spring at the Supreme State Conference, as reported in the April number of *China Reconstructs*, he said that the socialist revolution could be completed on a national scale in three years. If so, then this is hardly "gradual transformation." This is speed.

CHINESE TRADE UNIONS

by TED BRAKE



ALTHOUGH at least one strike of workers is recorded as having taken place in Peking as far back as 1861 China's trade union movement only dates from the wave of struggles for national independence that arose at the end of the First World War. The Chinese trade union movement, like most unions of colonial and semi-colonial countries, has always been more than an organization to obtain wage increases or better working conditions for its members. It has always been identified with the struggle for national liberation and has come under the leadership of the Communist Party—the political left. With the main economic enterprises in the hands of foreign capital, or the semi-feudal local interests associated with them, the economic struggles have been inseparable from the political and national struggles.

The first movement of the organized workers was associated with the "May Fourth Movement" for national liberation in 1919 with strikes in

Shanghai and elsewhere. At the beginning of 1922 a further wave of strikes involving 300,000 workers in all the major cities led to the formation of a number of unions which, in May of that year, sponsored the First All-China Labor Congress in Canton. The history of the Chinese workers continued to be a stormy one. In February, 1923, railwaymen of the Peking-Hankow line, striking to obtain recognition of their union, were massacred and many of the unions were driven underground. But the organization and struggles continued and May 1925 saw the formation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and later in the year general strikes against the imperialist forces shut down the ports of Canton and Hong Kong for months.

Despite ruthless oppression the unions consistently gave their support to the revolutionary movement and later played their part in the war of resistance against Japan. Under the divided conditions of war-torn China it was very difficult to maintain a single central organization but in 1945 the Chinese Association of Labor operating in the Koumintang-held areas affiliated with the old revolutionary All-China Federation of Trade Unions and in 1949 they fused into one body, with Chu Hsueh-fan,

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the President of the Chinese Association of Labor, becoming vice-president of the joint organization, a position he still holds.

Since 1949 there has only been the one national trade union organization, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which, as the country became more industrialized, continued to grow, till at the end of 1954 it had a membership of 12,454,091. Union membership, which is open to all wage earners, is completely voluntary and in most enterprises accounts for some eighty-five to ninety per cent of the workers. There is no closed shop or union shop, the position and strength of the working class and their unions makes this method of safeguarding their organization unnecessary. Admission fees are one per cent of the previous month's wages and dues are also one per cent of wages.

Organization is along industrial lines, with eighteen national industrial unions covering the main industries. In cases where national unions have not yet been organized, local unions are affiliated to the local trade union councils which coordinate the union organization in the cities and localities. The basic unit of organization is centered on the place of work and covers everyone employed in the enterprise—catering and welfare staff, unskilled laborers, skilled craftsmen of the various trades, clerical workers and technicians. Inside the factory or enterprise the organization is subdivided to cater for the various shops or productive groups, each of which have their own elected committee or representative. All committees and officials, right from the shop committee to the National President, are elected and come up for periodic re-election. It is a fundamental part

of the constitution that all committees and officials should give periodic reports of their activities to those who elect them and to whom they are accountable, so enabling the membership to exert democratic control over the whole organization.

Managements are forced, by law, to provide facilities for the operation of the unions and the workshop organization is protected by law inasmuch as no committee member or other elected trade union representative can be discharged or transferred without the consent of the trade union organization.

Trade unions in present day China are vested with very wide powers and responsibilities. They play an important part, at all levels, in the fixing of wages. People's China, with its planned economy has, of necessity, a planned wage policy and representatives of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions take part in the Government formulation of the over-all state plan on wages. In the case of the various industries the national unions discuss with the appropriate Ministries the wage policy in that industry, in accordance with the state plan. When it comes down to the position of the various enterprises the actual wages to be received by the workers, within the national wage policy and the wage plan for the industry, are only decided after full discussions between the trade unions and the management. They not only discuss the wages to be paid to the various grades and the differentials between them, but also the various categories of workers for each grade and make recommendations on the up-grading of individual workers. Piece-work prices are also decided by discussion between the unions and the management. They also have the power to

ensure that management carries out the wage plan.

As increased living standards for their members and for the whole country can only come from increased production an important part of the work of the unions is concerned with the raising of labor productivity. It is the trade union committees in the workshops which initiate the discussions of the workers for the setting of the production targets, and help the workers to fulfill and overfulfill these targets, aiding and encouraging them to adopt new working methods and devices. The trade unions at all levels help to initiate emulation campaigns and popularize new methods of work which will increase production.

On all other questions which directly affect the workers, the unions have a full say. On the question of safety they have not only the right but the duty to put forward proposals for safety precautions and initiate inspections to see that the managements carry out these precautions and the many government regulations concerning safety and health, and carry out safety education campaigns among the workers.

The unions are responsible for administering the labor insurance funds, covering sickness, pensions, etc., for which a sum equal to some ten per cent or more of the total payroll is paid to them by the management. They also set up their own rest homes and sanatoria. They carry out a great deal of activity concerned with the general welfare of their members and with their cultural and recreational pursuits. The unions, either individually or jointly with the various managements, have set up schools and classes, both for general education and technical training. They have formed clubs where they

help the workers to run lectures, debates and discussions, have their own film projectors and run dramatic and song and dance groups and provide libraries and facilities for games. They are to an increasing extent concerned themselves with the sports activities of their members, forming union sports associations, providing facilities and equipment and running sports meetings.

In carrying out these full and many-sided activities and responsibilities the unions do not, of course, all function perfectly. It is only to be expected that in a period when industry is developing so rapidly and the vast majority of workers are completely new to industry, many of them peasants fresh from the fields, that there will be many deficiencies in the work. Moreover the workers have not inherited generations of democratic traditions and in many cases have to be educated on the extent of their rights and responsibilities.

The unions themselves are well aware of these deficiencies. They are continually carrying out education of their members and stimulating criticism from below, working to create a vigilant, informed and active membership which will take part in all the day to day activities of the union and they have done wonders in the comparatively short time—a mere six years—that they have been able to operate freely on a national scale. There is a constant discussion going on within the movement into which all members are drawn, discussions on union, national and international affairs. Herein lies the guarantee of a strong and powerful trade union movement and a movement that will be playing an increasingly important part both nationally and internationally.

China and the World

by SUSAN WARREN

SOUNDS of the thaw can be heard in our land. While it is not possible to say that the cracking ice of the cold war has as yet given way to anything like a flood tide of good relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, some signs of loosening, wrenching and breaking up of the frozen mass are unmistakable. Under the impact of new realities there is a rising, irrepressible demand for what has been called a "new realism" in our foreign policy. While some effects of the more relaxed atmosphere can be observed in U.S.-Soviet relations there is evidence that the die-hard adherents of cold war both in and out of the Administration, are prepared to retreat to the most costly and dangerous delusion of all—that it is possible to isolate and maintain attitudes of exclusion, hostility and positions of strength towards China.

This position, which is in effect Administration policy, has recently been endorsed by Administration critic George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador in Moscow and once head of the State Department's Planning

Staff. According to James Reston (*New York Times*, May 7, 1956) Mr. Kennan has been privately circulating a paper giving his views in the developing debate on the redirection of U.S. foreign policy:

Though Mr. Kennan believes that the outlook for United States-Soviet relationship can be rather good, he adds: "I am sorry that I cannot say the same thing with regard to Communist China." He sees nothing to justify the hope for amicable relations with Peiping, nothing in its conduct "but the most profound arrogance, inhumanity and obstinate error in the understanding of the Western world." Mr. Kennan says the Peiping leaders have given the United States the deepest and most unjustified offense, that he sees nothing to be gained by entering into diplomatic relations with them and that the United States should keep its distance and defend its interests with whatever ruthlessness the situation requires.

This analysis is distinguished by a number of things—but realism is not one of them. The reputed author of the "policy of containment" should have observed in the turbulent history of the last ten years that the isolator all too frequently becomes the isolated. Some of our best friends as well as severest critics are not willing to subscribe to the proposition that China is the incar-

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nation of all evil. The Chinese claim that Taiwan (Formosa) is Chinese and rightfully belongs to China and that the presence of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in Chinese waters constitutes the "use of force" against her (no doubt one of the views which Mr. Kennan considers a "most unjustified sort of offense" to the United States) seems eminently reasonable to most Asians and a large part of the rest of the world. And many are inclined to see in Secretary Dulles' assurance in his "brink of war" *Life* magazine interview that the United States will not hesitate to go to war over Quemoy and Matsu with every weapon including atomic bombs, the "most profound inhumanity and obstinate error" against China rather than the other way around.

The fact is that every day brings added evidence that in the fields of trade, diplomatic relations and peaceful coexistence not only China's Eastern neighbors but America's Western allies and the increasingly important "uncommitted" nations are rejecting the embargoes, restrictions and policies of exclusion against China. It is this chronic refusal to accept and adjust to the reality of world developments until belatedly forced to do so by world opinion that is the nub of widespread criticism of U.S. foreign policy today.

It was at the Bandung Conference where the efforts for peace were so brilliantly linked with the defense of Asian-African freedom and unity that China clarified and consolidated her friendship with that part of the world. This unprecedented conference whose profound and enduring impact on the whole history of our time is just beginning to penetrate the consciousness of the West, was witness to China's sensitivity to the feelings of her neighbors.

In the final hours of the Conference Chou En-lai, taking cognizance of the world-wide anxiety that friction between China and the United States might precipitate a world war, announced that "The Chinese people do not want a war with the United States" and issued his much publicized statement to the press offering to "sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially . . . in the Taiwan area."

China's relations with many Asian and African nations have greatly expanded in the economic as well as the political sphere under the stimulus of Bandung. In 1955 the value of her trade with this region (excluding Hongkong) was some 70 per cent higher than in 1954. At Bandung trade fairs, technical assistance and cultural exchange were cited as most effective methods of promoting intra regional trade and sympathetic understanding. Since the Conference China has participated in international fairs in Indonesia, Syria, Pakistan, India and Japan. Industrialists and businessmen from Egypt, India, Lebanon, Syria, Burma, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Pakistan have within the last year visited China as individuals or members of varied delegations. An analysis made in Washington (*New York Times* June 4, 1956) on the rapidly expanding program of cultural, scientific and trade exchanges by socialist countries with the non-socialist world indicated that while overall activity was 35 per cent higher than it had been in 1954, China's activity had increased 65 per cent.

China and India have begun to exchange students and technical experts in various fields. A Chinese agricultural mission has visited

Burma, China and some of her neighbors have started to exchange plant seeds and other special items as jute seeds from India and special silk worm eggs from China.

In May of this year Egypt became the first Arab state to recognize the People's Republic of China. Shortly after Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser accepted an invitation to visit China and invited Chou En-lai to attend the third anniversary of the Egyptian revolution in July. It was also reported that the Syrian Government is seriously considering recognizing the new government of China.

In May, too, President Iskander Mirza of Pakistan, in an exclusive United Press interview, while protesting that his country was "not headed for neutralism," advised the United States to face facts and recognize the Peking Government. In June, Pakistan's Premier Mohammed Ali will be another Peking visitor.

Even the pro-Western government of Thailand, which a short seven months ago was issuing vehement denials that it was contemplating trade with China, was reported by Robert Alden (*New York Times*, June 3, 1956) to be "slowly readjusting its position to what it considers to be the realistic situation in Asia."

Trade, technical assistance, diplomatic and cultural exchange does not complete the ways in which China has strengthened her ties with her Asian neighbors. Prince Norodom Shihanouk of Cambodia recently announced that China had allocated \$22,400,000 for aid to the Cambodian economy.

Moreover, the Chinese Government had already, in 1953, granted economic aid equivalent to \$320,000,000 to North Korea and in 1955 had allowed the same amount "without

compensation" as well as technical assistance to North Vietnam.

Progress toward normalizing relations with China was not confined to the East. According to Dana Adams Schmidt (*New York Times*, May 20, 1956) a "growing chorus of objections" against China trade restrictions is rising from British, French, German and all the other major trading nations except the United States. He also noted that "the British and other Western diplomats have repeatedly told the State Department their governments were under great pressure from businessmen. If the United States does not agree to the general easing of China trade restrictions they said they would be forced increasingly to act on their own and the China Committee may fall to pieces."

Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak has made it clear in many public statements that the Belgian Government considers the People's Republic of China qualified for recognition. Even greater pressure exists from that country for release from restrictions on trade.

From Bonn comes word that "West German critics of the American sponsored trade embargo against Red China has began to take the shape of a high powered campaign." (*New York Herald Tribune*, May 7, 1956).

The most dramatic break came with Britain's announcement on May 16 that she intends to widen her trade with China and would make "exceptions" to current restrictions against shipping strategic items. Malaya and Singapore, dependent on rubber and suffering from a retrenchment in U.S. orders, were immediately permitted to sell and ship rubber to China. This unilateral move on the part of the British came when,

in spite of President Eisenhower's promise to Prime Minister Eden last February that this country would review "now" the sweeping embargoes on China trade, no change was forthcoming. It had been heralded back in March when, in response to the sensational declarations of the Chinese delegation at the Leipzig Spring Fair that they would be requiring 1,400,000 tractors and about 120,000 replacements a year the British Board of Trade moved quickly to grant licenses to British manufacturers to export a number of 150 horsepower tractors to China.

