

OCTOBER, 1958

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New World

REVIEW

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NEW CZECH FILMS

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JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*

MURRAY YOUNG, *Managing Editor*

ESLANDA ROBESON

*Editorial Consultant on Negro and
Colonial Questions
and UN Correspondent*

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ROCKWELL KENT

D. N. PRITT

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

ESLANDA ROBESON

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

34 West 15th Street, New York 11

New York

Once More to the Brink

by JESSICA SMITH

THE world, including the United States' allies, and wide and influential sectors of American opinion, is aghast at the new threat of war brought about by United States policies in the Far East, while the war threat resulting from the presence of U.S. and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan still persists.

The new threat brings home more sharply than ever the immeasurable dangers of the situation whereby the real representatives of a fourth of the world's people are prevented by the United States from taking their rightful place in the United Nations. This means that the world body is in no position to solve questions that are not only the direct concern of the Chinese People's Republic but life and death matters to all people everywhere.

It is too early to speculate on what may come of the current U.S.-Chinese talks in Warsaw, or what action may be taken to resolve the new crisis by the regular UN Assembly session which has just convened as we go to press. Whatever the final UN voting results on Middle and Far Eastern issues may be, it is clear, as already shown in the special session, that the United States can no longer have things all its own way there.

A few background facts may be helpful in showing the utter lack of foundation for the U.S. charge that China is engaged in aggression or in any attempt at territorial expansion by force, while Chiang Kai-shek

and the United States are engaging only in "self-defense." The People's Republic of China is simply trying to get back islands as much a part of it as Long Island and Staten Island are part of the United States, and which would have been in its possession long since without U.S. support and military aid to Chiang Kai-shek.

Who Are the Aggressors?

Any rational view must concede that the real aggression comes from the retention of Chiang Kai-shek on Chinese territory by the presence of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and U.S. forces armed with atomic weapons.

The Island of Taiwan (Formosa),* 90 miles at its nearest point from mainland China, was, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica, reckoned part of the Chinese Empire "by the close of the 17th Century." The Encyclopedia's Year Book of 1947 says:

Formosa was ceded to Japan . . . in 1895, at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war. The island was administered as a Japanese colony until the surrender of Japan in 1945, when *Formosa was restored to Chinese sovereignty as a province of China.* (Italics added)

The restoration, always longed for by the people of Taiwan whose

* Formosa was the name given to the island by early Spanish navigators. The official Chinese name of Taiwan, increasingly accepted internationally, is the one we shall use except in quotations referring to Formosa. Likewise, the Penghus is the correct title for the small islands off Taiwan rather than Pescadores.

population is overwhelmingly Chinese, was agreed upon at the Cairo Conference on December 1, 1943, when Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek, (then head of the Chinese state) declared:

. . . All the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores [Penghus], shall be restored to the Republic of China.

This Allied commitment was reaffirmed in the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, and adhered to by the USSR after it entered the war against Japan.

In October, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces were decisively routed by the Communist armies after more than three years of civil war, and the People's Republic of China was established as the sovereign government of the 600,000,000 Chinese people. (Already recognized as such by more than 30 nations, including Great Britain, with recognition withheld by many others only under U.S. pressure.)

The utterly routed former dictator fled with the remnants of his supporters and armies to Taiwan, from which he has continued futile attacks on the mainland, and his efforts to involve the United States in war with People's China and stir up world atomic war as a means to realize his impossible dream of conquering the China he has lost forever.

Neither this nor U.S. recognition and support of Chiang could change the fact that by all the canons of international law and custom, Taiwan remained "a province of China," and that the Penghus and other coastal islands to which Chiang

made claim, also remained as they always had been, a part of China.

In June, 1950, simultaneously with ordering U.S. armed forces into action in Korea, President Truman ordered the U.S. 7th Fleet to Taiwan to prevent its liberation by the Chinese People's Republic, at the same time ordering Chiang Kai-shek (presumably the head of a sovereign state as far as the United States was concerned!) to cease all operations against the mainland. The occupation of Taiwan by U.S. naval and military forces was immediately branded as aggression against it by the Chinese People's Republic. It was an infringement of U.S. commitments at Cairo and Potsdam.

In January 1953, President Eisenhower "unleashed" Chiang Kai-shek from all restrictions on military actions against the mainland, while the Seventh Fleet and other U.S. military forces continued to protect him. From that day to this the Nationalist occupied Chinese islands have been bases for military raids against the mainland, espionage and reconnaissance flights.

A crisis arose in late 1954 when in retaliation against these actions, the Chinese People's Republic started shelling the Tachen islands, 230 miles north of Formosa, and less than 15 miles from the Chekiang Coast of China, occupied by 10,000 of Chiang's troops. At that period the United States stepped up its support for Chiang Kai-shek by entering into a mutual defense treaty with him, (on the basis that defense of islands he occupied, 6,000 miles from our Western shores, was essential to the vital interests of the United States!) whereby the United States pledged itself to defend

"Taiwan and the Pescadores . . . and such other territories as may be determined by mutual agreement."

(The treaty was signed in December, ratified by the Senate February 9, 1955.)

The commitment to extend defense of Chiang beyond Taiwan and the Penghus was carried further in the so-called Formosa Resolution approved by the Senate January 28, 1955, on the urging of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. This resolution (made the basis of U.S. action today) authorized the President:

. . . To employ the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack . . . and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

It was reported that when the Resolution was being discussed in committee, the late Senator Alben Barkley asked whether it might constitute a "pre-dated declaration of war" and Dulles answered "Yes, it would be construed that way." (Robert S. Allen in the *New York Post*, Jan. 25, 1955). Meantime, the untenability, militarily and morally, of the Tachens had become so clear, and the world outcry against getting involved in war over the Tachens so overwhelming, that the United States had no choice but to get Chiang Kai-shek's unwilling consent to the evacuation of Nationalist troops, which was completed by U.S. warships on February 11, while the mainland held its fire. Chiang in-

sisted at the time that he had a U.S. pledge to help him defend Quemoy and Matsu. The United States gave no such public pledge, although the Formosa Treaty and Resolution pointed to such action. (Only to be taken, however, as pointed out by Senator Wayne Morse in an article sharply attacking the Dulles policies in *The Nation*, September 20, 1958, with the consent of the Senate which was not sought by the Administration in the present crisis. Senator Morse, along with Senator Lehman of New York and Senator Langer of North Dakota opposed the Resolution at the time as leading to war.) Chiang immediately started the further build up of his troops on Quemoy and Matsu, which he could only have done with U.S. military aid, and could certainly not have done had the United States opposed it. The United States, by the way, has poured a billion dollars into Chiang's coffers, most of which has gone for military purposes. (\$300,000,000 more U.S. military aid is being sent in the current fiscal year.)

The Current Crisis

The military build-up has continued until today there are 100,000 of Chiang's troops on Quemoy, and about 30,000 on Matsu. With Quemoy (100 miles north of Taiwan) less than five miles from the important Chinese port of Amoy, this constitutes a military blockade of one of China's major ports, which large ships have been prevented from entering; Matsu, to a somewhat lesser extent, has blockaded the port of Foochow. Hanson Baldwin wrote in the *New York Times*, on September 9, referring to Quemoy and Matsu,

"They are the bases for . . . the Nationalist guerrillas and agents who land on the mainland, and they undoubtedly serve the same purpose for U.S. agents." According to the *Pravda* correspondent in China, quoted in the *New York Times* September 6: "The population of the mainland had been harassed by nationalist gun fire. . . . On August 23, he said, the Nationalists tried to reinforce their outposts on Quemoy by sea and laid down a covering barrage. He said the Communist batteries opened retaliatory fire. . . ." Thus the present crisis began.

No one concerned with world peace can be happy about any shooting that happens anywhere in the world today, with the ever present possibility that some accident if not some firebrand's actual desire or command, might spread the shooting to a world scale. But in the present situation Chinese actions to regain their own territory can by no stretch of the imagination be called aggressive. What is remarkable is the extraordinary patience and restraint they have exercised all these years in the face of the most flagrant provocations and outright aggression against themselves. While they have consistently made clear their determination to liberate Taiwan and the offshore islands, their main efforts have been to do so by peaceful negotiations.

In July 1955 and January 1956 Premier Chou En-lai said:

. . . The Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with responsible local authorities of Taiwan to map out concrete steps for Taiwan's peaceful liberation. . . .

If the Kuomintang military and political authorities . . . are willing to

liberate Taiwan by peaceful means . . . no matter whom they may be or how serious their crimes were, they will be treated leniently by the Chinese people without questioning their past. . . . All those who come back to the motherland peacefully will be provided with appropriate jobs by the Chinese people.

There is no doubt that the repeated peaceful appeals to the aging officials, officers and army of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, to return to the motherland, with leniency promised if they did so, would long since have been successful had it not been for U.S. military intervention.

Closer to the Brink

With the Dulles brink-of-war policy still in the ascendent, despite increasing opposition in Washington circles, every statement by the Administration has brought us closer to the edge from which there could be no return.

After conferring with the President in Newport on September 4, Secretary Dulles issued a statement to the effect that "We have recognized that the securing and protecting of Quemoy and Matsu have increasingly become related to the defense of Taiwan." (It should be noted that the only reason the situation on Quemoy and Matsu has changed is because one third of Chiang's effectives are now on these islands.) Dulles said that while the President had not yet felt called upon to find that the employment of armed forces in Quemoy and Matsu is required in insuring the defense of Taiwan, "he would not however, hesitate to make such a finding if he judged that the circumstances made this necessary to accomplish the purposes of the joint [Formosa] resolution."

Later, under the cloak of a "high official" Dulles indicated even more strongly that the United States had decided to defend the islands.

Squirming under a barrage of questions at his press conference of September 9, questions from correspondents all over the country reflecting the fears aroused by his policies, Dulles tried to hold the same position, while avoiding any final commitment that the U.S. would go to war over Quemoy and Matsu. He gave encouragement to Chiang by stating "We do not consider that the Chinese Communists hold upon the mainland is to be accepted as a permanent fact of life," and refused to say whether the United States would justify Nationalist bombing of mainland airfields if the Communists began bombing Nationalist positions on Quemoy.