In the light of these rapidly changing world attitudes can United States policy toward China be considered realistic or in the best interests of the American people? There are real and serious differences between the two countries. The Chinese have consistently indicated their willingness to grapple with the main substance of these difficulties.

As recently as June 1, Premier Chou En-lai, in an interview with *Reuters*, was quoted as saying that while China is not willing to "guarantee the status quo" on Taiwan "we are ready to issue a joint statement that the two countries are willing to use peaceful means to settle the dispute and in accordance with this desire are ready to seek ways and means including talks at a foreign ministers level to implement it."

That the Chinese are willing and desirous of normalizing their relations with the United States as well as other countries is confirmed by the report of James Bertram, senior lecturer at Victoria College in New Zealand and member of a New Zealand cultural mission. In *The Nation*, June 23, 1956, Mr. Bertram tells of their long, serious discussion with Chou En-lai, in which the latter invited

and answered questions in detail:

"A man cannot live without friends," Chou told us. "Our country cannot make progress without foreign visitors such as yourselves. To close your door is to block progress. Today it is America that seems to want to close doors. We should like to have Americans come to China as you are coming now. But the American government will not give them passports; and so many Americans really believe what one journalist wrote—that China is 'one vast concentration camp.' What sort of concentration camp is that . . . so many millions inside the concentration camp—and who is it that guards them? Of course this story is not true; but how can we prove it to the Americans, if they will not come here to see for themselves?"

There are signs that the Chinese like the Americans, the Russians and people the world over today are examining old attitudes and exploring new ideas. In an admonition to "let hundreds of schools grow" Liu Ting-yi, head of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party, speaking before a meeting of China's leading scientists, writers and artists, advocated "freedom of independent thinking in the work of literature and art and in the work of scientific research, freedom of debate, freedom of creative work and freedom to criticize . . . freedom to express one's opinion and freedom to reserve one's opinion."

Another positive note in the new spirit of the times and certainly reflecting confidence in the possibilities for a peaceful settlement in the Far East: the Chinese, announcing their 1956 budget revealed substantial increases in state expenditure on heavy industry and agriculture and a 5.52 per cent decrease in defense outlays compared to last year.

There is, we believe, an "inspired" myth in our country which it is time to challenge—namely that the American people are so hostile toward China that no political party would dare to advocate any change of attitude that might be interpreted as "softness" to Peking. Though this little bromide is often repeated as "axiomatic" in the press it is never documented with any real evidence of grass root or even big business level hostility. What can be shown is that any evidence of a more realistic U.S. policy toward China would be greeted by the Knowlands, McCarthys, Radfords and Styles Bridges of the Republican Party and the Democratic Senator McClellan and Secretary of State Robertson, along with other China Lobby specialists in high places, with loud cries, each trying to outdo the other in accusations of "softness." Is it not time to "call the King naked" and say that this din from the special pleaders should not go unchallenged as sentiment of the American people?

It seems to this writer not without significance that Wayne Morse, the U.S. Senator whose voice on the Senate Floor was loudest and bravest in opposing the United States-Chiang Kai-shek Mutual Defense Treaty and pointing out the terrible dangers inherent in giving the President power to use the armed forces in Taiwan, Quemoy and Matsu, recently swept the Democratic primaries in Oregon. Without claiming that the China issue was the central one in the Oregon campaign there is no doubt that Senator Morse's much publicized stand on Taiwan did him no harm. On the contrary it is reasonable to believe that Oregon, whose extensive China trade once brought millions of dollars to the pockets of her longshoremen, lumber workers and shippers, supported a

policy that was likely to lead to peaceful solutions and normal relations with China. Are we to believe that the unemployed farm equipment workers of the Middle West or the automobile workers of Detroit would be less realistic? And in a commencement address to Catholic University graduates George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, and one of the coldest of the cold war warriors, inadvertently lifted the lid on the thinking of another important sector of our national life. The *New York Times* (June 11, 1956) reported him as saying that "speaking of Communist China Americans should not be indifferent when some of our allies or our own great captains of industry think it perfectly sound policy to do business with such a regime!" (Italics added.)

Mr. Meany's revelation of what is in the minds of "our own great captains of industry" confirms the experience of many ordinary Americans in their every day contact on varied levels of business, academic and just plain person-to-person relationships. There is a gathering sweep of private American sentiment which, stemming from motives that range from simple political realism and commercial self-interest to active sympathy for one of the great liberating revolutions of all time, arrives at the like conclusion that friendship, trade and peace with China as well as the seating of the People's Republic in the United Nations Security Council under her actual, functioning government is a matter of American self interest.

In a profound comment made before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Adlai Stevenson observed that "*This is a time of change in world affairs, the people sense it even if the statesmen don't, for the peoples are . . . forcing the change.*"

INDIA

by ILYA EHRENBURG

WHEN I was in Delhi, Indian friends celebrated my sixty-fifth birthday. The event, a sad one for any man, was tempered by a warmth of heart that only Indians are capable of. I mention it by way of indicating that I have come to an age when a man is not easily surprised.

But India appealed to my imagination more than any country I have seen. The impressions I brought away can never be forgotten. I saw a vast country of ancient culture, which, while it has wonderful museums is no museum but a living land that, freed at last of alien oppression, is working to build its independent life.

The role of India on the international scene is now such that no world issues can well be decided without her participation and consent. To count the peace-lovers in this country would be redundant; there are as many peace-lovers as there are inhabitants. And India's significance in the struggle for *détente* and disarmament is such that we can look with optimism to the years ahead.

In a bygone age the West Europeans, in quest of a route to India, accidentally discovered America. Let us hope that in this age this Western Europe which discovered America and which now daily, and sometimes even twice a day, continues to "dis-

cover" America, may, if only accidentally, "discover" India, may come to understand the role of this nation of four hundred million.

To me, a Soviet citizen, it was heart-warming to visit this country where our sympathies are so deeply reciprocated; where on the part of all, from leading statesmen to simple ordinary folk, I saw feelings of friendship for the Soviet people.

On January 30, the anniversary of Gandhi's death, I was asked with other foreign visitors to say a few words over the Indian radio. And I told of the Soviet people's respect for the people of India, and for Gandhi, whose role in India's liberation from foreign dependence was so great.

We still know too little of India, of her culture. Of course, of late we have been doing a good deal to gain closer familiarity with that culture. Quite a few young people in Moscow are studying Hindi and other Indian languages. More Indian books are being translated. The exhibition of Indian paintings made an unforgettable impression on all lovers of art.

I saw how much is being done in India now to get acquainted with the Soviet Union and its culture, and I can honestly assure our Indian friends that we shall do everything that India, while remaining a land of wonders, may not be a land of unknown wonders for us.

Everyone knows India's contribution in the past. Not for nothing do people in all countries of the world study Sanskrit to be able to read her wonderful works. But lovers of the past should not forget the tremendous importance of the *Panch Shila*. The five principles are a source of hope to all mankind.

At my age people often incline to pessimism. But I am an optimist. I am convinced that other countries too will come to adopt the *Panch Shila*. And I should like to think that during the forthcoming visit to India by statesmen of the other camp, the climate in that country will help towards adoption of the *Panch Shila* by the Western Powers,

Our country has done much in order that people in all lands may sleep easy. And how much our people's closer contact with the Indian people means for the cause of peace would be hard to overrate. In every town I came to I was told of the indelible impression that the Soviet leaders' visit had left.

Our cooperation is the cooperation of friends. I met Soviet engineers and geologists and medical men in India, and saw with what enthusiasm and what a sense of responsibility they are working on the assignments India's Government has given them. And I am convinced

that their efforts will help India in building a country independent economically as well as politically.

My visit was made at the invitation of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, headed by Smt. Rameshwari Nehru and Dr. Baliga. My kind hosts did everything to give me a real insight into their country. I was in Delhi and Agra, in Calcutta and Madras, in Pondicherry and Bombay and Aurangabad. I saw the famous temples at Ajanta and Ellora.

And it came to me with renewed conviction how arbitrary and stupid is the division of culture into "Western" and "Eastern." The cradle of our civilization was India, Greece and China, whose ancient culture was intimately interconnected. From here the culture of all nations grew.

I had some little knowledge of India's ancient literature, I was acquainted with her art, but Ajanta and Ellora amazed me. A thousand years before the Italian Renaissance, Indian artists, sculptors and architects had achieved perfection in the portrayal of the human form and human emotion.

Now, back from India, I think about the greatness of her people, and about how vital it is for people of all nations and races to know each other better. That is the surest way to understanding and peace.

PANCH SHILA

On June 28, 1954 the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of China, issued a joint statement confirming as the guiding principles in the relations between two nations the following five points:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Non-aggression.
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Beyond the Dreams of Marco Polo

by ELSIE FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY

THIS spring, thousands of families, their belongings piled high on trucks and carts, began to stream out through Peking's ancient city gates to move into the hundreds of new, modern five-story apartment houses built on what had formerly been country fields in the outskirts. Construction had been going on for some time, but somehow, perhaps because one's eyes were fixed on the big public buildings springing up inside the old city and in the new university area, most people—I for one—were not aware of the vast scale of suburban residential development.

On a Sunday morning, I cycled through one of the west gates down a four-lane highway where there had been only a narrow dirt road when I passed by eighteen months before. At that time I had been impressed by a new hotel that had just been completed. Now it was hidden by a row of newer, bigger buildings. About half a mile on I found myself in the middle of a brand new com-

munity project that reminded me of some of the post-war building in Long Island, New York—in fact it was rather like Parkway Village where many of my friends had lived. A shopping arcade in the center included a food market, department store, restaurants, bank and post office. Off the square, leading back to the main highway was a row of new government ministries, in charge of different phases of the industrialization of the country. It was their employees who were occupying the apartment houses in the neighborhood. And a big lot still occupied by temporary housing for building workers would, I was told, give place to a cultural center—including a theater, movie-house and club.

Some of the new residents were out planting trees and laying out flower beds. They told me that the municipal authorities supplied both saplings and plants and issued instructions how to care for them. "Every square yard of empty ground will be planted before summer," one housewife said proudly.

So Peking is no longer the city described, and still recognizable a year or two ago, by Marco Polo—a city of crowded small streets in chessboard formation inside a massive double wall, set in a great sandy

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plain. The plain is where the building is going on, and it is fifteen miles beyond the walls both east and west. The famous Summer Palace with its lake and marble bridges, formerly way out in the country, is now assuming the position of Central Park in New York, with big buildings all around. With many other parks being laid out, it will be a pleasant oasis in urban surroundings.

At the same time the old city is undergoing transformation. Peking's planners know that a center planned for feudal living cannot remain at the heart of a great modern metropolis—even the volume of traffic would make it merely a bottleneck. So while all historic monuments—the Forbidden City, the glorious Temple of Heaven, the ancient Drum and Bell Towers, the Lama Temple and many others—have been restored and will remain as features of the new Peking, big modifications are being made. The pailous (monumental archways) which stood across the main streets and, though beautiful, slowed everything down, have already been dismantled. The best of them have been re-erected with meticulous care, in the new parks.

A problem causing violent debate is what to do about the 30-mile long wall round the old city. Built hundreds of years ago, it is of baked mud faced with grey brick. It is nearly 40 feet high and about 30 feet thick at the base. There are 16 tower-topped entry gates, but they are very narrow and most of them now have by-passes, and the wall has been breached in many other places besides to provide easy entrance and exit. But these measures are still inadequate. The wall is clearly a restricting element to modern development. So while the argument rages, more and more gates are being

opened in it. In my opinion, it will finally succumb, if not to arguments, then to the facts of life.

Meanwhile, to make room for new north-south and east-west arterial roadways, and for new multi-storied residential blocks, department stores, hotels and offices, the houses and small shops along entire streets are being pulled down. This has become much easier since the change-over of all private industry and business to joint state-private ownership, last January. Former businessmen and industrialists still get dividends on their investments, but their property has been invested with the state. This makes it possible for the city authorities to demolish, or preserve, as the public interest requires.

The same thing is leading to the redistribution of shopping facilities. Instead of whole streets devoted to one kind of shop as was the old custom—hence the names of Peking's Silk Street, Flower Street, Lantern Street, Hat Street—stores of all kinds are becoming available in every section of the city, wherever there are customers. One of my favorite restaurants, for instance, now has a branch in a new suburb ten miles outside where some of my friends live and work. Whether they come to visit me, or I go to visit them, we can eat the same fine food.