The Eisenhower broadcast of September 11 bristled with charges of aggression against the People's Republic of China. Declaring "There is not going to be any appeasement," the President made an utterly false analogy of the present situation with the appeasement of Mussolini and Hitler by letting them grab foreign territories that led to World War II. There is no analogy at all, since People's China has no designs on any territory but its own. Emphasizing his position of "opposing aggression by force," the President nevertheless left a loophole in saying that "the way of negotiation is a far better way."

The dangers of the situation have been enhanced by the tremendous build up of U.S. military and naval power in the Taiwan area ever since the beginning of the crisis, and the conveying by U.S. warships of ships

to supply Taiwan, with U.S. military men aboard. These ships have been conveyed to within three miles of the shore in defiance of the Chinese People's Republic's announcement of a twelve mile limit for its territorial waters, (including Taiwan and the coastal islands).^{*} (While mainland China has blown up Chiang Kai-shek's supply ships, it has carefully refrained from attacking U.S. ships though it has strongly protested their invasion of its territorial waters).

The extent of the U.S. striking power in the area was indicated by a dispatch by Jack Raymond in the *New York Times* of September 17, which said "The United States has gathered in the Western Pacific what is regarded as the most powerful air-naval striking force in history." The dispatch said that many weapons in the growing arsenal "carry nuclear explosives, most of them more powerful than the bomb dropped in World War II on Hiroshima." It went on:

Men, weapons and supplies—but mostly weapons and supplies for sailors and airmen already at United States bases in the Pacific—have been poured toward China. They are backing up the President's warning that the United States will fight any Communist Chinese effort to take the Nationalist-held islands by force.

The Warsaw Negotiations

China has shown its good faith in the current situation by its offer to negotiate. On making this offer, it immediately put a cease-fire into

^{*} The report of the UN International Law Commission (August 4, 1954) states: "It would be admitted that the breadth of the territorial sea may be fixed by each State at a distance between three to twelve miles . . . and it should be agreed that each coastal State is entitled to fix the breadth of its own territorial sea in accordance with its needs."

effect. Shelling was resumed only when U.S. warships began convoying supplies for Chiang's army to Quemoy.

In a statement broadcast on September 6, Premier Chou En-lai proposed a resumption of the Ambassadorial talks that started in August 1955 between the United States and the Chinese People's Republic but were broken off last year. He made clear that the Chinese Government is ready to negotiate the Sino-American dispute in the Taiwan Strait area, but that the "Chinese people's internal matter of liberating their own territory" was a matter entirely different in nature and that "The Chinese people have every right to liberate their own territory by all suitable means at a suitable time."

Chou En-lai emphasized the consistent Chinese position that the two parties should issue a statement "declaring their intention to settle the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation and without resorting to the threat or use of force against each other."

The United States has accused the People's Republic of China of refusing a mutual pledge of "no force." But the United States formula includes the words "except in self defense," meaning that it retains the right to keep its air, military and naval forces in Chinese territory and waters for the defense of Chiang, which completely vitiates the "no force" idea.

With U.S. acceptance of Chou En lai's proposal, negotiations began September 15 in Warsaw between Ambassador Jacob D. Beam of the United States and Ambassador Wang

Ping-nan of the Chinese People's Republic. Since the sessions are secret, there are no reliable reports of what is taking place. Statements by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles do not augur well for their success, but with the weight of world opinion so urgently demanding just and peaceful solutions, there is some hope to be drawn from the very fact that negotiations are taking place, and that in any case the question will undoubtedly come up in the General Assembly.

There is also hope to be drawn from the fact that following the agreement by U.S. and Soviet experts at Geneva that nuclear weapon tests can be detected under an international inspection system, test suspension will be taken up at a meeting of the United States, the Soviet Union and other powers concerned, and that preparations are under way for a meeting of American and Soviet experts on the question of preventing surprise attack. All such conferences have an important role to play in reducing international tensions everywhere.

Khrushchev-Eisenhower Notes

The situation in the Taiwan area necessarily has the deepest impact on American-Soviet relations, worsening them at a time when their improvement is essential to saving the peace of the world, Soviet Premier Khrushchev sent President Eisenhower a strong reminder of this fact in his message of September 9, fully supporting the position of the People's Republic of China in defending its own territories, and calling upon the United States to refrain from steps which would have irreparable consequences. He stated flatly:

An attack on the People's Republic of China, which is a great friend, ally and neighbor of our country, is an attack on the Soviet Union. Loyal to its duty, our country would do everything to defend, jointly with People's China, the security of both countries and the interests of peace in the Far East and throughout the rest of the world.

Nothing could be more erroneous than to try to read in this message of mine an intention to put the color on too thick, let alone any threats.

All we want to do is to call attention to the situation which no one would be able to get out of, neither you nor we, should a war break out in the Far East.

President Eisenhower's reply was not very helpful. He reiterated the charges of aggression on the part of the Chinese, and asked Premier Khrushchev to urge them to discontinue their military operations.

As we go to press Khrushchev has sent a second note declaring that "The American fleet must be recalled from the Taiwan Strait and American troops must leave Taiwan and go home," otherwise "People's China will have no other recourse but to expel hostile armed forces from its own territory." The note was immediately rejected and returned by the Administration as "abusive and intemperate," although the same charges it contained are being made by leading critics of Administration policies in this country and by many of our allies.

Outcry against U.S. Policies

Unfortunately space does not permit a review of the domestic and worldwide outcry against U.S. actions in the Taiwan area. Opposition in the United States has gone much farther in this instance than in the case of the Middle Eastern crisis. It has reached into Repub-

lican as well as Democratic circles. It is reflected in both editorial and news columns of the press all over the country. Many of the most influential people in the country have spoken out. While much of the opposition has extended to the whole United States policy with regard to the defense of Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, even those who consider this policy justified condemn the policies that could send Americans to die for the defense of Quemoy and Matsu, and set off a world war in the process. Opposition to U.S. reckless policies has mounted all over the world. It is strong in Great Britain, throughout Europe and Asia, including countries allied with the United States in NATO and other alliances.

At this point, we shall have to confine ourselves to a quotation from Dean Acheson who as Truman's Secretary of State himself had a hand in the origins of the present situation. In a statement on September 6, 1958, refuting every point in the Eisenhower-Dulles Newport statement, Mr. Acheson charged that the coastal islands are held only for offensive and not defensive purposes. Calling for the withdrawal of Chiang's troops from Quemoy and Matsu, he declared:

We seem to be drifting, either dazed or indifferent, toward war with China, a war without friends or allies, and over issues which the Administration has not presented to the people, and which are not worth a single American life.

Note: For additional background material we refer you to the articles *Formosa*, by Susan Warren, in *New World Review* for March, 1955 (reprints available), and *The American-Chinese Talks*, by the same author, NWR, April 1956.

CHINA: The Great Leap Forward

by GRACE LIU

THIS IS an exciting time in China's history—the time of the “great leap forward.” The giant Red Dragon, as a British newspaper man called China, is surging onward, not breathing wrathful fire and brimstone, but emanating huge gusts of energy and joyous enthusiasm. Everywhere one can see and feel the confidence and solidarity of the people.

The other day, on my way to Nankai University, where I have been teaching English since last fall, I passed a long line of men, women and children waiting for an early morning bus. Nearby a sign painter was putting the finishing touches on a large poster. It showed a giant peasant pushing aside two mountains to allow a river to flow between.

A school boy, watching the painter, called to him, “Hey, I’ve never seen anybody that strong!”

The painter turned round and said, “Do you want to know what his name is?”

“Sure,” said the boy.

“His name is CHINA, and do you know *who* he is? He is ALL OF US —650,000,000 of us!”

GRACE LIU, whose sketches of Chinese life have frequently appeared in NEW WORLD REVIEW, is an American who lives with her two children and teaches English in China. Prior to his death her husband was Director of the Tientsin Public Utilities Union.

The whole line of people laughed and clapped and cheered. Each one felt himself a useful part of that giant who is working such miracles.

Creative Farmers

Every day brings new evidence of astonishing advances in agriculture and industry all over the country. The biggest harvests in China's history have followed the collective efforts of the farmers in enormously increasing water conservancy and irrigation projects, and the mass movement among the farmers to invent new tools and machines and improve the old ones.

The farmers are not waiting until China's farm equipment industry is developed enough to undertake large over-all mechanization of farms, but are inventing and making their own new and improved farm tools to save manpower and speed up the rate of farm construction and production. Although the new tools, made mostly of wood and local materials, are still simple and rudimentary, they are from one quarter to five and six times as efficient as the old traditional tools; they have already made possible a tremendous leap forward in agriculture.

About two months ago I went with the students and teachers of the foreign language department of Nankai to see an exhibition of these new peasant inventions. We spent the

day at Yang Liu-ching, a district about an hour's train ride from Tientsin, looking at exhibits not only of farm tools, but also of new inventions for irrigation—water lifting devices, pumps and earth shifting equipment. All of these new tools are cheap, convenient, simple to construct and suitable to local conditions. We were also shown how gas made from manure can be used for lighting, heating, cooking and running engines.

I was very much impressed with Yang Liu-ching itself. Before liberation it was one of the most hopelessly poverty-stricken districts. Because of its low lying situation most of the land was constantly under water and a great deal of the time the wretched villagers were reduced to beggary and to selling their children to keep them from starving. Now it is one of the show places of the whole Tientsin area. Part of the land has been drained and the rest turned into rice fields. Although rice was never grown there before, the farmers have become such expert rice growers that they are sent all over the country to teach their methods to other rice farmers.

Local Industries

Another development that is giving a big spurt to both industrialization and agriculture is the rapid growth of local industry during the last few months. Soon every county and township in the whole country will have its own industries. Local governments and organizations, farm and handicraft co-ops will have their own power plants, workshops, factories, etc.

Universities and even middle schools are setting up their own

small and medium enterprises. At Nankai the foreign language department is running a night school and students and teachers are doing odd jobs to make money for our iron foundry that will start operating in the fall. The pupils of the middle school my son attends work one day a week to help get funds for their factory. All these small and medium industries will be coordinated with the large scale modern enterprises in a nation-wide network.

This mushrooming of local industries even in the backward areas and mountainous regions will help the integration of agricultural and industrial development and will undoubtedly hasten the mechanization of China's farms. It will make possible a better utilization of local resources in manpower, materials and money and will help exploit more efficiently the widely distributed mineral wealth of the country.

650,000,000 Cooperators

A "People's Daily" editorial says: "The task of the local industries is to serve agriculture (this being fundamental), to serve the large industries of the state, to answer the daily needs of the people in town and countryside and to produce goods for export (mainly processing agricultural products and making native and special products)."

"This is the greatest thing in the history of the world," my old capitalist friend—now a manager of the big government export-import company—said to me the other day, "this close cooperation of hundreds of millions of people, and every one exerting his utmost strength!" He was leaving for Sian, to investigate the possibilities of local industries

in that part of the Northwest. His company is sending men to every part of the country to help in the development of local industries that can make items for export close to the source of the raw materials. The export-import company will help with the finances and equipment. Hitherto raw material has had to be sent to Tientsin to be processed, thereby wasting time and money.

Thinking Like Socialists

This great leap forward that China is making is the result of the enhanced political consciousness of the people who have learned from the rectification campaign, the anti-rightist struggle and the great debates on the capitalist road and the socialist road that, quoting from Liu Shiao-chi, "individual and immediate interests depend on and are bound up with collective and long-term interests and the happiness of

the individual lies in the realization of the lofty ideals of all the people."

This growing socialist mentality is evident everywhere. The Chinese people are making efforts to rid themselves of selfish individualism and narrow self interest. They are looking beyond their own families, their own villages, their own localities, schools and organizations. Those that are advanced help those that are backward to catch up. "Many enterprises, organizations, schools, army units and individuals," says Liu Shiao-chi's report, which I have just been studying in school on our political study days, "have taken the initiative in coordinating their activities with those of others so as to promote the progress of all concerned. All this is as Lenin said, 'the actual beginning of communism, the beginning of a change which is of world historic significance.'"

WALL STREET JOURNAL ON CHINA'S 'LEAP FORWARD'

"Many of the features of China's 'Leap Forward' industrial program would seem almost incomprehensible to a Western industrialist accustomed to mass production methods. The program for steel, for example, calls for doubling output to 10.7 million tons this year (just under Japan's 1957 output and more than half British production, although far from the U.S.'s 112.7 million tons last year). This will be achieved, Chinese leaders blandly state, by building hundreds of small village smelters and converters. . . .

"Communist China's second five-year plan, which terminates in 1962, calls for a doubling of total industrial production, and raising agricultural output by 35 per cent, compared with 1957 levels. Among the feats Peiping already points to with pride in the first five-year plan, which ended in 1957, are a doubling of power output to 18 billion kilowatt hours, a quadrupling of steel production to 5,350,000 tons, a doubling of coal production to 113 million tons, and output of two and a half times as many machine tools. . . .

"Po I-po, chairman of China's important National Economic Council, confidently declares that 373 kinds of new products will be produced this year, including cold rolled silicon steel sheets, television transmitters and receivers, synthetic fibers, 54-horsepower tractors, and ocean-going ships larger than 13,000 tons. . . ."

—*Wall Street Journal*, September 15.

Frederic Joliot-Curie's Last Peace Message

The great French scientist Jean Frederic Joliot-Curie died on August 14. Unable to attend the Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation that met in Stockholm July 16-22 because of his illness, Professor Joliot-Curie, as President of the World Council of Peace, sent a message to be read at the Congress. We print below an excerpt from this message.

Professor Joliot-Curie was a leader in two fields which he saw as one: the development of atomic energy and the world movement for peace. With his wife Irene, he was awarded in 1935 the Nobel prize for producing for the first time artificial radioactive elements, a discovery that made possible the investigation of a new realm of nature. French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy from 1946 to 1950, Joliot-Curie was removed from his post because of his work for peace. This action by the French Government evoked protests from scientists throughout the world.

Remaining in France during the Occupation, Joliot-Curie was awarded the Legion of Honor and the Croix de Guerre with Two Palms at the end of the war by the French government because of his outstanding participation in the Resistance movement.

In 1950 Professor Joliot-Curie was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize.

Joining the French Communist Party in 1942, Joliot-Curie was a member of its Central Committee from 1956 until the time of his death.

The World Peace Council in a statement published August 16 said of him:

"All his life, Professor Joliot-Curie fought for the cause of peace and the progress of mankind. His spirit and ideals are alive in millions of hearts. At the height of our struggle against war and aggression, it is the duty of all peace fighters to intensify their efforts to the utmost, in honor of the memory of our President, and to keep the flame of the cause he fought for ever burning brighter."

IF WE want to typify the present situation, should we not bring out the paradox in which public opinion in all countries ardently wants world peace to be maintained while at the same time disarmament negotiations are still in stalemate?

If we want to advance towards progress and peace, we must try to analyze the reasons for this contradiction.

One possible reason springs to mind but it does not seem on its own to explain the absence of an agreement on disarmament. That would be the desire of one power or a group of powers to start a general war. I do not think that any government has this desire.

Another reason has often quite rightly been put forward: it concerns the considerable profits that certain private groups make out of the arms race. We are not unaware of the fact that the development of armaments is what is called "good business" for some people. Armaments, particularly nowadays when they rapidly become obsolete, guarantee sure orders without the risks and hazards of competition. In addition, the often considerable investments required are financed out of taxation, and in this way it is the people who, in the vast majority of cases oppose the arms race, who have to contribute part of their income to keep such a war going once it is started.

Who Profits from Armaments?

We are told that these huge armaments orders provide work, thus protecting the workers from unemployment. We see that all countries are more or less engaged in the arms race, and that military expenditure, which in 1929 only amounted to 4.2 billion dollars, reached one hundred billion in 1957 (60 billion for the NATO powers, 30 for the socialist states, more than 6 billion for the insufficiently developed countries).

Twenty million men under arms, three or four times as many people to feed them, transport them, equip them, arm them—what would happen if a disarmament agreement threw a large part of these hundred million people onto the labor market? We are here quite convinced, and we must convince others, that it is in no way a necessary evil for such a great human mass to have to produce nothing but goods which, even if war does not break out, are, at best useless. The recession in the American economy in the period 1953–54 was partly overcome by an armaments program; the present recession which goes far beyond the borders of the United States shows that armaments programs, which have nevertheless reached an unprecedented scale in peacetime, are not sufficient to avoid unemployment and stagnation and do retard economic expansion. On the contrary the production and consumption of civilian goods speeds up the process of economic development.

We know that even a part of the astronomical sums devoted to armaments could provide work for all these workers, technicians and engineers in the production of consumer

goods. And there are many examples of imperative needs which remain unsatisfied solely because of armaments expenditure. In the majority of countries, and particularly in my country, there is a tragic lack of educational accommodation. In Great Britain, the Minister has revealed that three million children are working in inadequate classrooms, and so on.

An even more serious situation that also applies to the majority of countries is that of inadequate housing. Everywhere construction is far below what would be necessary only to replace buildings that become uninhabitable through age and to meet growing population needs.

Schools, homes, bridges, roads, dams—is there not enough work there to carry out the necessary reconversion of factories which waste so much human effort for war, not to mention the recuperation of the huge areas occupied by military bases? American military bases alone outside U.S. territory, account for more than twice the cultivated area of Japan.

Armaments Mean War

One should also mention the desire not to disarm or run the risk of an international disarmament agreement in order to retain the possibility of exerting economic pressure on weaker peoples, or to wage "limited wars" if necessary. Armaments are often claimed not for the purpose of using them but to provide those who possess them with a position of strength enabling them to seize or keep the resources of other countries and to draw economic advantages such as cheap labor

and basic raw materials from these countries. That, of course, requires that the people who head the governments of these latter countries should be sufficiently docile. Hence the need to supply troops and arms to maintain these people in power and thus preserve the economic advantages which they guarantee. As a consequence, the social development of such countries is severely checked.

One cannot accept governments wanting to raise the living standards of their own country to the detriment of other countries, by making use of arms.

This policy, however, is not the monopoly of the great powers; it is also adopted by countries not so strong against even weaker countries. The governments whose policy is backed by armaments try to show the workers that these armaments are needed to raise their standard of living, because they make it possible to obtain the resources of other countries. Such arguments are used in France, for example, regarding petroleum in the Sahara, just as they were used in an attempt to justify the aggression against Egypt over the Suez Canal question. After the second world war, there were many people, and not only those in power, who considered that the United States, sole possessor of the atom bomb, was the strongest and that it was therefore worthwhile getting their support at the price of numerous concessions. There are examples of a state being able to obtain political line-ups, amounting to real submission, with economic advantages, solely through its possession of a weight of armaments. Can this be, if not a moral, at least a material justification of the policy

of all-out armament? History's reply is clear: such policies have always led to war. Where apart from the directly interested industrial groups, are the material benefits of the armaments policy to be found? And have those who reason in this way already forgotten the ten million dead and twenty million wounded of the first world war, the twenty million dead, thirty million wounded and the countless victims of Hitler's concentration camps during the second world war?

Because we have repeated it so often we are perhaps inclined to forget, or to act as though we had forgotten, what could have been achieved with the money wasted in these wars. Recently, for example, an expert recalled that with the money spent on the first world war it would have been possible to buy a house and a plot of land for each of the 74 million soldiers who were mobilized. An honest reckoning should also include the wealth that remained unproduced and, above all, the human values exterminated.

Others consider armaments as a factor in the ideological war, "to fight against subversion" or to put pressure on the opposite camp in the name of the crusading spirit which it is sought to inspire in certain nations.

Peaceful Coexistence

The existence of different economic and social systems is a fact. If one refuses to accept it, then there is no use talking of peace.

Those who think that the danger of war comes from the existence of two different systems should remember that at the time when there was only one system in the world,

there were nevertheless arms races and wars.

In truth, it is only the sincere acceptance of the peaceful coexistence of the two present systems on a world scale that can make it possible to avoid conflicts between states.