The road-widening program too has just come in time. With the enormous increase in the number of busses, trucks and automobiles, traffic jams were beginning to appear. Five years ago it was a common sight to see mules, horses and donkeys resting on the broad tamped earth sidewalks, chickens pecking round doorsteps, and sheep and goats munching at blades of grass on empty lots. But these things are quickly receding into the past. Peking the

enormous, sprawling village is disappearing. Peking, the modern capital is taking its place.

Because the growth of the city was threatening to outrun its water supply, tremendous work has been going on in this regard. Peking today is full of streets torn up, telephone poles on their sides, endless rows of black, iron water pipes and concrete sewer sections, long yawning trenches being dug. The reason is—new water is coming.

What, in fact, is being done is to implement a plan 1,700 years old—to bring the Yungting River down through Peking. This river rises in the mountains north of the Great Wall, and rampages through the Kuanting gorge to the Hopei plain. In normal years it passes leisurely south of Peking and through the Hai River to the sea. But very often it overflows and causes major floods, of which there have been seven in the past 40 years. How unruly it is can be seen from a few figures. The Yungting's flow varies from 35.3 cubic feet per second to over 150,000 and the silt content has been known to be as high as 38.6 per cent.

The idea of harnessing the Yungting arose during the wars of the "Three Kingdoms," in 250 A.D. Peking was then only a garrison outpost on the northern frontier of the China of that time. Liu Ching, the general in command here, had a plan to grow wet-field rice over a large area round the city to feed his troops. Being a man of great enterprise and bold imagination, Liu Ching ordered an irrigation canal to be dug from the Yungting and succeeded in watering some 150,000 acres of land. But he was not successful in bringing the water to Peking itself which he had also wanted to do, because of the hills that barred the way.

The next attempt was made in the fourteenth century when Peking was already the capital of China. This time navigation was the motive. Huge amounts of tax grain were brought from the south along the 1,000-mile Grand Imperial Canal which ended at Tungchow, 15 miles east of the capital; but there was no waterway connecting Tungchow with Peking. A smaller canal, drawing water from the Yungting River, was built to do this. But no account had been taken of the Yungting's silt content, so it was soon stopped up with mud. It became obvious that the Yungting waters could not be used until the whole river was regulated and its channel cleared.

Now difficulties that the most energetic men of old China were unable to solve have been conquered in only six years.

The first step taken was to build a dam 150 feet high and 320 yards long at the Kuanting gorge to even the flow of the river and clear it of silt. After a two-year effort by 40,000 workers, it was finished in 1954, and it has already paid for itself by holding back a flood which, it is calculated, would have caused damage equal to the entire cost of its construction.

The next job, being done now, is to bring the Yungting through to Peking. This is being done by a canal due to be finished this July. The intervening hills, which foiled Liu Ching, have already been pierced by a concrete-lined tunnel. Peking residents are turning out in thousands to help dig the canal, which will connect the Yungting with both the Grand Canal, as was attempted seven hundred years ago, and the sea. Not only will there be no more floods, not only will the parched earth be irrigated, but Peking will

become a freight and passenger port for moderate-sized vessels.

An additional benefit, which none of the ancient planners could, of course, anticipate is the generation of electricity. The first hydro-electric power station on the Yungting, built below the Kuanting dam, started work last Christmas—and will grow as additional turbines are installed, supplying Peking, Kalgan, Tientsin and many rural villages. It is of ultra-modern design, completely automatic and supplied entirely with Chinese-made equipment—the first of its kind in the country.

Recently I rode up the new railway from Peking to Kuanting to look at the new reservoir and power house. I had been there three years earlier when there was no railway, no reservoir—just thousands of people heaving the earth to build the dam. Now the hills are dotted with white-washed houses, the trains pass continuously on their way up and down to Inner Mongolia, and the water churns and froths as it leaves the turbines to continue on down the valley.

I was shown round the gleaming new equipment and parquet-floored control room, but what impressed me most were the workers. They were all extremely young and nearly all came from peasant families. A team of six girls in their teens or early twenties was preparing to take over management of the control room. A young turbine installation worker, operating a moving crane,

had never been near anything more complicated than a horse-drawn plow up to six years ago. Two concrete pourers who had come as peasants told me they had nearly quit the job soon after arrival because they felt outraged at having to get up, start work, stop for dinner at the call of a siren instead of doing what they liked when they felt like it. A real "crisis" had come, they told me laughingly, when they dropped their picks to go off after some fish that they had seen as they passed along the bank of the reservoir. They were both model workers, among the best on the job, and had introduced rationalization proposals for greater efficiency.

These men and women were fired with visions. There would be many more new power stations built, they told me, on other great rivers throughout the country—and they would build them. Meanwhile this valley was going to become a place of beauty. The hills had been planted with fruit trees. There would soon be hotels, theaters, libraries and rest homes for the Peking workers. People would come here to yacht in summer and skate in winter. The reservoir had already been stocked with 100,000 fish. Looking up the valley, as they spoke, I could see what they made so vivid.

Yes, if Marco Polo were to come to China now, he would see not only the best of the old marvels of the capital, but many others he never imagined.

SHERWOOD EDDY ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK

"It is my judgment, based on long observation and the data provided me in Hongkong by almost everyone with whom I conferred, that Chiang Kai-shek has lost China irretrievably because he has lost the confidence of the Chinese people. Whatever tales to the contrary he may tell Americans on Formosa, he knows he can never reconquer the mainland of China. . . ." *The Progressive*, April, 1956



A peasant and his wife studying.
In winter throughout China literacy classes are organized.

Students standing before one of
the new buildings of the Hang-
chow Hydro Power Institute.

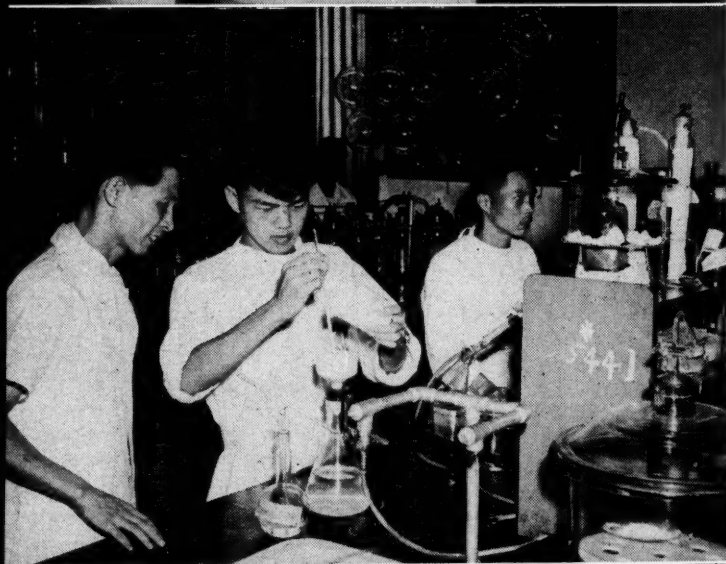


Education in China

The liberation movement from its beginning in China was linked with the education of the people. Since the establishment of the People's Government education has made tremendous strides ahead. From the literacy classes organized among the peasants in the winter to advanced research in modern scientific institutes the Chinese are eagerly seeking enlightenment. Thus the awakening of China means for the first time its ancient culture becomes the possession of all the people, side by side with their rapid absorption of modern learning and scientific technique.



Shantung University:
Men and women students of the university's oceanography department making weather observation at sea.



Chungshan University: Chemical engineering students doing field work at the Tien-shin Pharmaceutical Plant in Canton.



South China Medical College: first year medical students attending a lecture in one of the many new buildings of the college.



South-China Engineering College (above): students of the department of tele-communication engineering conduct experiments. (Below) Holi Agro-Technical School; Students attending a lecture on how to observe the root tuberules of the legume.



Science in China

by DR. AMICIA M. YOUNG

I WAS looking over the biology department of the teachers' training college in Nanking: there were a lot of microscopes and I wondered whether the students, when qualified, would find any microscopes in the school where they went to teach. My interpreter assumed I meant to ask if *every* pupil in a school would have a microscope, the answer being "Not yet," for it was taken for granted that a school will have microscopes.

This is just one example to illustrate the foolishness of being patronizing about China; of assuming that because at present the West is not contributing much to Chinese science it won't be getting along very fast. The speed of development was made clear to me at the College of Petroleum in Peking. In 1952 a Department of Petroleum was formed in the Chinghua University in Peking. In 1953 the College was founded. When I visited it in April of this year, there were 2,472 students; there will be 4,100 next September and 8,000 at the end of 4 years. The

way the Chinese say "will"—not even "we plan to have," but "we will have"—expresses their confidence in themselves. A few years ago China was described as having no important oil resources; now the Chinese know that they have the oil and that they will have the manpower to find it, to bring it to the surface and to process it.

This absence of any manpower problem is perhaps what strikes a visitor to China the most. There is a shortage of skilled and scientific manpower, but it is only a temporary shortage. Far from considering their increasing population as a problem, they joyfully accept the present figure of 600 million Chinese, rising by so many millions each year, as one of their great assets. The building and expansion of universities is so rapid that they can now turn their four-year courses into five-year courses.

While there is considerable emphasis on the application of science in agriculture and industry, they have now got beyond the early need to turn out partly trained people as quickly as possible, and are hoping that they will soon be able to build up sound research departments, doing fundamental research. I heard something of the plans to expand

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astronomical observations and research, and I have seen how in present-day China plans are not castles in the air, but blueprints which are translated into real, fully-equipped and staffed buildings in a matter of months.

Of course this rapid expansion all over China (and it is not only happening in the main cities) is possible only in a planned society. In Great Britain we have a certain amount of planning—usually severely limited by the funds available: what was striking in China was the way in which the scientists themselves are involved in planning. Whereas there are no Members of Parliament in Britain who are science graduates, over a hundred members of the Chinese Government are practicing scientists, elected by the districts where they live, and in the People's Consultative Assembly, which has an important advisory role, there are 146 scientists. Not only that, but for the Five Year Plans the staffs of research institutes and universities are asked to draft their requirements, which are then considered by the Government.

While I was in China, leading scientists from all over the country were in Peking discussing the Government draft of the "Twelve Year Plan" (i.e., the remaining two years of one Five Year Plan, plus the next two Five Year Plans), based on the scientists' own suggestions. Chinese scientists cannot grumble, as we do, that the funds allocated to their research are not adequate, as they have had a full share in deciding what those funds are to be.

Similarly, teachers cannot complain at the inappropriateness of university and college syllabuses, as they have had to draw up their own schedules, submit them to criticism

by their fellow teachers and amend them in the light of their usefulness to the students who follow their courses.

For many scientists in the west, planning is anathema: they want to do exactly what they please in their own way, without having to fit their research into a plan. In practice, however, they often cannot do what they want, for lack of facilities or co-operation. In China, for the first time, scientists are able to do some of the things they have been wanting to do. A very good example is the way that Chinese doctors are now confident that they will soon be able to eradicate *Bilharziasis* (*Schistosomiasis*). For centuries this parasite has debilitated the inhabitants of the Nile basin and areas of West Africa and India, as well as the Yangtze and Yellow River basins. With the traditional methods of individual sewage disposal, eliminating this disease was regarded as an impossible task: now, suddenly, with the wholesale voluntary transfer to co-operative farming, it has become a practicable proposition.

It is important to note that the campaign against schistosomiasis is not ordered from above: the Ministry of Health leaves it to the local authorities to plan the campaigns, design the posters and work out the detailed methods of eradication, as only they can know the local conditions sufficiently well to ensure the enthusiastic and efficient co-operation of the farmers. The local authorities send their draft plans and posters to the Ministry of Health for checking the scientific facts, and they provide the research workers in Peking with the data they need on a scale that could not be imagined by a scientist working in a laboratory in isolation. Thus the Chinese

are avoiding the antagonism that can arise between the specialists and the primitive communities as was shown in that moving Steinbeck film of Mexico, "Forgotten Village."

This keeping the people informed about science and what science can do is taken very seriously by Chinese scientists, who have no wish to be regarded as modern witch doctors. In 1950 an "Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge" was founded. It aims to eradicate superstitions, to propagate medical knowledge and principles of hygiene. It sponsors excellent mobile and permanent exhibitions, and publishes an attractive range of popular science journals and pamphlets.

Not that the scientists are satisfied with everything in China. They want more international collaboration, more contact with scientists in other countries. They welcomed the representatives from the seventeen organizations from other countries who attended the Executive meeting of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, held in Peking at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Scientific Societies. They would have been even happier if the affiliated organization in the United States had been able to send a representative. It was clear that they want contact with scientists in the West, but they will not allow our reluctance to work with them to hold up their development.

TRAINING IN MODERN SCIENCE URGED BY CHINESE LEADER

DISCUSSING progress and plans in the field of education and science, Chien Chun-jui, a Vice-Director of the Educational Section of the State Council, at a conference in Peking, May 9, stressed that Chinese scientists would have to make creative efforts to adapt foreign experience to the actual conditions in China. He declared:

"In view of China's serious backwardness in science and technology, we must redouble our efforts to learn modern science and technology, both from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and from capitalist countries, the United States, Britain and France in particular."