The sincere acceptance of peaceful coexistence leads to disarmament, but this is only possible if the arguments advanced in an attempt to justify the arms race are abolished. The armaments question should therefore not be tackled in an isolated manner but intimately linked to questions of international cooperation and relaxation. I think it is very necessary to study the question of disarmament in relation to economic questions. We must show in detail and in a precise manner how the end of the cold war and the arms race will lead to rising living standards for nations, *whatever their economic and social system, and this is a point I want to insist on.* The present level of technology, the developments in science, the abundance of raw materials and the possibilities of using new sources of energy have reached such a stage that rising living standards could be guaranteed for all nations.

States would not be taken unawares by the change-over from the policy of war preparations to that of peaceful development. Many studies have been made and their results are known. The various stages—because obviously it would have to be a progressive process—have been provided for, and right from the outset everyone would receive immediate tangible advantages.

Let us suppose that a modest measure leads to a 20 per cent re-

duction in direct military expenditures: 20 billion dollars would thus be released and could, for example, be divided into ten billion dollars for reduction of taxation and ten billion for productive investments providing an opening for the re-employment of labor.

Such experiments in the reduction of military expenditures and armed forces were carried out by the great powers in 1945; the USSR has recently carried out new measures in this direction. They led to nothing but improvements in the economic situation. This would be even more true everywhere if such measures were taken in an international climate in which a disarmament agreement, even on a limited scale, had brought about a great relief of tension, giving rise to confidence and hope.

Aid to under-equipped countries—which would not, as at present, contain 80 to 90 per cent of military equipment—could be stepped up; trade between all countries held back by the cold war would develop.

Speaking of a field that I know well, that of scientific research, the direct benefits of a disarmament agreement would be immense. The sums devoted to military research are considerably higher than those for fundamental and applied research. In addition a large number of scientists would be returned to these two great categories of research, and, through the complete disappearance of discrimination and barriers, research itself would gain in efficacy. And the development of research also means new possibilities of producing wealth, satisfying needs and hence developing production in general.

The best indication of improved living standards is without doubt the amount of energy available per head of the population. A new source of energy, fruit of the discoveries of the first half of the twentieth century, is at our disposal. It frequently requires considerable investments. For example, the countries of Western Europe have planned to provide themselves with 20 million kilowatts of power from atomic sources. This would cost 8 billion dollars. A reduction of one billion dollars per annum in military expenditure—a modest reduction—would finance this in eight years.

Peace—the People's Task

As for the best way to divide up this wealth inside each country, it is the affair of each nation to decide on the system it thinks best. This general desire to raise living standards is only blameworthy if one tries to do so through dishonest means. If these are excluded there remains the wish to secure the desired improvement through the operation of

various solutions, depending on the different systems. But with peaceful coexistence common solutions operated through cooperation can be adopted for certain problems: for example the use of the main lines of communication, the exploitation of the gigantic raw materials resources for the benefit of all, the organization of air transports, the use of the two Poles, etc. The expenditure this would entail could be met out of the huge savings effected through disarmament, and they would be amply repaid by the profits accruing to all nations. But, I insist, on condition that there is no pillage by anyone, and that this work is carried out for the benefit of all. Any contract must be profitable to the two parties, and that implies rejection of economic aid considered to entitle one party to a political hold over the other.

This is not an idyllic picture far-removed from reality nor a dream of a far-distant future. It only depends on us to make it a reality tomorrow.

CORLISS LAMONT ON THE FAR EAST CRISIS

IF WORLD PEACE is to come, John Foster Dulles must go! . . .

Whatever the results of the American-Chinese talks in Warsaw, the interests of the United States, as well as of peace in general, demand that our military forces withdraw from the Quemoy-Matsu area. The Chinese off-shore islands belong with the mainland just as logically as Long Island and Staten Island belong to the United States. There is no doubt, either, that Formosa, as the Far Eastern Treaty at the end of World War II made clear, also belongs with mainland China.

The U.S. Government, then, should retire not only from the region of the offshore islands, but also from Formosa. Just as important for peace in the Far East and the world at large is U.S. recognition of China and the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations, with a seat on the Security Council replacing the rump Chiang regime.

From a speech by Dr. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator of the Independent-Socialist Party, September 19 in New York.

The USSR Discusses New Education Methods

by RALPH PARKER

THE WHOLE question of educational methods is undergoing intensive review throughout the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Communist Party, with the assistance of the All-Union Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is at present working out measures for the reorganization of the school system. Until these measures are made known it would be hazardous to forecast their nature in too much detail. But in the meantime the problems involved and some of the varied suggestions made for solving them may be learned from the wide discussions on the subject taking place in the pages of the press and at meetings of public organizations and specialists.

In April this year Nikita Khrushchev, addressing the 13th Congress of the Young Communist League, dealt at length with public education.

There were, he said, essential drawbacks in the work of the schools and higher educational establishments. The ten-year, secondary schools were preparing young people only for entry to higher schools. But Soviet higher schools could enroll only about 450,000, of which about

half were full-time students. In 1957 alone there were at least 700,000 secondary school graduates more than the higher schools could accept. Many of these young men and women, finding it necessary to enter production, were dissatisfied. Some were reluctant to enter factories or to work at the collective and state farms, deeming it a personal affront.

"It is high time, I think," said Khrushchev, "to re-pattern drastically the system of schooling of our growing generation. . . . All children who go to school must prepare themselves for gainful labor."

Khrushchev envisaged changes that would effect both secondary and higher education, including that obtained in evening schools, factory schools and by correspondence courses. Up to a certain class, for instance, pupils might study at the secondary school. Then they would switch to a factory or trade school and acquire a profession. But their education, should not end with their graduation from such schools. People engaged in useful work should be able in their spare time to study art, painting, music and the humanities. Moreover they should have preference in enrollment into higher educational institutions, and the selection for higher school enrollment from factories and farms should be supervised by the Young Communist and trade union organ-

RALPH PARKER, who formerly represented the "New York Times," has lived and traveled widely in the Soviet Union for almost two decades. His on-the-spot reports are well known to our readers.

izations. As for the higher educational establishments, the curriculum should be much more closely linked with production.

Some of the measures proposed by Khrushchev could be put into effect quite rapidly. In an interview at the end of May, the USSR Minister of Higher Education V. P. Yeliutin said that the characteristic thing about admission to higher schools this year is that persons who had worked in industry, agriculture or other branches of the national economy no less than two years would be entitled to admission without competition though they were required to take an examination. He announced a substantial expansion of correspondence and evening studies. "Today," said Yeliutin, "the principal aim of the educational process in a higher school is to teach the student how to work independently. . . . One must not forget that nowadays on finishing college the young specialist goes to work at enterprises where many workers have a secondary education, where there is more and more automation and new complex machinery which requires a high level of knowledge not only on the part of the engineer but on the part of every worker."

At about the same time the RSFSR Minister of Education E. I. Afanasev explained what steps were being taken in connection with the number of graduates of secondary schools going straight to work this year. Pointing out that some of the difficulties that arise in finding jobs for secondary school graduates are due to the fact that the secondary school program is divorced from production, he said that he had circulated a letter to all the economic

councils urging that all these young people should be trained in some skill in keeping with their interests and abilities. The real key to the problem, however, lay in the schools, said the Minister: "Work training should begin from the first grade and continue until graduation."

An interesting contribution to the discussion of educational reform came from a Leningrad teacher who sent her views on the future of Soviet schools to the newspaper *Izvestia*.

"Only two or three years ago," wrote N. Dolinina, "almost all graduates of secondary schools refused even to consider going to work in a factory. Not to be admitted to college was considered a real tragedy. There were girls and even boys who stayed home, a burden to their parents, for years, and every summer repeated unsuccessful attempts to get into college. . . . Now the number of people with such an attitude is much smaller. But another and very dangerous tendency has arisen. Children are saying: since we shall not be going to college but to work, why make an effort at school? This is partly due to the fact that the children do not know what sort of work they will be doing."

This teacher then goes on to suggest that the network of specialized technical schools where secondary school graduates can learn a trade in a short time should be extended.

Contempt for work takes various forms, Dolinina continued. There are children who say: "I'm going to work in a factory, what do I need culture for?"

"The question of raising the cultural standard of school children is

a very important one. Ask any teacher and he will tell you regretfully that the graduates of recent years are below the standard of previous years, that many school children read little and are not much interested in science.

"... Among the teachers at our school there are two points of view regarding 11-year schooling. One group holds that general subjects should be taught the first eight years, while the last three years should be devoted exclusively to vocational training. The other group, the larger, does not agree with this. Its members hold that schools should teach general subjects the whole eleven years, while during the last three years special subjects should be taught at the same time.

"... In my opinion the first thing is to re-examine the work program in the 5th to 7th grades. A girl should learn to cut and sew, to knit, perhaps to do the simplest household tasks, to cook. . . . A boy should learn to paper and paint walls, to carpenter, to repair household articles, to wire a house for electricity, etc. . . ."

A few weeks later *Izvestia* published an article by A. Tikhonov, an educationist from Yaroslavl. Compulsory secondary education should, in this writer's opinion, consist of two consecutive stages: the 8-year school as the basic school, to be followed by one of several types of secondary schools. The 8-year general schools should provide pupils with fundamental knowledge of the basic principles of science and lay a firm foundation of general culture.

In the view of this educationist the school entrance age should be eight instead of the present seven.

Finishing the basic 8-year school at the age of 16 or 17 pupils should either go to work while continuing their studies in school for working youth or could enter a school of the secondary stage, where the basic training would be vocational. There should be five types of such schools. First, a secondary school with a three-year program and four departments: the humanities, agricultural, industrial, and trade. The most capable graduates would be eligible to enter higher educational establishments.

The second type would train personnel for all branches of industry etc. The third type would prepare people for careers in the theater, music and art. The fourth would be schools which working youth could attend while holding their jobs. Finally, there would be the labor reserve schools, vocational schools with evening classes.

Quite a different view was expressed by a Georgian educationist in an article in the *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (Teachers' Gazette). D. Lordkipanidze maintained that professional specialization should not be introduced seriously till the ninth and tenth grades and that the main vocational training should be done in an extra, 11th grade.

One interesting fact that emerges from this discussion is that during the past school year many schools in various parts of the country have been experimenting boldly. The concept, widely held abroad, of a rigidly uniform pattern in Soviet education is clearly false. In this present period of flux many schools are striking out along new paths.