Chien Chun-jui said that there should be free exchange of views by various schools of thought on many diverse theoretical and practical questions in the sciences, and that only through a free exchange of ideas would culture and science flourish.

He cited progress in general and higher education and urged promotion of spare-time education throughout the country to train more specialists and technicians. He reported that the number of middle school students in the current school year reached 3,890,000, more than two and a half times the peak level before liberation and elementary school students reached 53 million, more than double the pre-liberation peak. Over 210,000 students graduated from college in China between 1949 and 1955, exceeding by 30,000 all college graduates in twenty years under the Kuomintang regime. Universal compulsory education would be introduced in China step by step in the next 7 to 12 years. The campaign to wipe out illiteracy is gaining momentum and by March this year 75,000,000 peasants were attending literacy classes.

CONFERENCE OF CAPITALIST WIVES

by GRACE LIU

WHEN I opened the door one afternoon several weeks ago, in answer to an urgent rapping, a non-stop rush of fluent American English greeted me. "I can't stay more than a few minutes, but I simply had to stop in and tell you all the excitement." My friend, a daughter of Hawaiian-born Chinese, was fairly bubbling with enthusiasm.

"I've just come from helping our 'lady capitalists' off to Peking. Such a crowd at the station! Not only friends and relatives, but the heads of the Tientsin People's Political Consultative Council and the representatives of the Tientsin industrialists and business men were all there with advice and pep-talks. Some of those women have scarcely ever been away from their own doorsteps before, and are really so helpless about traveling! Mrs. D., the one who has "small feet" (bound in childhood and later unbound), just clung tight to me until I got her safely settled in her seat.

"And there was Vivian Wang shivering away in her very smart but thin wool suit and nylons! I took off my padded sleeveless vest and just made her put it on under her

jacket. Of course, they all want to look their best, and their new spring outfits are certainly good-looking—but some of them so impractical for Peking's cold spring days!"

As she paused for breath, I asked her who were the women who made up the Tientsin group.

"There were quite a few from our YWCA discussion and study groups—the ones who belong to industrialist and merchant families. This is one time," she laughed, "that I wish I'd married a business man instead of a doctor. What a wonderful time those women are going to have! They're taking their loveliest dresses and you should have seen Mrs. Cheh carefully carrying on outstretched arms a suit-box of her extra-specials!"

"Well," I said, "You make this sound like a big picnic, instead of a very serious and important conference."

"Oh, you know I always have to see the light and giddy side of everything. But seriously"—and her face became sober and thoughtful—"this is something so new in the lives of Chinese women, to be invited by the government to a conference at the capital, to be honored and consulted, to be away from home for two whole weeks on important affairs of the country! Think what this does for a woman's self-respect and how it

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makes her husband and children see her with different eyes! Life has changed for Chinese women," she said emphatically. "Nowadays they can't be treated as mere possessions or servants!"

I knew that resentment and suffering caused by the often contemptuous attitude of a feudal minded husband had put the sudden bitterness in her voice. But she quickly recovered her liveliness and went on to name some of the women who had been elected to represent Tientsin at the National Conference of Wives of Industrialists and Merchants and Women Industrialists and Merchants in Peking.

It was quite a mixed group—some were women with a higher modern education, some had gone to mission schools and a few were experienced business women. But many were typical old-fashioned Chinese housewives with very little education or knowledge of the world outside their own homes; and some had known the suffering and humiliation that fall to the lot of the concubine and slave girl.

I know five of them, and they are all good examples of how Chinese women have benefited in this new democratic society that is rapidly going into socialism; and of how the women of the capitalist class are progressing alongside their husbands and helping and encouraging them in their socialist transformation.

Mrs. C. is a modern educated woman who was an experienced business woman even before liberation and knew all the worries and troubles of the national capitalists under the Kuomintang. She early encouraged her husband to put his factory under joint state-private ownership and works enthusiastically for the advancement of socialism. She be-



longs to a Marxist-Leninist study group of the more politically advanced women, and has been very active in neighborhood and social service work for several years, doing adult educational work among the women and helping to establish and manage kindergartens and nurseries for the children of working mothers. She also does much of her husband's secretarial work.

Another, Mrs. C., also with a modern education is the wife of a business man who had made a great deal of money in export-imports. She is an intelligent, energetic person who had been stifling in the idle life of a "social butterfly." She welcomed the opportunities to be of use that the new society has given to China's women. She also, as well as her husband, belongs to an advanced study group and is studying the laws of the development of society, the principles of socialist management and political economy. When her husband's business became joint state-private she was eager to prove how well she could manage her household on her husband's now modest salary. She has learned to cook and keep house and does neighborhood work as well. Doing without servants was very difficult at first—for Chinese women, even the wealthy ones, have no such household conveniences as American women and she often cut and burned her hands. But she

says she has never been so happy and her family has never before been so close and harmonious as now, when they are all working together toward the same great goal—a beautiful and prosperous country where everyone can be his best self!

She is prouder of her work-scarred hands than she ever was of her lovely but unusable pink tipped "pale hands." And when her youngest child made a big red flower to present to his "model mother" on her birthday, she wouldn't have exchanged it for all the wealth in the world.

Then there is Mrs. D., with the "small feet." When she was a young girl, her well-to-do family had sent her to an American Methodist Mission high school, but had taken her out during her third year to marry a man she had never seen, a very wealthy man whose family for generations had owned an important nation-wide enterprise. As was often the case in arranged marriages in rich families, Mrs. D. became more companion and maid to her mother-in-law than wife to her husband. Most of her time was spent playing cards with her mother-in-law, accompanying the old lady to the opera, and in the all night mah-jong games that were so frequent in wealthy families. Her husband lived his own life and had his separate pleasures and amusements, which included many other women.

When her two daughters and her son were in their teens they were sent to America to finish their education. Afterwards they married Chinese-Americans and never came back to China.

Years of such a stupid, boring and humiliating life with its late hours, too much smoking and never seeing the beautiful fresh hours of

early morning had given Mrs. D. many ailments, chiefly stomach troubles and headaches, and she looked thin and frail.

When the People's Government helped out the family business which was rapidly declining during the last hectic years before liberation, and when Kuomintang prophecies of "Communist enslavement" proved false, Mrs. D. joined a YWCA study group to learn all about the new government, its aims and policies—and about socialism. She began helping out in neighborhood work and became interested in national and even world affairs.

Today, although still quiet and rather timid, she is really a different person. Her ailments have disappeared and she has gained weight. Card games, mah-jong and late hours are things of the past and Mrs. D. has discovered the tonic of early rising. As she says herself, she never knew how wonderful it was early in the morning—that going out into the fresh morning air to her meetings or to her neighborhood duties makes her feel happy and young again.

When she came back from the big conference in Peking, she said that in the old days no one could have even imagined such a meeting of women. To see and meet government leaders; to hear Chou En-lai's wife talk so honestly and movingly; to meet "sisters" from every part of the country with life stories so like her own and to cry with





them over bitter memories of the past, were experiences that had sent her home full of gratitude and determination to do all she can, with her whole heart, to help in the country's progress.

Mrs. L. is a younger woman with quite a different background. The destitution of her family had forced her when a very young girl into the life of a dance hall girl. She had no more than a primary school education, but she was bright and intelligent as well as beautiful. As a dance girl she met many rich men and she soon became the concubine of one of the wealthiest business men in the city. She could now live in physical comfort and luxury, but the idleness, the constant malicious gossip and intrigues, the hypocrisy covering bitter hatreds and the cruelties of the old Chinese social system made it a suffocating and humiliating life for a woman of intelligence and spirit. Because she had been so oppressed from her childhood and longed so for some freedom and happiness, she quickly joined one of the first women's study groups after liberation to learn about socialism and how it emancipates women from their ages-old bondage.

Her husband was one of the first business men of the city to cooperate with the People's Government. His business had suffered under Kuomintang squeezing and foreign competition, and he was a patriotic na-

tional capitalist who did not want to see China reduced to the status of a colony.

Mrs. L. began doing social-service work and established and supervised a nursery for the children of working mothers in her neighborhood. She worked in neighborhood groups explaining to "stay-at-home" women the government movements and policies. According to the Marriage Law her position was legal and honorable and no one could look down on her any more as "only a concubine." Her life became more and more interesting and satisfying.

Today she is well-known and honored for her unselfish and public-spirited activities, among them a kindergarten for a hundred and thirty children. She is a member of the Tientsin People's Political Consultative Council and recently made a speech to the more than one thousand members. When she was in Peking she was elected to be presented to Chairman Mao and to give him the greetings of the Tientsin Wives of Industrialists and Merchants. She also met and wept with "sisters" whose stories could have been her own.

A much younger Mrs. D. has still a different story. When she was a twelve-year-old orphan, she was sold by a relative to a wealthy business man and her first child, a daughter, was born when she was thirteen. I met her fourteen years ago at a dinner party. She was then twenty-four years old and the mother of three daughters and her husband's only son. Her indifference to the people around her and her tragic beauty so aroused my interest and curiosity that I quickly found out her story from other guests, and learned that she was subjected to almost all the suffering and humilia-

tion that an old Chinese feudal family was capable of inflicting on a concubine and slave girl.

I met her again last spring—at my own door. Hearing a loud cheerful voice calling my amah (maid), I went to see who wanted her. I saw a tall beautiful woman with a warm friendly smile and a gay confident manner. I knew her—yet didn't know her. "You don't remember me, Liu Tai, tai (Mrs. Liu) she laughed. I could only stare and exclaim, "But you look so different!" She told me that she had been living in my neighborhood for several weeks and was the neighborhood government's representative. She had come to tell my amah that the neighborhood women were meeting in her house that afternoon for newspaper reading and discussion.

I saw her often after that, walking or standing with groups of women, talking and laughing—a completely changed person. So this spring I was not surprised to hear that she'd been elected to go to the big conference in Peking, where she also told her life story to weeping, sympathetic "sisters" from every part of China and from Hongkong and Macao.

Many tears were shed at this conference over the past oppression of China's women as one by one women got up to pour out, some for the first time in their lives, all the pent up suffering and resentment of the past. One reporter was moved to compare the conference to a whole lot of daughters-in-law come home to their own mother to cry on her shoulder.

But more important to the women than ridding themselves of their past sorrows was the planning for the future and learning what the women of their class must do to play their very influential part in the country's

progress. They learned that united happy families must be built up through mutual help and encouragement; mothers must pay attention to the proper up-bringing and teaching of their children; wives must help their husbands and encourage them to take another step forward in socialist transformation. Housewives must manage their households well without extravagance and waste and they must also study hard to add to their education and culture; and they must join social and social-welfare activities and encourage other women to study and get out into collective activities.

Finally, they learned that they must build up a habit of work, and the habit of thinking of all kinds of useful and needful labor as glorious, because labor built all wealth and culture and is the foundation of human progress.

The women came home full of enthusiasm and determination to increase their own efforts and to stir up every laggard of their acquaintance to active work.

The other night a business man, and an old friend, laughed gleefully as he said to me, "Our women, even when they were oppressed and enslaved were pretty powerful; now that they are free, and all roused up, we men are going to have to make some fast progress!"



NEW WRITING IN CHINA

by CEDRIC DOVER

*The night has been long, but now
cock crow welcomes a glorious dawn;
for a century devils have danced
madly; five hundred million people
have been kept divided; now with
this new day does the world turn
bright; from all quarters come the
sounds of music, even from distant
Singkiang; so do our poets find
sources for inspiration unknown before.*

MAO TSE-TUNG

Translated by Rewi Alley

THE degeneration of Chinese society in the nineteenth century was naturally reflected in the decay of Chinese literature, which was little more than an indulgence for aesthetes by the end of the Manchu Dynasty (1911). The Sun Yat-sen revolution revived creative vitality and the progressive May Fourth Movement (1919), much stimulated by world events and Soviet successes, shaped the form and content of the resulting cultural activity.

CEDRIC DOVER recently visited China as a member of an independent British delegation of Members of Parliament. Trade Union leaders, and scholars.

The great achievement of the Movement, inspired by the stories, essays, translations and tremendous example of Lu Hsun, was its responsibility for a realistic colloquial literature of protest, satire and reform, coupled with revaluation of the classical humanist works. Its urges and approach came, of course, from frustrated intellectuals, encumbered by necessary caution in expression, but its successes were as remarkable as its failures were understandable. Both are illustrated in the works of Lu Hsun himself and of Mao Tun, Kuo Mo-jo (now President of the Academia Sinica), and other leading writers of the period.

The emergence of the Communist Party as a dynamic force in China, the fight against Japanese aggression and the heroic struggles of the Chinese Red Army, gave new depth and dimensions to Chinese writing; and it is fortunate that the associated ideological conflicts had in Mao Tse-tung a critic of exceptional distinction. His directives to writers (*Problems of Art and Literature* remains essential reading for all serious writers) can be summarized as a call to penetrate and express the lives of the people—a call rooted

in a unique compost of political experience blended with a poet's knowledge of the creative process and the social function of literature.

"No matter what their level," he wrote in 1942, "works of literature and art are the result of the artistic work of the human mind as it reflects and portrays the life of the people." It follows that art is original, not derivative, and that "works of art and literature without artistic quality are ineffectual no matter how progressive they are politically. Thus we condemn not only works of art with a harmful reactionary content, but also works done in the 'poster-and-slogan style,' which stresses content to the exclusion of form."

These quotations indicate, I think, the essence of Chairman Mao's views on literature and the arts at the Yen-an Conference of writers and artists in May 1942. The date, five months after Pearl Harbor, indicates a significant realization of the importance of culture at a time when the over-riding issue was the struggle for Chinese unity against the Japanese invasion. Eight years later the establishment of the People's Republic of China enlarged beyond comparison the opportunities for Chinese writers to fulfill their creative talents as suggested by Mao Tse-tung and required by the people; but ability has often been weaker than the will to be worthy.

They admit that they have not yet succeeded in absorbing and creatively transforming the vast social changes that have taken place—partly because they are so vast and partly because the tempo of change leaves little time for assimilation, much less for the meditation and sheer hard work that moulds outstanding works of art. Thus, it happens, as a young Chinese writer said

to me, that "correct writings may not appeal, while appealing writings may not be correct. We find this contradiction very disturbing, but we must resolve it."

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that recent Chinese fiction is largely creative reportage, and, with exceptions, must necessarily remain so for some time, but it is equally true that it is reportage on quite another level than that which the word normally suggests, and that it is indispensable to those who really want to know the new China. This is not to say that the value of contemporary Chinese writing is largely educational; on the contrary, it is proof that we are witnessing a great movement which will lead Asian literature for many years to come.

Fortunately, some of it can be sampled in English. The English translations, as Mr. Chen Pai-chen of the Chinese Writers' Union in Peking told me, are open to criticism as literary products, but "they are at least strict in representation"; and they are likely to remain on this level until Anglo-American writers and scholars cooperate in the task of translation. In the Soviet Union, where over 100 Chinese works were translated by Russian sinologists and published in six million copies between 1950-54, the quality of the translations is said to be high; but in English-speaking countries the available translations of modern Chinese literature are those published, always very cheaply and usually well produced, by the Foreign Languages press of Peking.

Among them, the titles which have appealed to me are the little masterpieces by Lu Hsun, *The True Story of Ah Q* and his *Selected Stories* (in the Soviet Union some two mil-

lion copies of this book have been sold and a representative selection of Lu Hsun's works is now available in four volumes); and the panoramic novels of peasant struggles and land reform in northern China by Ting Ling, *The Sun Shines Over the Sangkan River*, and Chou Li-po, *Hurricane*.

I have not found Mao Tun's *Midnight*, a novel about the Chinese middle class and the rise of the workers, in English, nor have I seen his novels and stories about the intelligentsia during the days of the May Fourth Movement, but his short story, *The Shop of the Lin Family*, about the impoverishment of the village and the ruin of the small shopkeepers as a result of the Japanese invasion and the Kuomintang's exploitation, is the work of a master. The recent plays of Lao Shih, so well known for his novel *Rickshaw Boy*, are equally inaccessible; and it is still more surprising that anyone other than a Chinese or a sinologist would have to make a difficult major research to acquaint himself with the poetry, plays, essays and historical studies of Kuo Mo-jo.

The younger writers are fairly well represented in English in the periodical *Chinese Literature*, in collections of stories such as *Registration* and *A New Home*; and in short books, such as *Flames Ahead* and *Six A.M. and Other Stories* by Liu Pai-yu, and *Living Wall* by Chen Teng-ko.

It is quite difficult for a foreigner to estimate the outstanding craftsmen among them, but there is no doubt about the permanence of Tsao Ming (*The Moving Force and Locomotive*), who lives in Manchuria and has taken the restoration and progress of industry as her field, and Chao Shu-li (*Changes in Li Village*), who has

brought to his intimate knowledge of the complexities of rural life an incisive mind and a vivid yet subtle style.

Liu Ching has also written about the upsurge in the countryside (*Wall of Bronze* is a novel, set in his native province of Shensi, about the participation of peasants in the war of liberation) and he may go far as a regional writer when he learns to be more selective.

Essentially *Wall of Bronze* is a war novel—and the long years of struggle are perhaps still too near for the great Chinese war novel to be written. A possible exception (it has not yet been translated) is *In Defense of Yen-an* by Tu Peng-cheng, which was often recommended to me as the most important Chinese novel since 1949—a token of its popularity is the fact that its author earned as much on the first edition in 1954 as a Minister of the Government would do in ten years. The subject is in any view inspiring and it has a very special emotional appeal for the Chinese people; the author has the advantage of active participation followed by eight years in which to integrate his experiences and express them creatively; and the result, judging from extracts, seems to be exceptionally rich in characterization, drama and imagery.

Chinese writers have lived so much with war and oppression that we can confidently expect many more war books, and Tu Peng-cheng's novel indicates that they may be distinguished by more creative quality than they have shown thus far. But it should be remembered that, if they have largely failed to excite more than sympathetic political interest abroad, they have usefully served the growth of new China—and, after all, the ultimate test of a

cultural product is not whether foreigners find it amusing, intriguing or artistic, but whether it is functional at home. My own primary response to them is a feeling of humility which grew as I talked with some of their authors.

In Shenyang (Mukden) there was Ma Chia, Vice-Chairman of the Shenyang Branch of the Association of Chinese Writers, author of *Ten Days in Ching Shan Shun* (a novel about land reform), *The Flower That Never Withers* (on the lives and problems of government employees), *To the East of Our Land* (vignettes from the Korean war), and many other works. He was a well-built, purposive man of forty-odd who had lived most of his life under fire, but he smiled easily though his personality was grave and his thoughts often far away. Naturally, I asked him about the Korean war. His response was a charged silence which presently he broke by relating a number of harrowing experiences.

The conversation passed to his companion, Tsai Tien-shin, a member of the Committee of the Association, who had published *On the Chang Pai Mountain*, a novel about the anti-Japanese struggle, *On the Wei Chin River* (on land reform), many stories and much criticism. He was a short, intense, good-humored man in his late thirties who talked quickly and obviously planned on a large scale. He had completed the first draft, 400,000 words, of a novel called *Storm Over the Whei River*, but had put it aside "to stew" until he had completed a four-volume novel about the Agricultural Producers Cooperatives.

He came from a peasant family prosperous enough to let him study in Shenyang. Then the Japanese

came and his studies were "interrupted." Laborers were conscripted for work in the mines, mills and factories; food was stolen and grain was systematically taken away by soldiers sent for the purpose at harvest time; homes were commandeered, women raped, children ill-treated, men murdered. Beatings were the daily expectancy. There were many spontaneous revolts which were ruthlessly suppressed.

Ruthlessly suppressed—the cliché struck a jarring note in Tsai's mind when he heard it translated. "Some phrases," he said, "we use so often that we have to remember what they mean. I see the village of Ping Ting-shan, where most of the peasants were hostile to Japanese enslavement. One morning, suddenly, the soldiers came. All the men, women and children, 1,000 of them, were forced to stand in rows on a piece of open ground. There they were machine-gunned. That is what ruthless suppression means." Now even Tsai became silent and looked out of the window.

These conversations, typical of many, made me realize, humbly, why so many Chinese novels are "too black and white"; and why so many Chinese writers are still occupied with war themes. But they are moving into the present and future too. In Shenyang, for example, the Writers' Branch has some 80 members, of whom 17 are full-time writers, with all the security of a regular income, reasonably good living, free social services, and club life. They get everything except criticism of manuscripts, unless it is asked for and a critic is named by the author, for in all the writers' unions they are opposed to practices which may hinder publication. The President, Tsao Ming, as I have said, finds her

themes in the factories and some are following her; others are writing about agriculture and land reform, flood fighting, the place of women, the new marriage law, or whatever they wish. It is the same in all the Branches, and in the Writers' Union at Peking.

The number of novels that security and diversity are already producing is matched, if it is not exceeded, by the number of plays—as one would expect in a country where the spoken word and visual appeal are by tradition and necessity highly esteemed. Unfortunately, I know little about Chinese plays, though Chen Pai-chen, himself a distinguished playwright sensitive to historical values, patiently surveyed the whole field for me. He realized, as we were ending our first chain-smoking contest under a painting of Gorky (the most loved foreign writer in China), that I had written more notes than I could possibly expand, but he hoped I would be able to see some good plays, partly by resisting the tendency to go to the opera.

I went to the first night of *Across Rivers and Mountains*, a six-act masterpiece about the Long March by Chen Chi-tung, a veteran of that epic of endurance and revolutionary purpose. It was so superbly written, produced and acted that I could follow it easily in spite of the language barrier; and it was so moving, so full of courage, sorrow and smiles, that I was almost irritated by the occasional whispered interpretations of my companion. It filled me with hope for all Asia.

There are well-known poets in China (Emi Sao, Ai Ching, Tien Chien, Yuan Si-po Ke Chung-ping, Tsang Ke-chia); while the awakening in the countryside has converted illiterate rhymesters, such as the vet-

eran Wang Lao-chiu, into literate and socially conscious folk poets. Poets from a different background have also found folk inspirations and at least one, Li Chi, has become a national figure. His *Wang Kuei and Li Hsian-hsiang* (1945) has been published in a beautifully printed, but insufficiently revised, translation in rhyming couplets that inevitably sound forced and childish. It supports the view that the apparent neglect in making modern Chinese poetry available in the West is due to the difficulties of translation; for, in a nation that has a poet, Mao Tse-tung, at its head, it must be known that peoples speak through their poets.

The ancient poets, on the other hand, have been differently treated. Much has been published about and by them, though we cannot yet enjoy a one-volume anthology of the classical Chinese poets as Soviet readers can. The older prose classics are booming, too, and it is to be hoped that some day they will be more easily available outside China to those who are not sinologists.

I cannot conclude without thanking Chen Pai-chen for his many courtesies. He gave me information, books and magazines right up to the moment when I was leaving Peking Station on a cold late November night. There he was: calm, smiling, with a cigarette in his mouth and a packet in his hand for me—Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* in Chinese and things to read on the long journey to Canton. I muttered the usual politeness about not taking the trouble to come. He replied simply: "We are friends." I regret that these impressions of modern Chinese writing do so little justice to his friendship and to the work of the writers themselves.

The Khrushchev Report

by JESSICA SMITH

THE secret Khrushchev report is surely one of the most tragic documents in history. The tragedy lies in the needless suffering and sacrifices imposed on the Soviet people from within, in violation of the very socialist principles for which they willingly sacrificed so much. All who care for socialism and human progress must join in sorrow that this terrible shadow has fallen over what has in so many ways been the most glorious chapter in humanity's advance toward the good life, a shadow which is now seen to have retarded that advance. But our deepest sorrow must be for the wanton and needless shedding of the blood and stifling of the liberty of many of the finest of the earlier leaders who could have contributed so much to the full flowering of the new society, and of the many thousands of ordinary people who should have shared in its building and its benefits.

We cannot reconcile ourselves with what has happened. This system of terror need not and should not have been. Nothing could justify such wasteful and wanton cost in human life and liberty. We must recognize that these things were alien to the principles of a socialist society.

At the same time, the world will be forever in the debt of the Soviet Union for its pioneer role as the world's first socialist state, for the

new forms of human association it has established, for the strength and creative genius of its people, for the matchless heroism with which they fought and died to turn back the tides of fascism, for the consistent struggle of the Soviet Government and people for peace. We cannot lose sight of the great economic and social advances they have made despite all obstacles, the aid they are giving to other socialist countries and the underdeveloped nations of the world today, their readiness to share even with countries which are hostile to them in the interests of universal peace and well-being.

While much must be done to correct the wrongs of the past, we can take heart from the fullness of the exposure that is being made that in this process a moral regeneration is taking place that will prevent the recurrence of these evils. We have already reported on a number of aspects of the corrective process now under way. Most hopeful of all is the release from the pall of dogmatism and fear that stifled free discussion and criticism within the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the new independence of judgment being displayed among friends of the Soviet Union everywhere.

The Khrushchev speech was released by the State Department, and published in the *New York Times* of June 5 and the *Sunday Worker* of June 10, and shorter versions have

been carried widely in the press throughout the country. While this is not the official Soviet version of the speech, is admittedly not complete, and may contain errors in translation, we believe it can be taken in the main as authentic. Since this version of the document is now available we shall not attempt to review it in detail. While all of us have our own deep thinking and reevaluating to do, and we have no wish to evade this, the main things that remain to be said in supplement and explanation, must come from the Soviet leaders themselves.