In some cases, however, experimentation has official sanction. At

the beginning of last school year 50 secondary schools of the RSFSR began to work according to a new program under which pupils combined academic studies with productive labor. This year the number is being increased to 200. In the urban schools 10th graders and a section of the 9th graders studied general subjects only half of the week, while three days a week were devoted to production work. In rural schools the pupils of the senior grades spent one or two days a week in production in the winter. In the autumn, spring and summer they spent a large part of the week working in collective-farm fields and livestock farms. One year, the eleventh, was added to the course in these experimental schools. The first results of the work of these schools were discussed at a conference held last July in Moscow. Several speakers expressed some anxiety that academic subjects tended to be neglected.

During the summer the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences published its plan for a reform of the school system. The newspaper *Literatura i Zhizn* (Literature and Life) called a conference to discuss this plan, pointing out editorially that the more widely and thoroughly the draft plan was discussed before it was adopted, the more realistic and beneficial the system was likely to be. This newspaper too urged that in no circumstances should there be any lowering of the pupils' general level of academic knowledge.

The draft of the reform proposed by the Academy divides the school system into the 8-year compulsory school, where pupils will take the basic academic course, get polytechnical training and acquire elemen-

tary work habits by working in school workshops and on school plots. The second stage will include the 9th to 11th grades; pupils will enroll in schools of this stage on a voluntary basis. Those who do not enroll in them will obtain their vocational education while working.

The proposals included in this draft came in for much criticism both at the conference and elsewhere. Some consider that it will be difficult to arrange vocational training at industrial establishments. How will the factories react to being made permanently responsible for the vocational training of young people?

One Soviet educationist expressed the opinion that 8-year compulsory schooling was insufficient. What will boys and girls who enter school at the age of 7 or 8 and finish the 8th grade at the age of 16 do after they have acquired the minimum academic schooling, elementary work habits and a certain amount of polytechnical knowledge? How to give those teen-agers a start is a problem that requires thought. They cannot be expected to fend for themselves. If we accept general compulsory 8-year schooling, then should not vocational training after finishing school also be compulsory?

On the other hand it is clear that the system of keeping children at school for eleven years so that they can graduate with a certain amount of vocational training also raises grave problems. A speaker at the *Literatura i Zhizn* conference referred to above drew attention to the fact that two of the largest Moscow factories, the Likhachev Automobile Plant and the First Ball-Bearings Plant were simply choked with ap-

prentices from schools. "The factories prefer a system which ensures them stable personnel. Will they receive personnel from among the schoolchildren?"

In this wide and passionate discussion about the educational system we see on the one hand the educationists who are reluctant to have the period of compulsory education in regular schools reduced, and on the other the representatives of industry who are equally reluctant to have to open the factory doors annually to take in a flood of secondary school graduates with inadequate technical training.

Less publicized but of far-reaching importance are the measures under discussion for a reform of teaching methods in higher schools. *Izvestia* recently published a thoughtful article on this question by A. Alexandrov, Rector of Leningrad University. The very style of higher education should be thoroughly revised, he urged. The present system failed to stimulate the students' initiative. "To put it bluntly, the students are taught to pass examinations by their lecture notes rather than to think independently."

Professor Alexandrov belongs to the generation which studied at Soviet higher schools when the team-laboratory method and Continuous Production Training were current. And though he now admits that there were "leftist" exaggerations in this system, such as the abolition of lectures, he maintains that it contained a rational kernel. "Thanks to this system, we learned to work independently. The practical training which we, students of physics, had at a factory and later at scientific institutes was highly stimulat-

ing and useful. I am not inclined to think that our generation of university graduates proved to be inferior to any other."

Professor Alexandrov thinks that it is important to introduce a system under which the student may actually be trained at a factory or an institute working not on a study-subject artificially chosen for him but on the subject offered by the research institute itself. Only after having some experience of independent work should the student take up his studies at higher school. Extensive practical training and new forms of independent work would make it impossible for a student to pass his exams unless he knew how to work well.

The Learned Council at Leningrad University has been discussing various measures to stimulate the student's independent work, wrote Professor Alexandrov. It was suggested, for example, to arrange special-subject courses so that only the fundamental ideas of the subject be dealt with, and the details be left for the students to work on independently. More than that: it might be possible not to have lectures on certain special subjects at all, confining the instruction to guidance consultations, so that the student would master the subject himself not by text books alone but also by drawing on original literature, including foreign publications.

In all these discussions there is an underlying idea: the Soviet pupil or student must learn not only by absorbing knowledge from books and oral lessons but by working practically, making his own decisions, mastering crafts, skills and techniques.

"Lions Found Here"

a commentary on recent Czech Films

by ELEANOR WHEELER

OF COURSE, color film has come to stay, but is it taking over the field, as so many people thought it would a few years ago? I can remember a film festival at Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) in the early 1950's, when the Mexican cameraman Figueroa stood almost alone in his attachment to black-and-white as a medium for what he wanted to do with a camera. The Soviet directors were envisaging a transfer over to color film almost exclusively, and the big Western films shown at the festival were practically all in color. Now there has been a reappraisal. The Soviet smash hit "The Cranes Fly Past" which won the Cannes prize, was done in black-and-white, and the best Czechoslovak films of the past year have been done in the same medium.

Paul Strand* expressed the feelings of many of his colleagues when he said to us that color which is not completely mastered interferes with the leading idea of the film—that it is most successful when needed for some brilliant effect, but even then there are other effects which demand black-and-white for expression.

At the "Free Forum," a very useful institution at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival where film critics, directors, journalists, actors, cameramen, etc., gathered to exchange ideas, Paul Strand called for closer

attention to an artistic presentation which would be on a level of the great ideas of the films, and pointed out, also, that technical limitations so far restrict the use of color film. Color is falsely understood if it is used merely as a naturalistic emphasis to bring the image closer to reality, making the film less stirring and more pedestrian.

An interesting example of differences in use of color and black-and-white was the Soviet film "Tales of Lenin" which was half and half. The early part, "Brave Soldier Mukhin," dealt with the dramatic days in July and August 1917 and was in black-and-white. The second half, "The Last Autumn," was more elegiac and portrait-painting in atmosphere and was done in color.

Six of the recent outstanding Czechoslovak films have been done in black-and-white and are all fine films. It was a pity that three of them were produced too early in the period between annual festivals to be entered in this year's festival—they have had regular runs in this country and abroad already—and one excellent picture just had its premiere in Prague after the festival had closed. The earlier ones were "School for Fathers," "At the End

ELEANOR WHEELER, whose first-hand reports on Czechoslovakia are frequently published in "New World Review," has worked and lived there with her husband and four children since 1947.

* Americans will remember Strand's film "Native Land" and his magnificent photographic works, such as the volume on New England.

Station" and "Wolf Lair" (which was shown *hors de concours* at the festival). "Black Battalion" and "Forty-Four" were entered in the festival and both won recognition, while "Lions Found Here" is the latest film of the group I describe.

"School for Fathers" tells the story of a sincere, principled teacher who, in his work with his class at a new school, tries to help the son of a reactionary and a drunkard to overcome his background, and at the same time allows no special consideration to the pampered son of a leading Communist official. The head of the school is more interested in the record the school can show the public than in the actual development of the children, and asks for the teacher's resignation to avoid trouble with parents who want good marks by fair means or foul.

The discouraged teacher accepts the suggestion, hands in his resignation, just at the turning point when the parents are beginning to appreciate what he was trying to do in real character training for the children, and in giving a solid pedagogical basis for socialist schools. The film ends with a parents' meeting in which all are realizing that hard work lies ahead of them. The Communist official says he is disappointed in the teacher for "running away." An older teacher, who had been the chief sinner in giving unwarranted high marks to children whose parents might cause him trouble, recognizes his own guilt and flares up, "We beat a man over the head and ears, and then are disappointed that he can't stand up to it. We say his head's too soft!" The film leaves the audience thinking.

"The End Station" weaves together the lives of different people in an apartment house at the end of a street-car line. Like the preceding one, it leaves the audience to make its own final decisions: is the young woman right to raise an illegitimate child instead of marrying the father she now recognizes as weak and opportunistic, essentially un-socialist? Does the drunk and irresponsible "real" father have more claim to his little girl than the foster parents do? At the close of the film the drunken father is confused because the end station has been moved farther along the line. "Like all the rest of our life," declares the cheerful conductress. "Cut out the agitation!" he shouts furiously.

Even more than the two preceding, the film "Wolf's Lair" concentrates on a purely Czech idiom. Produced by one of the leading Czech directors, Jiri Weiss, and based on a novel by Jarmil Glazarov, it deals with the stifling bourgeois society of a small Bohemian town in the early part of the twentieth century. Money and material goods can make wolves of human beings. That theme has universal validity, but the working out of it has a particular Czech taste, smell, and feel.

Of the two prize-winning festival films, "Black Battalion" tells about the disillusionment of a young Czech runaway who ends up in the Foreign Legion in Indo-China and there meets a former SS officer, now an officer in the Legion, who had ordered the shooting of Czech patriots in the young Czech's home town of Pilsen. The mounting personal duel between the two men ends in the death of both, while

the experience under the "romantic, oriental skies" sends the others back to their country, glad to work and participate in something constructive. This film shared the third Main Prize with a Hungarian film.

The other festival film in this group of six I am describing was made in the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia and tells of an uprising of a Slovak military detachment, goaded by the humiliation and oppression they had suffered from the Austro-Hungarian officers. Weaker than the others in this group, it still marked another advance in the young Slovak film production, and surpassed enough festival films to get special honorable mention, along with the French short film "Living."

The most fundamentally important film from the point of view of ideological contribution toward the building of socialism, and at the same time one of the best paced and constructed of recent Czechoslovak films is "Lions Found Here." The title derives from the practice of certain indolent mapmakers in the past, who marked unfamiliar territory in Africa, "Lions Found Here," and then dropped the problem. The analogy is drawn between them and some officials in socialist countries who back away from danger signs and do not push through technical improvements, take the easy way out without exploring further. Implicit in the film is the whole problem of incentives for progress in a non-profit society.