The Khrushchev text makes clear, in addition to what has been previously reported, that the reviews of injustices, going back to the trials of the '30s, revealed that many thousands of persons were unjustly accused of being "enemies of the people" and executed or imprisoned. Beginning in 1934, these repressions decimated practically everyone in the leadership of the Party who had formerly been in opposition to policies adopted, affected many leaders who dared to express differences with Stalin, many who were simply suspected of differences, and then reached out to thousands of ordinary rank and file people. Through an extra-legal apparatus of terror and torture, controlled by Stalin, many thousands of innocent people were framed, and "confessions" extracted through the most brutal physical methods, on Stalin's own instructions. His suspicions reached such pathological proportions that innocent people were doomed by the merest rumors. Hundreds of thousands of lives were needlessly lost during the war because of Stalin's refusal to heed the warnings of Hitler's impending attack and his later insistence on making all military decisions himself,

disregarding the advice of commanding officers on the spot. Whole populations of several minority peoples were deported from their native areas during the war because some among them had collaborated with the Nazi invaders.

These are only a few of the revelations. In addition to sections missing from the State Department version, there are other matters of a most serious nature that as far as we know were not touched on in the Khrushchev speech, such as the execution of Jewish leaders and suppression of Jewish culture, made public by the Polish press, and about which no word has yet come from the Soviet Union.

We cannot agree that the contents of the Khrushchev report are only an internal matter for the Soviet Union. They concern us all. It is therefore deeply to be hoped that the Soviet leaders will themselves provide a complete and accurate text of the report as well as the facts about the Jewish leaders and other grave matters of universal import not yet revealed.

The establishment and growth of the world's first socialist state has from the beginning been a matter of the deepest concern to the people of the whole world. It can be said that no one anywhere has been unaffected by its achievements and by its failures.

Not only members of Communist Parties, but large sections of the whole left, socialist and labor movement everywhere have looked to the Soviet Union since its inception as the main bearer of the hopes of humanity for a happier and more abundant life on this earth. For this reason these groups defended the Soviet Union with all their strength in the days when it needed such de-

fense in the face of civil war, intervention, blockade and threats of destruction.

This defense was carried on into the period when the Soviet Union became strong and stable, to a blind support of everything the USSR did, when clear sighted understanding would have been more useful to all.

That uncritical defense of policies and actions now revealed as indefensible led to denunciation of all those who disagreed with one aspect or another of Soviet policy. It separated brother from brother, increased the division in the left throughout the world, here in the United States did great damage to the whole progressive movement, isolating it from the mainstream of American life.

We must answer before our own consciences and before the American people for our own mistakes in insisting that the Soviet Union, as the first socialist state, must always be right. But is there not also a responsibility for fuller explanations on the part of those who during the two decades when Stalin's mania grew to such monstrous proportions, not only failed to denounce or criticize him, but praised him in such exaggerated and all-embracing terms? There were the official records of the trials and confessions, the writing and speeches of all the Soviet leaders. Whatever doubts we might have had about this or that repressive measure, those who were the closest friends and supporters of the Soviet Union could not easily have rejected the words of all its responsible leaders.

The facts are now made public about the warnings issued by Lenin in his long-suppressed "testament" and other documents, against certain characteristics of rudeness and

arbitrariness early displayed by Stalin which raised grave questions as to whether leadership should remain in his hands, and against the dangers of the almost unlimited powers he had even before Lenin's death arrogated to himself.

With the other leaders alerted from the beginning against these dangers, seeing them develop later into such disastrous proportions, friends of socialism and the Soviet Union everywhere now have the right to ask them, as they are asking, how it was possible for this situation to continue for more than twenty years, with only the death of Stalin opening the way for the corrective process now going on. We can see that it was one-man rule and an extra-legal police and terror apparatus that were responsible for the many crimes that are now coming to light. But we must also ask how it came about that such a system could have been imposed on a socialist society, how one man's will could have become the determining factor?

One of our readers, trying to think through the significance of this troubled period, has written me that the new life created in the Soviet Union "has never lost its strength, despite the heavy burden of terrorism at the top." She goes on: "To me, the point is that the social-economic plan was, and is, so basically sound as to be able to meet increasingly the people's needs, and even to develop their social understanding, so that a corrupt police system which gave opportunity to a mentally ill political leader, could all be discarded like a worn-out garment."

Add to the socialist economic system the incomparable educational system which, while hampered in some respects by dogmatic methods

has none-the-less reached first place in the world today and is teaching a whole people to think for themselves. Add the unparalleled system of child care, the love and tenderness displayed for children, for the future, for whom the best of everything is reserved. Add the matchless system of public health, free to all, social security, its inequalities now being remedied, the great spread of culture to all the people, a culture which, however stultified in the past, is now breaking its bonds and finding a new creativity and freedom on a higher level than before, a policy toward national minorities which apart from later glaring lapses, has been a model for the world, a science blazing new paths to peace and abundance for mankind.

What must be resolved is the contradiction in the establishment of these new social forms which must have full freedom and democracy if they are to endure and flourish, and the imposition of an all-powerful police system which negated their basic purpose. What must be answered is how to insure that all vestiges of that system will be eradicated so that it can never rise again—in the USSR or anywhere else.

The fact of the establishment of new economic and social forms and the wide participation of the people in their building, the new situation that exists in the world today, the full, free discussion of past mistakes and encouragement of criticism that has now been inaugurated, the corrective measures under way, the new steps to insure the civil liberties that must accompany the basic economic liberties of a socialist order—in all this we see the hope of the actual realization of those socialist-humanist goals we shall not cease to believe in.

In the light of the Khrushchev report, we must say again to our readers how deeply we regret whatever we have published that has been misleading or untrue in the past. Yet, while we were unaware of the crimes and inhumanities taking place in a socialist society which we believed in its very essence must be a humane society, while we failed to give the complete picture, nevertheless the healthy, inspiring aspects of Soviet life we have reported remain true and lasting and the main design for its future growth.

And we believe that unceasing struggle for increased cultural and trade ties, for mutual understanding between the peoples of these two great countries, for peaceful co-existence with each other and all nations, is more than ever essential.

Soviet foreign policy, whatever defects there may have been in its implementation, is and always has been undeviatingly a policy of peace. Today the Soviet leaders are giving ever new evidences of their determination to keep the peace. This is evident in their new relations with socialist countries, their recognition of the many and different roads of peaceful transition to socialism, their friendly negotiations with the leaders of many lands, their aid without conditions to neutral and underdeveloped countries. Of the greatest significance is the unilateral reduction of their armed forces by 1,200,000 men. Premier Bulganin's latest letter to President Eisenhower proposes that other great powers follow suit in reducing their armies and that all foreign troops be withdrawn from German soil as preliminary steps to new efforts to reach agreement on an all-round disarmament program and the banning of nuclear weapons.

Meantime, American scientists

visiting the Soviet Union report tremendous strides being made in the direction of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Disarmament and full cooperation among nations for peaceful application of the atom were also stressed in the Soviet-Yugoslav communique of June 20. The results of President Tito's visit to Moscow, completing the reconciliation between the governments and Communist Parties of the two countries, is further evidence of the determination of the USSR to lessen tensions. With the leaders of both nations stressing the need for friendship with the United States, this reconciliation can in no way be considered a threat to our country. Both governments emphasized the positive role of the United Nations for peace and urged further progress toward universality, especially through recognizing the right to membership of the People's Republic of China. Both governments also stressed the need of negotiations for unification between the two German governments, and the ending of the division of Europe into military blocs.

Throughout Europe this solution is being increasingly demanded, rather than continued reliance on Adenauer's terms for a reunited and rearmed Germany remaining within the NATO military system, recently reaffirmed with Mr. Dulles in Washington. Within West Germany both Social Democrats and Free Democrats have proposed that the way be paved for reunification by West Germany withdrawing from NATO and East Germany from the Warsaw Pact, which is essentially the proposal of the Soviet Government.

While French foreign minister Pineau during his recent visit to Washington reaffirmed support of

the Atlantic Alliance, in his National Press Club speech June 20 he spoke of the necessity of expanding it "into new fields," made no mention of its military aspects, and dwelt at length on the need for friendly relations with the USSR, whose new policies he termed "irreversible."

Commenting on the sterility of Western leadership, Walter Lippmann said in the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 19: "The challenge put forth by post-Stalinist Russia is immense, and the Western world is in desperate need of statesmen to show the way and lead it on."

The great need of the moment is statesmanship for peace, which requires above all concrete measures for disarmament, on ending tests of nuclear weapons, already threatening humanity with a dangerous amount of radioactivity, and the banning forever of all atomic and hydrogen weapons. Then a great coming together of the scientists of the world to pool their knowledge and experience, a great concentration of efforts and resources to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy.

With the breathtaking potentialities for unlimited power development offered by the atom, for making mankind healthy and life easier, for creating an abundance of food and goods for all the people of the earth, the basic causes of war and hostility between nations and of all repressions within nations, can be eliminated forever. Why cannot all agree on this simple truth?

Perhaps the greatest hope of all to be drawn from the process of reevaluation and correction now going on in the Soviet Union and its counterpart in bold new initiatives in friendly relations, is the new opportunities it offers for the establishment of a lasting peace.

Some Chinese Dishes

by SONIA SU

THE majority of Chinese housewives cook their meals on a one-burner coal stove, over a very hot flame. Being practical and ingenious, they have turned this seeming disadvantage into the art of preparing tasty dishes on very short order. One of their secrets lies in cutting up the meat and vegetables into very fine slices beforehand and having everything on hand for the final cooking which generally takes little time.

Here are a few simple dishes which my neighbors have shown me how to prepare and which do not call for ingredients which might be hard to obtain in the United States.

LIVER SLICES IN WINE SAUCE

Ingredients:

- ¼ lb. beef liver
- 3 green onions (or 1 large mild onion)
- ½ cup white cooking wine
- ¼ cup soy sauce
- Pinch of salt
- Peanut oil (any other frying oil may be substituted if desired)

Remove skin from liver and cut in thin small slices with sharp knife. Cut onion in thin slices. Heat oil in skillet until it smokes. Drop in liver slices and cook for 50 seconds, stirring all the time. Add onion and keep stirring one more minute. Add wine, soy sauce and salt. Cover and cook for a few minutes. (Be careful not to overcook). Serve immediately.

PRAWNS PEKING STYLE

Ingredients:

- 6 prawns (or 12 giant shrimps) in shells
- ⅓ cup peanut oil
- ½ cup white cooking wine
- ⅓ cup soy sauce
- 1 teaspoon sugar
- 3 green onions (or one mild white onion)
- Small piece of fresh ginger if available

Trim the prawns. Cut shell lengthwise to remove black thread along the "spine" but do not remove the shell. Wash well. Cut crosswise into pieces about one inch long. Soak in soy sauce 10 to 15 minutes. Cut onion into fine slices. Peel and slice ginger. Heat oil in skillet until it smokes. Add prawns and stir quickly when they turn red. Add ginger and onion slices. Stir gently taking care not to let onion brown. Add wine, soy sauce (in which prawns were soaked), pinch of salt, sugar and enough boiling water to prevent the sauce from drying out. Cover tightly and cook 10 to 15 minutes. Serve.

CHINESE CABBAGE SOUP

Ingredients:

- Soup stock made from pork bones or ham bone
- Half a head of Chinese cabbage
- Salt

Cut up the cabbage, separating the

from leaf. Bring stock to a boil and add stalks. Cook five minutes and add the cut up leaves. Season with salt to taste. Cook about four minutes and serve.

STEAMED EGG CUSTARD

Ingredients:

3 eggs

1 cup cold clear chicken or beef broth

Beat eggs and add broth gradually while continuing to heat. Put about one inch of boiling water in large saucepan and place the bowl with egg mixture in it. (Do not let the water boil over into the bowl.) Cover and cook over high

flame until the custard sets (10-15 minutes.)

This makes a pleasant companion dish to fish or shrimp and is also a nourishing food for small children.

HOW TO COOK RICE

Wash rice in five or six changes of water, rubbing the grains between the hands to remove loose particles of starch. Put in a pan and cover with cold water to double its height. Bring to a boil over a high flame, stirring once to prevent sticking. Cover with tight lid. Cook over low flame 20 to 25 minutes taking care not to remove lid and let out steam. When finished the rice should be soft and each grain separate.

CHINESE HANDICRAFTS

PEKING'S famous craftsmen recently concluded a conference in that city. Workers in cloisonne, ivory, jade, carved lacquer, cross-stitch embroidery, rugs and other crafts exchanged experiences.

Yang Shih-hui, Peking's most famous master in ivory work, said, "More fine ivory work is being done in China today than in the time of Emperor Chien Lung (1736-1796 A.D.), the heyday of ivory carving." He went on, "A growing number of orders and inquiries have come from abroad and from different parts of our country to keep the handicraftsmen busy for a long time to come. Now we are artists in our own right and earn as much as university professors, where we used to have to market our products through middlemen."

Another ivory carver described how his co-operative was changing its themes. One group was working together on the 108 heroes of the classical novel, "All Men Are Brothers," and he himself was carving a bust of Shakespeare.

A master in carving jade figurines, Ho Jung, said that artists were now able to concentrate on their work without worry about supplies of coral, emerald, jade and other materials which they needed. These supplies were arranged for by the central organization of the handicraft cooperatives.

In the craft of cloisonne there are in Peking three cooperatives with a membership of more than six hundred members. In one of these two types of vases of the Ming Dynasty (1366-1644 A.D.) that had gone out of production for over twenty years because of the complex skill and long processes involved in their making, had been revived.

It was the discussion of the revival of neglected designs, the question of passing on their skills to others and the creation of new designs that chiefly concerned the conference.

Helping A Mutual-Aid Team Bring in the Harvest

by SHIRLEY RAY WOOD

IT IS OVER A YEAR since I first met Grandma Chen and her family. They belong to the best peasant mutual-aid team in Yang Wei Pu village, Honan province, and live not far from the State Veterinary Serum Plant where my husband works. We became acquainted by accident. I with my two little girls, and old Mrs. Chen with her grandchildren, found ourselves taking the same walk along the east road as far as the big poplar tree—and got to talking. The Chinese people's greeting to any stranger at the door is, "Come in and sit a while!" So I have often dropped in to her home since.

One summer day when the wheat was already golden in the fields, I decided to look up the Chens and offer a hand with the harvest. After all, I thought, this was a time when help from anyone who can hold a sickle is bound to be welcome. So when I had washed and fed my new baby and put her to sleep, I left our nurse Ta-sao in charge and set off for the village.

It was lovely weather, rather cool with a stiff breeze that sent billowy

white cloud-banks scudding across the sky. Yang Wei Pu, as I approached, seemed quite deserted. But when I came out on the big threshing ground to the south, I found a very busy scene.

Grandpa Chen, a little square-set man of sixty-odd with mischievous eyes and bushy white hair and whiskers, stood in the middle of a circle of wheat spread on the ground. Two mules were pulling the stone roller which threshed out the grain. The lead rope was looped around Grandpa's waist, so he had to turn slowly round and round. He held a long willow switch in one hand and a scoop in the other, in case the animals were impolite on the grain. Other members of the mutual-aid team were winnowing the wheat that had just been rolled.

"Got any work for me?" I asked.

Grandma Chen had seen me pushing a wheelbarrow the day before and had passed the tale around, so I was taken at my word.

"The women are out reaping," Chen Kwei, one of the men, called out. "My wife is there too, just east of the Serum Plant."

Chen Kwei, who was a poverty-stricken farmhand before the land reform, had become a substantial peasant with a cow of his own. That his wife was working in the fields,

SHIRLEY RAY WOOD is an American woman who lives in China with her husband and two children in Honan province where her husband, a Chinese citizen, works for the government.

a thing still unusual in the village, is typical of this forward-looking mutual-aid team. When I reached the reapers I found her just sitting down to feed her baby, who was being cared for by an old aunt during the harvest. Yao Chen-yung, the pregnant wife of team-leader Chen Chin-shan, was raking the wheat. Shao Chiu, a cousin from the city, was cutting the grain. I took a cutter and set to work beside her.

In this part of Honan, a cutter with a long handle and a flat triangular blade is often used for reaping. It severs the stalk just above the ground and can be wielded without stooping, so it is less tiring than a sickle. A fast worker can go down a row of wheat at an even stride. Though I was not fast at all, Shao Chiu was not too experienced either, so I did not lag very far behind—and my vanity was saved. When we were nearly through, the men came over and finished the job in a jiffy.

Then we all moved over to another stretch. Our feet sank in the soft earth.

This time my self-esteem really suffered. The wheat was thick and the blade of the cutter did not slide easily over the loose earth as it had done on the harder ground near the road. Whenever I swung at the wrong angle, it would burrow into the ground and come off the haft. Shao Chiu often had the same trouble, but even she was still well ahead of me. As for the men, they were cutting two rows to my one.

I heard the "chut-chut-chut" of an expertly-handled blade slicing easily through the stalks. Chen Chin-yung, another member of the clan, was overtaking me.

"Hard work?" he asked.

"Not as easy as it looks," I replied.

"Have you seen those big combines in the Soviet films?" Chen Kwei put in. "They do a week's work in no time. One of these days we'll be using one."

"We don't have to wait for a combine," said Chen Chin-yung. "When we turn into a cooperative, we can buy a horse-drawn reaper like the Polish model in the demonstration we saw at the training school during the New Year."

NOW I'd like to say a word about why this team is considered advanced. It gains much of its strength from the fact that the members stick together and arrange the work so that no one has to sit around waiting for the next job. With the work well ahead of schedule, the owners of the fields last planted or reaped suffer no loss. This helps to avoid dissatisfactions that arise from the contradictory nature of mutual-aid teams, where work is cooperative but ownership is individual.

In our district in 1954, for instance, there was a fair rainfall near the end of the wheat harvest. Then came a long summer drought. Though the beans planted directly after the rains came up well, seedlings put in just a few days later died.

But the Chen team did not suffer from this, as others did. All its members reaped a decent harvest because they got the entire planting done early. Chen Chin-shan, who has a family of eight, not only ate well off his three acres of land but was also able to sell about a quarter of a ton of surplus grain to the government. The team sold a lot of seed to other farmers, for Grandpa Chen has a "green thumb." The seed he grows and selects is much in demand.

On the second morning of the harvest I went straight to the field, where I found everyone already at work. This time we cut with sickles. When I asked how they decided which tool to take to the fields, they told me that if the straw was to be sold or employed for thatching, they used cutters and bound it tidily. Otherwise the sickle was better.

The local sickles have a haft eighteen inches long and a straight, four-inch blade set at an angle. Using these, we moved forward in an even line, each cutting a wider or narrower swath according to ability.

Later, in the rest period, Chen Chin-shan started a game. He picked up an ear of wheat, fingered its long stiff beard and then drew a line on the ground.

"Come on," he called to his little niece who had come out to help with the gleanings. "I'm going to take your wheat away!"

The little girl squatted down and we all drew near to watch. She selected a thin, mangy ear and set it on her side of the line. Her uncle edged his "fighter" toward it until the beard of his wheat ear tangled with the "opponent"; then he gave a careful twist and jerked it across the line. The little girl, lacking her uncle's years of experience, lost the next encounter too. The rest of her wheat was saved by the fact that we all had to start work again.

MY SON Li min came out to the field with his classmate, Chen Chin-shan's boy, Tien-i. They were leading a sheep, and they amused themselves looking for ears that had been missed on the field we had cut the day before. They soon decided, however, that it would be more fun to chase the little striped lizards

that abound in the countryside.

While the men went to fetch the wagon, we began to rake the wheat and pitch it into heaps. The pitchforks, polished smooth and golden-yellow from work, were made of wild fruit-tree saplings that had been trained so that their branches had grown into three wide-set curved tines, each over a foot long. These forks are a local product of the mountain areas. My son seized a big one and tried to work like the others. Grandpa Chen looked on grinning.

"Give him another three years, and he can do a man's work," he said.

Then the wagon came. Looking at it, I thought of Yao Chen-yung's gold earrings. They had been a present from her folks when she got married, but later she had sold them to help pay for this vehicle. Now she and her husband, Chen Chin-shan, have enough money to replace the earrings and intend to do so.

Leaving the men to do the loading, we shouldered our implements and left for home. When we reached the village, Grandma Chen called to us to share the big dish of noodles which she had prepared as lunch for the whole team. But I took Li-min home because I had to get back to the baby.

THESE ARE some random memories of how I helped reap that year's wheat. After a few days of it, I had a callous on my hand from the sickle, a burn on my nose from the sun, and a standing invitation from the best mutual-aid team in Yang Wei Pu to join in the next harvest. More important, I had a much deeper understanding and friendship with my peasant neighbors.

New Steps in Chinese Farming

WE PRESENT below extracts from the resolution on cooperative farming passed by the Congress of the Communist Party of China in October 19, 1955. It indicates the development thus far, and the plan for the future of cooperation in farm production. The preliminary stage of mutual aid teams has about completed its function. These teams consisted of the more advanced farmers who by working together demonstrated to the rest of the village the advantages of such cooperation.

Now the common form is a producers' cooperative, involving most of the village, with those contributing land or tools paid what amounts to a rental. In addition, the members receive compensation for labor contributed.

The development of the collective farm, with all equipment and land jointly owned by the membership, is anticipated to be the next stage.

The resolution quoted deals with the problems of the intermediate stage of the agricultural producers' cooperatives.

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"At the present moment the rural communities are experiencing a profound movement of socialist transformation. The number of farm cooperatives increased from 100,000 in the spring of 1954 to 650,000 in the summer of 1955. Peasant households in these producers' cooperative increased from 1,800,000 to 16,900,000. This is about 15 per cent of all the peasant households in China.

"The development is uneven. In the

old liberated areas, it has already assumed a broad mass character because of the longer experience of the peasants in struggle and the many years existence of mutual aid teams. Thus, the three northeastern provinces have 34 per cent of their peasant households in the cooperatives. Many hsiangs (administrative unit comprising groups of villages—Ed.) have reached 60, 70 and 80 per cent.

"In the provinces of the northwest, southwest, and south that were liberated later, the first groups of farm cooperatives have been established in most hsiangs. The road is open for a great development of agricultural cooperation."

It is felt that the first big objective has been gained—the redivision of the land. But that advance brings on a "new stage of the revolution . . ." in which the ambitions of some of the richer peasants become fired to dominate and exploit their poorer neighbors.

"The economic conditions of . . . the peasants have improved to varying degrees since the land reform, but many households are still having difficulties or are still not well off. Some have even lost their share of the land to the rich peasants or speculative merchants or because they were engulfed by natural calamities. So if the Party fails to lead the peasants to the path of socialism, capitalism will inevitably grow in the rural areas. . . . Reality has taught the peasants that they can not continue their former way of life—individual farming, working on scattered, tiny pieces of land. The only way

out is for a large number of people to unite and adopt the method of joint labor and collective management."

The following major points are put forward as guides for developing the cooperative movement during the coming period:

- At this stage, the main basis of the new cooperatives must be the "active elements among the poor peasants . . . and the new middle peasants who were formerly poor peasants. Some of the best of the old middle peasants can be included."

- "Patience is required for those who, for the time being, do not wish to join cooperatives, even if they are poor or lower middle peasants. No attempt should be made to drag them into cooperatives against their will. A peasant may put forward and withdraw his name for cooperative membership repeatedly before he reaches a final decision."

- Since the better-off middle peasants who have more tools and draught animals may feel at this stage that they are better off out of the collective, they will not easily join in. Even where they reluctantly do join, frequent contradictions will arise. Therefore when a cooperative is organized, it is advisable at the beginning not to take in better-off middle peasants. Exceptions can be made for those who show a genuine willingness to join.

- "Middle peasants are the permanent ally of the working class and the poor peasants. Good relations should be established with them within and outside the cooperatives. Their interests should never be infringed upon nor their property taken."

- "As the cooperative movement develops, many farmer landlords, rich peasants and all sorts of counter-revolutionaries will certainly engage in all forms of sabotage. Quite a number of landlords have wormed their way into the cooperatives in various guises. Some of them have even organized a number of sham cooperatives. Therefore:

"Where the great majority of peas-

ants have not yet joined, the cooperatives for the next few years must not allow landlords or rich peasants to join. Only in those places where the majority of the peasantry have joined and cooperatives have been consolidated can former landlords and rich peasants who have not engaged in exploitation for a long time, and who are law abiding, be accepted in the cooperatives. This acceptance is conditional and in separate groups and stages so that their reform can be furthered through collective work in production.

"The sham cooperatives should be dissolved, and the poor and middle peasants reorganized into new ones."

- There are two forms of compensation for peasants who join the cooperative. The main compensation is for the labor they contribute throughout the year. The other is for the land, tools, stock, etc., that they may contribute.

"The dividend for land generally should be lower than the payment for labor. However attention should be paid to those cooperative members who are short of labor and have more land, especially those who are old, weak, orphaned or widowed, so that they are enabled to receive an appropriate income."

"Each member of the cooperative should have land of his own for a vegetable plot and subsidiary agricultural products."

"After full negotiations between cooperatives and members who own draught animals, contracts are to be signed for their hiring or purchase. There are some cooperatives that give too low a price and fix too long a period for payment, even not setting a definite date, and not paying any interest. This has brought about the situation in which the members do not care for the draught animals. This must be rectified."

"Similarly, concerning farm tools, there are some cooperatives which use members' tools for a long time, pay no rent nor keep them in repair."

- "Financial and technical aid to

the cooperatives must be regarded as a major item in the daily work of the agricultural administrative departments. Besides loans to poor peasants to enable them to take up shares in the cooperatives, the People's Bank and the Agricultural Bank of China should make loans for the capital investments of the cooperatives at low interest rates and for terms of three to five years."

"The agricultural departments shall build agro-technical stations.

"To keep pace with the growth of agricultural cooperation, there is need to complete the construction of the first tractor plant as quickly as possible, and make preparations for the second and third tractor plants."