The film opens when the head engineer at Zofie Mines quashes a rationalization suggestion of a group of subordinates. His hostility to the suggestion, his tendency to drink, his withdrawals from human com-

panionship, are all incomprehensible until the film flashes back to head engineer Sverba's younger days, ten years before, when he had made a similar proposal which led to the death of a miner when an uncharted old digging weakened a wall and threw calculations off.

From then on Sverba had been regarded with suspicion as a bad risk by personnel officers; he changed jobs often and degenerated personally. And now comes this repetition of the earlier situation and Sverba wants to avoid the risk of being connected with another accident. It is safer to continue with the less productive methods and not try any daring improvements.

An administrator is brought in to solve the question of whether the suggestion is to be tried out. Instead of grappling with the concrete problem, he wades knee-deep in clichés, until he antagonizes head engineer Sverba whose opinion he is presumably supporting: "We must remember that Man is our most precious possession. . . . Our chief goal is to care for Man. . . . We must never lose sight of . . ." "Our empty phrases," interrupts the irate engineer

History repeats itself and, when the young rationalizers try out the new idea on their own, there is an old digging, a slide in the mine—but not fatal this time—and engineer Sverba cracks up in a motorcycle accident, racing to head off a bureaucrat who wants to report the mine accident. The film ends without all the ends neatly tied, but the audience has a feeling that Sverba has been blasted out of his passivity, and will find a place of respect among his colleagues. Even more

important, they feel the necessity for preventing this canny, cautious attitude toward new technique, and an invigorating stimulus to do something about the problems in their own lives.

These six Czechoslovak films are all thoughtful films that inspire the audience to further thought. And all were done in black-and-white.

It was a thoughtful festival, in fact, rather than a pretentious one. Soviet director S. Gerasimov (festival entry "Quiet Flows the Don," earlier film "Young Guard," among others) said that this festival was not for the "sleepy people for whom building a new world is nothing but a phrase, and life a mere routine. . . . In the struggle for peaceful progress and the flourishing of nations, film is a great force. We all understand this, but although we understand it, we as yet make only timid use of the force of truth and the creative power of our great art."

The temperamental Italian director C. Zavattini ("Rome at 11:00") stressed the inseparability of progressive ideas and the art forms expressing them. The French critic Georges Sadoul and many others stressed the same idea. Jerzy Topelitz of Poland did not have many in his corner with his "defense of the negative" portrayed in films, one of the striking examples being last year's Polish film "Sewage Canal" produced by A. Vajda.

Even the actresses attending this year's Karlovy Vary festival were the type that had more to recommend them than their outward appearance. Journalists and critics found that actresses like Bystritskaya (playing Aksinia in "Quiet Don"), the Chinese star Hsa Li, or the Yugoslav Maria Konova were a pleasure to talk with as well as to look at.

This year's festival suffered from the fact that many of the countries had entered some of their best films at other festivals, it suffered from lenience in regard to quality of entries from countries with new cinematographies. But this broad representation was essentially a plus, with a wide variety of films, not only from Europe and Latin American countries like Bolivia and Brazil, but more especially from Asia and Africa—the Japanese prize-winning "Stepbrothers," the Egyptian "Land of Our Fathers," the Chinese "Flames on the Border," and the Indian "Mother India" being examples.

One of the chief benefits of the festival, many thought, was the continuous discussion, the thoughtfulness of the approach, the confidence of socialist countries that they were succeeding in building a distinguished cinematography. In the summaries of recent Czechoslovak films, I hope I have indicated the solid contribution they are making to the success of socialist cinematography.

AFRO-ASIAN FILM FESTIVAL

Paul Robeson was the guest of honor at the Afro-Asian Film Festival which opened in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, on August 20th. Delegations from Burma, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, India, Indonesia, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, Ceylon and Japan were among those attending.

Soviet Industry Reorganized

by ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

THE GREATER part of Soviet industry has now been working for well over a year under the administration of one or other of the Area Economic Councils set up in the 104 "economic administrative areas" into which the territory of the Soviet Union has been divided. Some of these embrace entire Republics, like those in the Baltic territories and in Transcaucasia. Others as in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Ukraine and the Russian Federation—combine several regions within the same area.

Over three-quarters of all the industrial output of the USSR is now managed by these Councils. They control nearly all the production of coal, iron, steel, oil, automobiles, trucks, turbines and textiles. The Ministries which previously managed these and many other industries have been abolished or reorganized as planning and supervisory bodies. On the other hand the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) has been

given executive powers to insure that no far-reaching departure from the general State plan of the country as a whole takes place, and there has been a similar extension of powers for the Gosplans of the fifteen Union (Constituent) Republics.

The results of the change are already quite clear enough to be assessed—and they are positive. But in order to understand the results, it is best to look at the stages by which the Councils got to work. A first survey, made by the writer last summer, was based on material secured by the Soviet press* from chairmen or vice-chairmen of Economic Councils, or from trade union officials, in 27 of the Economic Areas—and is therefore fairly representative.

Scope of the Area Economic Councils

Kharkov Economic Council has about 400 industrial establishments and forty-nine building organizations subordinated to it. The Lithuanian Republic's E. C. controls 443 establishments and Azerbaidzhan 294, Kemerovo 500, Krasnoyarsk about 500, Kiev 600, Latvia over 400 (producing about 80 per cent of the total output of this republic), Moscow over 400 (employ-

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN (M. A. Oxon) is a member of the executive committee of the British Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR and vice-chairman of the British-Soviet Friendship Society. From 1946-1950 he was a lecturer on the history and institutions of the USSR at the University of London. Among his books are: "The Soviet Constitution," "Man and Plan in Soviet Economy," "A History of the USSR," "Peaceful Coexistence," "The Soviet Union and Socialism."

* *Pravda*, June 18, 24, 25, July 10, 12, 15, 22, 25, 30, August 27, September 2, 6, 7, 19, 23, 24. *Trud*, June 21, 25, July 2, August 6, 1957.

ing between them over 560,000 workers), Byelorussia more than 800, Armenia about 250, Voroshilovgrad nearly 750.

In order to cope with these numbers, the Area Economic Councils formed specialized industrial boards. Thus, in the Sverdlovsk E.C., the building board supervises over ninety building organizations engaged in industrial, housing or cultural construction work. In Yakutia the mining board supervises gold, diamond, tin, wolfram, coal and mica workings. In the Kursk E.C. the engineering board looks after seventeen large works building machinery of various types.

The number and character of such boards varies according to the type of economy in the particular area. Thus in the Sverdlovsk area—one of the largest in the USSR and with a variety of developed industries like copper and aluminum (half of Soviet output of these falling in the area), heavy engineering, chemical, coal, iron and steel, gold, timber and the light industries—the Economic Council has set up fifteen boards. Georgia has twelve, Azerbaidzhan and Lithuania eleven, Armenia ten and Latvia nine. The greater flexibility of the new system shows itself in the different ways in which the same industries are grouped. Thus in Georgia engineering (machine-building) and the electrical industry are under one board, and coal, oil and ore mining under another; in Perm engineering is combined with the iron and steel industry, while coal and oil are under two separate boards; in Latvia the radio, electrical engineering and metal working industries are under the same board (recognition of the

special Latvian skills in the radio and electrical industries); in the Kemerovo area of Siberia the collieries of the Kuznetsk coalfield have been organized under a separate board, and the pit construction organizations in the same coalfield under another.

The huge Krasnoyarsk territory—stretching from central Siberia to within the Arctic Circle, an area of over 920,000 square miles or ten times the size of the United Kingdom, with the huge river basin of the Yenisei and its tributaries possessing trillions of tons of coal and iron ores as well as all kinds of other natural wealth—is now being industrially developed with the help of many of the half-million young volunteers who have gone to the eastern areas of the USSR for this purpose in the last two years. As a consequence the list of the twelve boards set up by its Area Economic Council reads like that of the previous Ministries in one of the republics—power (electricity and coal), building, engineering, non-ferrous metallurgy, ore-mining, building materials, geology, chemical, light, food, timber and woodworking industries, with material and technical supplies (as in all other regions) under a separate board. On the other hand the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, although even larger (1,150,000 square miles), is still in an early stage of its industrial development, and its Economic Council has formed only five boards, the very list of which speaks of its special problems—mining, building and building materials, roads and transport, workers' supply and material and technical supplies.

In addition to these boards con-

trolling distinct branches of production and services, a number of functional departments have been set up in each Economic Council. These coordinate such questions as technical equipment, economic planning, labor and wages, finance, co-operation of factories and inter-regional cooperation.

Methods of Work

Fundamentally the object of transferring control of industry from the remote Ministries to the much nearer Area Economic Councils was as far as possible to make it more personal than before. In fact nearly all the reports mention that the first step of the new bodies was to study production and its problems on the spot—by consultations with managements and workers in the factories and by holding specialized conferences. The proposals made for improvements during the discussions, factory by factory, of the reorganization scheme itself, were the main object of these first consultations.

Passages like these, usually accompanied by material illustrating the value of the change of method, occurred in most of the reports:

The Sverdlovsk E.C. began its work by examining the concrete proposals made by the workers of the area, and by the party, economic and Soviet organizations, for improving the management of its industry. . . . The other day the [Kharkov] E.C. examined pressing problems of industry with party workers of the regions forming part of the economic area, the directors and leading specialists of industrial undertakings and the innovators in production. . . . Recently the leading officials of the Perm Economic Council and heads of boards met active workers in the timber industry to discuss how to wipe out the arrears in deliveries by local effort

alone. . . . Our task [Krasnoyarsk] is to help to put into effect as rapidly as possible hundreds and thousands of business-like proposals made on the eve of the seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet [which adopted the scheme] by the workers and technicians. . . . The Economic Council of the Latvian SSR began its work by studying the numerous proposals made by the working people during the nation-wide discussion on the items in N. S. Khrushchev's report. This enabled us to rough out the organizational and technical measures, and the branches of industry, on which we should concentrate in the immediate future. . . . What were the first steps of the Kemerovo E.C.? First of all its boards have already made a full first-hand study of the works and building sites and are giving effective guidance to their practical work. . . . From the first, members of the boards and departments of the [Moscow] E. C. have been striving to establish direct personal connections with production and have been settling problems direct as they arise. They have sent a number of working parties to the factories to help in giving effect to the workers' proposals made during the discussion of N. S. Khrushchev's theses. . . . The specialists of the [Byelorussian] E.C. have shifted their main activities to the factories.

One of the practical conclusions from these experiences drawn by a number of Area Economic Councils was the formation of technical-economic advisory committees as a specialized field of their activity. These committees—composed of highly qualified technicians, skilled workers and scientists—give advice on the adoption of new machinery and processes and on the problems these bring forward. At Sverdlovsk "it is composed of the advanced workers of the Urals, representing all the special features of our economic area." The Kharkov regional trades council agreed to cooperate with the technical economic committee in supervising the way in which factory managements were

applying the decisions of workers' production conferences. The Rostov-on-Don E.C., on the recommendation of its technical-economic committee at once began to introduce better coordination in the work of the numerous foundries of the area. Improvements in coal distillation methods, based on the practical experience of one of its chemical engineer members, were discussed by the Stalino (Donbas) technical-economic committee. The Voroshilovgrad E.C. decided to set up such committees at a lower level also—at pits, works and building sites. At Tula the committee recommended the extension of opencast mining in the Moscow coalfield; on the proposals of its iron and steel section the Area Economic Council adopted a plan to build an agglomeration plant using poor-quality local ores and vast accumulations of chemical waste products, reducing the need to bring ores from the south.

Economic Effect

There appeared to be no doubt at all from these reports of the immediate economic benefits conferred by the new system—both in eliminating unnecessary duplication, long hauls, and so on, and in a more far-reaching way by suggesting new possibilities of advance for the area as a whole. Practically every article and interview gave some example.

The Lithuanian E.C., by bringing a number of separately controlled peat deposits under one management, has been able to make this local fuel cheaper than coal brought in from distant regions, instead of dearer, as it had hitherto been. A big locomotive repair works in

Georgia, the equipment of which was only 30-40 per cent in use when it was under the USSR Ministry of Railways, has now been working up to 100 per cent capacity on producing electricity-driven locomotives. The Perm Economic Council arranged for the timber industry repair shops to get 100 lathes and drilling machines (for want of which the whole timber industry of the area used to be held up when the repair shops were under the Ministry for the Timber Industry) from the engineering works of the area—where they were surplus to requirements, but could not be transferred before because they “belonged” to different Ministries. At Nizhni-Tagil, in the Urals (Sverdlovsk economic administrative area), the iron and steel works were put under the same management as the Novo-Tagil works, local coking, chemical and firebrick works and three iron ore mines. This has made possible more regular supplies of ore (though more radical measures, like the opening up of further deposits, are still needed), better preparation of charges for the open hearth furnaces, concentration of oxygen production at the big modern Novo-Tagil works (where it costs 3.60 rubles per cylinder, instead of 8.69 rubles at Nizhni-Tagil), and so on. At Kiev there is an electrode factory, formerly under the Ukrainian Ministry of Municipal Enterprise, which used to send its output all over the Ukraine while big local works constantly had to bring electrodes they needed from distant factories. This has now been put right. The Turkmenian Economic Council has been able to eliminate the absurd situa-

tion when the Ashkhabad macaroni factory could not dispatch its output because it could not get cans while the Ashkhabad meat processing works had four wagonloads of suitable cans in its stores, which it could not dispose of because it was under another Ministry.

Not only production but national finances have benefited. In the Moscow region a factory had secured permission from its Ministry to build a boiler-house for its needs, when it was discovered that a neighboring factory could supply all the steam needed from its own surplus. This saved the country two million rubles. The Latvian Economic Council, by combining the USSR Ministry of Power Stations' power network in Latvia with that of the republic's Ministry of Municipal Enterprise, saved over one million rubles in the last months of 1957 alone. Amalgamation of the fuel and transport departments of Byelorussian power stations (working chiefly on peat) with those of the peat processing works has meant a yearly economy of one million rubles at each of two big power stations alone. Many more such examples were given.

Problems Old and New

The reports were careful to stress that the Economic Councils were only starting their work, and had not solved all problems. As they got more and more on top of their job, indeed, new problems—those of an expanding economy—began to appear. Moreover, old problems had not by any means been disposed of.

Among these was that of departmental "paper." Not everywhere had

the practice of personal contact between the factory and the Economic Council been adopted. A speaker from Shcholkovo district of Moscow region said, at an industrial conference called on July 24, that one metalworks factory had had over eighty directives, letters and queries in twenty days; another had received 585 letters and directives in the same period. The head of the Rationalization and Inventions Bureau of a machine-tool equipment factory at Yeletz wrote that in three months only one responsible worker of the Lipetsk Economic Council had visited the factory; while in the same period the works had been "flooded" by 386 directives and requests for information. The director of the Voroshilovgrad Economic Council reported that the State Planning Committee of the Ukraine had sent around hundreds of forms, to be filled in with thousands of figures, in connection with the plan for 1958—"completely copying all the forms previously used by the Ministries and adding a few more columns of its own invention."

However, such complaints were relatively few. More serious were the problems of growth. The director of the Nizhni-Tagil Iron and Steel Combine said that growing blast-furnace and open-hearth production was emphasizing the longstanding shortage of iron ore output—to which the Ministry and other planning bodies had in the past given insufficient attention. The regional building trust had its resources scattered over 180 sites at the moment—many of them poorly equipped with personnel and machinery. He asked the Area Economic Council to concentrate build-

ing on certain jobs of decisive importance: two large iron-ore workings, an agglomeration-enrichment combine in a third, and some others. While several Economic Councils (like Sverdlovsk) noted the reinforcements they had received, in respect of leading technical personnel, the Kemerovo Economic Council complained (*Pravda*, July 22) that it had received only eighteen specialists from Moscow instead of the promised eighty-three: the Ministries of the Iron and Steel industry and of Power Stations had not sent a single man, and the Building Materials and Food Industry Ministries only one each. The Armenian Economic Council found it necessary to redistribute thirty-eight million rubles, out of funds allotted to capital constructions, for completing cement, electric light bulb and lathe factories. Some Economic Councils complained that works in other parts of the USSR were not fulfilling their obligations to factories for which they were responsible, while the Latvian Economic Council described the measures taken to ensure that a Riga electrical engineering plant under its control worked off its arrears of output intended for a Kaliningrad factory. Byelorussia, Smolensk and several other Economic Councils asserted that the planning committees for their republics had not as yet modernized their own methods to keep abreast of the new practices in the economic administration areas. Voroshilovgrad considered that the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the Ministry of Railways ought to bring the present system of railway freights up to date: that system "is the biggest obstacle of all those that

still remain," wrote its chairman and Kemerovo would agree, judging by its chairman's article.

New Planning

All these were the sort of problems which the workers at the point of production—now once again playing an active part in the drafting of national economic plans, as before the war—were likely to be tackling. It is known that in the drafting of the sixth five-year plan (1956-1960) discussions took place at upwards of 9,000 factories. A number of the reports under review show that a similar process had been stimulated by the introduction of the new system of industrial organization.

"The production plans for 1958 are now being worked out in all the works and factories of our economic area," wrote the chairman of the Latvian Economic Council, adding that "a broad *aktiv* of production workers is taking part in this important work." A number of speakers at the Moscow industrial conference mentioned earlier were active trade unionists from the factories; they spoke of the advance of Socialist emulation in the discussions on the 1958 plans. "It is important that work on compiling the draft economic plan for 1958 is proceeding from below, from the factories. Who, if not the workers in the factories, know best what they can do and what reserves they have?" wrote the chairman of the Sverdlovsk Economic Council.

"All the industrial boards of the Byelorussian Economic Council are just now completing production plans for next year: the factory workers, scientific and technical per-

sonnel, party, Soviet and trade union organizations have been actively taking part in their compilation," wrote the chairman of that republic's Economic Council. "The broad mass of the workers were drawn into the job of working out the 1958 production plan in the factories," reported the chairman of the Smolensk Economic Council.

"This helped the Economic Council to discover supplementary means of increasing output, using equipment better, specialization and introduction of advanced techniques." In the Voroshilovgrad area, wrote the chairman of its Economic Council, energetic preparations for work in 1958 had begun. "The year's plans are being drawn up with the most active participation of the mass of the workers in the factories. Old methods of planning have been rejected." The wave of socialist emulation in connection with the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution gave a particular impetus to these discussions.

"Still wider participation in the management of production by the masses of the working people and the utmost development of their creative initiative in building communism," was one of the principal purposes of the new system of industrial organization, declared a resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, published on September 26, 1957, and giving directions for the drafting of a long-term plan for the years from 1959 to 1965.

Results in 1957

Some six months' working of the new system was already reflected in the annual report of the Cen-

tral Statistical Board on fulfillment of the year's economic plan (published February 2, 1958).

Every one of the Economic Councils had overfulfilled its target for overall industrial output—though some individual industries hadn't, in some areas—and, taken as a whole, industry under their control was 4 per cent ahead of target output on December 31, 1957. Every Union Republic had overfulfilled its plan.

Total increase in industrial output of the USSR for the year had been planned at 7.1 per cent. In fact, it was 10 per cent. The increase in group A (means of production) was planned at 7.8 per cent—and proved to be 11 per cent. Group B (consumption goods) was to increase 5.9 per cent—but went up 8 per cent. Greater efficiency, put down as the result of the great reorganization, was also shown by fulfillment of plans for reducing production costs in every Republic except one (Kirghizia).

Decentralization had further encouraged worker-inventors and factory-floor "innovators." Over a million of them had produced more than 2,000,000 suggested improvements in the year. 1½ million such proposals had been put into effect during the year—resulting in an annual saving of 7 billion rubles.