"There is need for training a large number of bookkeepers. The rural branches of the People's Bank, the Agricultural Bank and the supply and marketing cooperatives should do their

best to help the producers' cooperatives with their bookkeeping."

"The aims of the cooperative movement are to turn some 110 million peasant households from individual to collective farming and then go further to accomplish the technical reform of agriculture, to eliminate the last remaining exploitation in the rural areas, and to establish socialism. This is a tremendous undertaking involving the livelihood of several hundred million people, and it is inconceivable that there will be no difficulties.

"But the building of socialism is the cause of hundreds of millions of people. Whether in the industrialization of the country, agricultural cooperation or in other respects, we should bring the creativeness and initiative of the masses into full play, work in a realistic spirit, and not show complacency or impetuosity."

SELF-CRITICISM AND CORRECTION IN CHINA

REPERCUSSIONS of the Stalin re-evaluation in the USSR are being felt throughout the whole socialist world. As we go to press, a story by Henry R. Lieberman from Hongkong (N. Y. Times, January 23) reports on admissions of errors by government officials in the drive against counter-revolutionaries. According to the dispatch, in speeches to the National People's Congress, Public Security Minister Lo Jui-ching and Procurator General Chang Ting-cheng admitted there had been some wrongful arrests and sentences, and that some had already been rectified, others were in process of correction. NWR hopes to publish fuller material on this when the material becomes available.

THE PEOPLE URGE CHINA'S ADMISSION TO UN

THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS' "Inquiring Photographer," on June 22 asked an advertising executive, a housewife, an airline executive, a public relations counsel, a businessman in steel and a Port Washington executive if the stage was being set for the admission of China to the United Nations. In spite of the preponderance of "executives," the answer was a unanimous "yes"—with only two qualifying regrets. The housewife commented: "Everything I read about Red China points that way. China is populated by more than 400,000,000 people. A United Nations is far from united when that many are excluded from representation." And the steel man from Connecticut, speaking of Britain's move to expand her trade with China lamented, "She'll get it, too, and we'll be left on the outside." Moreover, he added, "... the Arab states are lining up on the side of Red China."

How To Strengthen the Heart

A review in *Novy Mir*, No. 10, October, 1955,

by Professor A. Zeitlin

KAK UKREPIT SERDTZE, by Prof. V. F. Zelenin. Published by Medgiz, Moscow, 1955. 136 pp.

ONCE I ASKED a friend who leads a sedentary life and is rather on the stout side, "Tell me, do you walk much?" "On Sundays," was the reply.

I don't know whether my friend realized the connection between his manner of living and the heart attack he later suffered. People in general seem to be much concerned about their stomach or kidneys but often completely forget about the heart.

I remembered this episode when I picked up the book: *How to Strengthen the Heart* by Professor V. F. Zelenin, member of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

This book belongs to the genre of popular science literature, a category which demands much from the author. To write about complex things in simple language is a difficult business. Professor Zelenin, while basing himself on a strictly scientific foundation, has succeeded in presenting in easily understood language the basic knowledge of hygiene of the heart and the prophylaxis of heart ailments, which need to be known by each one of us—in health or in sickness.

The theme of the book is important and timely. The rise of the well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people, as well as the broad sanitary measures adopted in our country, contributed to the elimination of many infectious diseases and considerably reduced the number of other diseases. But heart and circulatory ailments are still quite prevalent; often they cause much

loss of labor time. In our conditions the basis of such diseases is to be found in individual causes, occasional rheumatic attacks, grippe or other infections. But all too often heart trouble is the fault of the patient himself.

Man can live and even continue working without a spleen, without a stomach or portions of the bowels, without one lung or kidney. But the failure of the functioning of the heart means death. The heart begins to beat, in man, before he is born; without stopping work by day or night, it ends its labor in life's last moment. The heart—an extremely sensitive instrument—reacts not only to each physical exertion, but to psychological exertions, to all emotions caused by joy or sorrow. From the most ancient times men looked upon the heart as the source not only of living functions but passions as well. "To love with all one's heart," "to hate with all one's heart," these expressions are part of every language in the world.

The heart possesses a special, extremely sensitive apparatus, which governs all its work. This consists of a series of very fine nerve fibers which connect the heart with all the internal organs, and what is most important, with the central nervous system and with the center of psychological activity—the cortex of the brain. This connection is demonstrated in the book by clear diagrams.

The heart is distinguished by still another feature belonging to it alone. Cut out of the organism and supplied with suitable food, it will continue to function, i.e. to beat rhythmically for many hours, sometimes days. This is made possible because the heart pos-

ses a special nerve center which conditions its automatic functioning. In the living body this center is controlled by the nervous system. The complicated physiology of the cardio-vascular system is described in a sufficiently popular manner, yet in complete accord with the latest discoveries of science, and especially with the teachings of I. P. Pavlov.

To retain the normal functioning of the heart for many years it is necessary to observe the rules of prophylaxis and care, to guard it against physical and psychological damage. In the book we find a series of valuable points connected with this problem. Professor Zelenin recalls the well-known truth, that it is easier to prevent a disease than to cure it. While many of the author's recommendations may be well known to every intelligent person, they are nevertheless rarely followed, as shown by daily experience.

I believe many of my readers, with "hand on heart" will confess they are careless about their hearts. Take morning setting-up exercises. Everyone, even older people, should practice this. Ten to fifteen minutes a day would do, but many people seem to lack the time. The systematic practice of physical culture—let alone sports—helps to strengthen the heart. There's an improved tone in the body, work seems easier.

Medical observations over a long period disclose that it is largely people of mental occupations who suffer from diseases of the heart and circulatory system—high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis, myocarditis, coronary thrombosis, and others. Not that such occupation necessarily demands greater application and strain than physical labor. But people who belong in this category lead, as a rule, a sedentary life, are less out in the open, often work nights. Obviously all this is bound to have an effect on their health.

A chapter of the book is devoted to early symptoms of heart trouble. The author correctly considers that many people do not pay sufficient attention to

such symptoms. Some try to "overcome" their sickness for long periods, try to take it in their stride and to avoid consulting a physician. Others, conversely, become panic stricken and exaggerate the danger of the disease. Professor Zelenin advises the only correct attitude. A person feeling the first symptoms of heart trouble should immediately consult a physician and strictly carry out his recommendations. The author—and in this he deserves commendation—has succeeded in describing the symptoms of the disease and its causes in a manner not to arouse any feeling of depression in the sick person; but on the contrary, to imbue him with optimism, and certainty of recovery through timely and correct treatment. It is well known that firmness, self-confidence and cheerfulness are invaluable assistants of the doctor.

In the last ten years medicine has achieved great successes in the diagnosis and cure of ailments of the heart and circulatory system. Discoveries of Soviet and other scientists have considerably improved methods of medical research. Special apparatus and instruments register the minutest changes in the functioning of the heart and its vessels and establish with precision the degree of the injury.

Refinement of diagnosis makes it possible to employ more expedient methods of cure. Especially significant are the achievements of modern surgery. Twenty or thirty years ago even an experienced surgeon did not attempt to operate on the heart or the largest vessels.

It is necessary, nevertheless, to remember that for the success of any therapeutic treatment, in case it is impossible to prevent the disease, the heart and the vessels must retain a definite degree of vitality and the necessary reserve forces. It is possible to attain this through the rules of prophylaxis and care which are so eloquently described in Professor Zelenin's book.

Translated by A. A. Heller

A LOOK AT CHINA

LOOKING AT CHINA, *by Paul Hogarth*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1956. 90 pp. 12/6. \$2.75.

MR. PAUL HOGARTH visited China last year as a member of an English cultural delegation. He was obviously fascinated by his first glimpse of the country and gives us in this brilliant combination of text and drawings a record of his absorption.

With a few strokes of his pencil the whole rich movement of a Chinese street is set before you, and with the same economy Mr. Hogarth creates a factory, a temple, or, best of all, the Chinese people—a steelworker, a peasant leader, a girl in a textile plant—are realized in human yet monumental dignity.

And with the same masterly economy in words the people are described so that you see them in all their personal vividness—yet with an extra quality that places them (as does the drawings) in the new surge and ancient flow of Chinese life.

INDIA TODAY

INDIA'S PROGRESS, Far East Reporter, *P. O. Box 1536, New York 17, N. Y.*, 1956, 67 pp., 35c.

"INDIA stands next to China among the giant nations of the earth, and it is clear that what India does on the world scene must have tremendous influence on our prospects for genuine peace. After a period of uncertainty, India now seems to have launched herself firmly on a course in which positive action for peace takes precedence over mere neutrality."

Thus begins this excellent pamphlet which then proceeds to give a concise account of India's development from the establishment of its independence in 1947 to its important place among the shifting world alignments of today.

Nehru's scheduled visit to our country

emphasizes India's position on the world scene and the reader of this pamphlet will find a clear and useful description of India's internal situation—the import of the two vast Pakistan areas which were separated from India at the time she gained her independence; the effect of the continued heavy investment of British capital; the unsettled problem of land division; the conflict of class groupings; and the sharp struggle of political parties.

For the American reader in particular the whole problem of economic and technical assistance for India—the chief purpose of Mr. Nehru's visit—is shown in illuminating perspectives against the movement of colonial, semi-colonial, and newly created countries for peace and independence for their peoples.

BALLADS AND SONGS

MONTGOMERY, ALA. — MONEY, MISSISSIPPI — AND OTHER PLACES, *by Eve Merriam*, Cameron Associates, New York. Hard cover, \$2.00; Pamphlet 25c.

THESE are topical poems about the great struggle of the Negro people for full equality in America. They are very effective for public reading and have proved to be so when read at rallies all over the country. Like the tradition of balladry from which they rise they reflect and help give form and expression to the hopes and aspirations of the people. The struggle of the Negro people in America is inseparably linked with the struggle of oppressed peoples everywhere for freedom, and this struggle today is steadily mounting in force and purposefulness:

"Here the sound
The sound of footsteps rising
The silent melody of handclasp

The tune comes clear across the
Himalayas

The music is here
everywhere
the song heard round the world."

"GO TO THE PEOPLE"

USA TODAY, by Helen and Scott Nearing. Published by Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine, 1955. 288 pages. \$3.00 cloth; \$2.25 paper.

THIS book grew out of three long cross country tours made by Helen and Scott Nearing during the years 1952-55. The authors have a great many frightening things to say about what has happened to our America as a result of cold war repressions and the drive toward militarization, and what they feel has been a too-swift process of industrialization, upsetting the normal balance of things. They found human wastage, squandering of natural resources, demoralization and disintegration in the countryside, decay of community and family life. They were especially struck with the stifling drive to conformity "in direct opposition to the dominant characteristics which tradition and history attribute to the United States and to the life pattern with which the older generations of USA citizens associate the American way." They concluded that in the name of preserving the American way of life we are in fact being urged to destroy it.

The Nearings sum up their philosophy in an ancient Chinese verse—

*Go to the people
Live among them
Learn from them
Love them
Serve them
Start with what they know
Build on what they have.*

Scott and Helen Nearing assuredly have faith in the people, else they would not, denied the possibility of regular teaching positions, have so organized their lives that they can make a simple living out of their farm in Maine and devote a large part of their time to the teaching and serving of others. One might wish that a little more of their faith were reflected in the book. They

do indeed make clear that there is an "American resistance" movement against the evils they describe, and the book ends on a hopeful note of the turning of the tide away from the "synthetically-generated fear and hatred" that has poisoned so many. While we would have liked to have had more details on the manifold healthy activities of the American people for peace and civil liberties to balance the accounts of the sickness of our society, perhaps the shock treatment will help in bringing about a greater resistance and a quicker cure. J.S.

ON DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY IN WORLD POLITICS, by Lester B. Pearson. Princeton University Press, 1955. 122 pp. \$2.75.

THIS LITTLE book records a series of lectures given by Mr. Pearson at Princeton in 1955. In his introduction the author confides that he is unable to define Democracy, nor has he come across any definition which satisfies him. "However democracy may be defined," says the author, "we feel its true meaning inside us even when we cannot explain it." This premise, "inside us," dominates the book.

Mr. Pearson is an active political figure; as Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and former President of the United Nations Assembly and ex-Ambassador to the United States, he is one of the leading spokesmen of the "Western" point of view in this period. Mr. Pearson considers the threat of atomic warfare as leading to mutual destruction and is therefore an ardent advocate of negotiation and co-existence.

While Mr. Pearson's approach to world problems is mostly negative—since the future depends on what is "inside us"—nevertheless he ends the book on a hopeful note—"as we face the awful and glorious possibilities of the nuclear age."

A. A. H.

This Summer . . . You Need to Read

"Science of Health and Long Life in the U. S. S. R."

by CHARLOTTE CARTER, R.N., P.H.N.
and DYSON CARTER, M.Ss., F.C.G.S., M.C.I.C.

- You will find in this book actual **health methods**, used daily by millions of Soviet people.
- The Carters saw for themselves, **they take you with them** into clinics and health resorts.
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