Headaches for 1958

Successes of the first half-year under the new system underlined all the more the new problems which now arose. In May, 1957, when opening the discussion on the scheme of reorganization, N. S. Khrushchev had warned that "parish-pump" tendencies were likely to show themselves as the Area Eco-

nomic Councils got into their stride—namely, the inclination to build up local economy without due regard for the national plan, or to depart from agreed proportions in the use of local resources, or to use them exclusively for the requirements of the area without fulfilling obligations outside it, thereby threatening the highly integrated economic planning of the USSR with a dangerous measure of disorder. Some idea of what this would mean can be seen from the example of Tula area. In 1957 210 plants in 47 other economic areas were supplying Tula factories with requisites for the latter's production, while 154 plants in 59 economic areas were receiving some production essential or another from Tula factories (*Planovoye Khoziaistvo*, April 1958). If Tula were to practice the kind of new "autarchy" which Khrushchev warned against, her non-cooperation would injure the economy of 72 other areas.

In fact, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet did issue an order on April 24, 1958, that non-fulfillment of planned or contracted deliveries to other economic administrative areas or Republics would bring down disciplinary or other penalties—including prosecution with a fine of up to three months' salary—for the executive personnel concerned. Repetition of the offense would involve criminal prosecutions. What kind of worry had evoked this peremptory reminder?

Some examples were given in its leading article by the Academy of Sciences' monthly *Voprosy Ekonomiki* (June, 1958). The Krasnoyarsk Area Economic Council was responsible for timber deliveries to

about 70 other areas. It did not fulfill its obligations in 1957. In the first quarter of 1958, while finishing up with arrears of 100,000 cubic meters in outside deliveries, it supplied enterprises in its own territory with 105,000 cubic meters of logs and 19,000 cubic meters of sawn timber above their quota. In Byelorussia, during the same first quarter, 12 engineering works out of 14 did not complete their planned deliveries outside their republic.

Other examples of harmful parochialism noted by the same journal were that (1) Orenburg, Lipetsk and Gorky Economic Councils had used part of the funds assigned for capital investments in the chemical and other basic industries for other kinds of building—places of entertainment, local bridges, etc.; (2) Stalingrad factories had withdrawn 15 million rubles from working funds for building houses over and above plan, while the Urals Heavy Engineering Works at Sverdlovsk had charged over 3 million rubles paid to building workers on new housing sites to production expenses. Such offenses, understandable enough in view of the great housing shortage, could not be countenanced. all the same.

For the benefit of latter-day practitioners in the gentle art of "interpreting" Soviet self-criticism as evidence of chaos, internal conflict and disaster—an art already flourishing forty years ago, as the present writer well remembers—it may be noted here that public exposure of such deficiencies has already had a beneficial effect. Far from being crippled, Soviet economy in its new form took a further leap forward between January and June, 1958.

Halfway Through 1958

The report of the Central Statistical Board for the first half of the current year (published July 24, 1958) showed that industrial output plans for the whole country were fulfilled 10 per cent—and actual output went up a further 10.5 per cent, compared with the first six months of 1957. "All Union Republics overfulfilled the first half-year's plan of overall output and for the majority of the most important branches of production. All Economic Councils except that of Sakhalin overfulfilled their plan." A long list of industrial manufactures, many scores of them, provided physical quantities showing the growth of output over the year. In spite of individual shortcomings the planned overall cut in costs of production—about 2 per cent—was achieved, and the planned increase in productivity of labor overfulfilled.

About 900,000 factory inventors and rationalizers brought in 1,300,000 suggestions in the course of the half-year—and in the same period upwards of 750,000 proposed improvements were put into effect.

One of the latest problems brought forward by the transfer of control of industry to the Area Economic Council has been that of uncertain availability of supplies of finished and semi-finished manufactures needed for production, spares, raw materials, etc. This was due to the fact that such supplies continued to be centralized (under Gosplan) well

on into 1958, i.e. long after the industries using them had been decentralized, and when in consequence of their expansion the latter were demanding more than before. Accordingly the whole system of industrial supply has been reorganized this summer (a leading article in the State Planning Committee's monthly journal, *Planovoye Khozinstvo*, for July, 1958, has drawn the outlines).

The State Planning Committee of the USSR now has planning boards for inter-Republic deliveries of metals, coal, oil, timber, paper, building materials, raw material for the light and food industries, machinery and electrical equipment. The State Planning Committees of the Union Republics have set up "Supply and Disposal Departments" which plan and supervise both incoming and outflowing streams of these goods required for industry. The Economic Councils have been setting up area "bases"—stockpiles—for this purpose, having taken over all existing warehouses, depots, storeyards, etc. belonging to the sales departments and supply stores of the old Ministries. And factories, mines and other industrial establishments are being encouraged to sign contracts with each other for direct supply of the materials and finished products.

The new phase of industrial advance in the USSR brings its own new problems. But the experience which suggested the new phase is also bringing new solutions.

U.S. - SOVIET EXCHANGES

Twenty U.S. graduate students are enrolled in Moscow and Leningrad Universities this year, while 20 Soviet students are studying in U.S. universities under the exchange agreement reached last January.

Simone de Beauvoir Visits China

a review by MURRAY YOUNG

The Long March, by Simone de Beauvoir. The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York. 501 pages. \$7.50.

"China embodies a particularly exciting moment in history; that in which man, so long reduced to dreaming of what humanity might be, is setting out to become it."

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR spent five weeks in China in the autumn of 1955 as the guest of the Chinese government. Mlle. de Beauvoir has no pretensions as a Sinologist; she quite frankly came home and read widely in the studies of historians and other experts on China; took what she found illuminating; rejected what seemed to her false or biased; and judged their findings against her own observations. The result is a book of absorbing interest written with the incisive intelligence that characterizes all her work. Whether or not readers agree with all of her opinions they can hardly fail to find her statement of them stimulating.

Mlle. de Beauvoir's five weeks' visit, she at once acknowledges, was the briefest of moments to observe an ancient civilization preparing to "leap" into the future, yet in her opinion so momentous is China today that a setting down of her observations has at least some historical interest. To give her account greater validity she attempts to fill in an enormous amount of information about China's past, for the title of her book refers not to the famous march made by the Communists from the coastal areas in 1934, but to the march of the Chinese people through their long history—a march which since Liberation has rapidly moved forward.

Tremendous changes have taken place in China since 1955 alone; agriculture has been completely collectivized, private enterprise has become either fully socialized or joint-owned, immense projects for flood-control and irrigation have been initiated and in many cases completed, the industrial base has been widely extended, and with 1958 the "leap" forward has begun. Reports of production figures for the first half of 1958 have amazed the world.

Nevertheless Mlle. de Beauvoir is right: her book, which sets a five-week visit at a particular moment against China's two-thousand-year history, has great rewards for the reader. If there is at times rather too much about China's past for the fullest enjoyment (it has been remarked that the trouble with Chinese history is that there is too much of it) these over-concentrated sections are balanced by the author's brilliant descriptions of places and people, her provocative opinions on various aspects of China's past and present, and by her aggressive and frequently witty attacks on the views of certain unfriendly visitors to New China.

Starting with the peasants, Mlle. de Beauvoir vividly describes the "agonizingly hopeless circle of animal existence" that was the lot of this main body of the Chinese people and then moves on to an account of the land reform that began in 1949. Comparing the Chinese land reforms with collectivization in the USSR and the East European democracies, important points are made about the whole problem of developing a socialist economy. This is a thoughtful and stimulating chapter that makes clear why the program of collectivization, started in 1955, was completed, and successfully, by 1957.

The chapter on the family recalls Simone de Beauvoir's defense of women in her book, *The Second Sex*, in its passionate description of women's position in traditional Chinese society. A position, as she points out, so ancient and custom-hardened, that only a revolution such as that led by the Chinese Communist Party could have changed in any fundamental way.

She has much of great interest to say on the classic social unit of Chinese life, the family, its relation to society as a whole, its attitude toward children, towards religion, towards education. On Chinese education today a real point is scored:

As for the "indoctrination" of the children, they are, certainly, taught to love their country, to want to serve it, to respect the current ethic, and they are educated in the ideology that corresponds to the regime under which they live; and is it not the same in every country? If Chinese educators are more convincing than their American colleagues, this, it would seem to me, ought rather to be set down to their credit than as villainy.

The long chapter on culture, if overburdened with historical material (again like Chinese history, there seems, at least to the overwhelmed outsider, almost too much Chinese culture), is clear in its grasp of the role culture must play in China today. This role can only be understood in terms of the present situation:

Man is at once the end and means of economic and social change, while culture is man himself as he speaks of himself and of the world that is his; while expressing the state of humanity, culture must contribute to the bettering of man's fate; the technological revolution still being short of completion, culture is today, the instrument to a progress of which it will tomorrow be the consummation.

Firmly based on this proposition, Mlle. de Beauvoir's discussion of contemporary Chinese writing, painting and theatrical forms, none of which she particularly liked (as, indeed, she did not respond with great enthusiasm to classical Chinese art generally) has a perspective which gives her criticism dimension that removes it from mere fault-finding, or from those judgments based upon a supposed aesthetic "absolutism" ordinarily evoked by middle-class intellectuals.

Nothing in the book so much marks the tremendous rate of industrial development in China as the fact that in her chapter on industry Mlle. de Beauvoir only briefly mentions the present drive to set up small industries on a local scale all over the country. She discusses the problem of industrialization in terms of vast concentrations in specific areas. Her picture of the exploitation of the Chinese working class by the Western imperialists who set up the first textile mills at the end of the 19th century and by the Chinese middle-class until Liberation is a grim and terrible story.

It should be remarked here that the drive for collectivization just getting underway during Mlle. de Beauvoir's visit, and completed in 1957, has also now passed on to a higher stage—the gathering of separate collectives into large-scale communes, each with its own industrial center, educational facilities, health and cultural organizations. Although the author does not discuss this stage, her book makes clear how it was possible in the amazing period of three years to prepare for this great new development.

The defense and consolidation of the new regime after Liberation in 1949 is looked at rationally, with no fear of the facts. Mlle. de Beauvoir is aware that so gigantic an effort was costly and she meets head-on the attacks by critics who, seeing a part, mistake it for the whole of the vast historic movement and cry out their prophecies of doom. This is a vigorously written, useful chapter.

In summing up her study, Mlle. de Beauvoir considers the writers who, admitting the need for change in China, deplore the fact that the revolution was led by the Communist Party. It is her opinion that they have not understood either the problem or its possible solution. The logic of her argument seems irrefutable:

Many observers are struck by the fact that the program being applied by the regime is the very one that would have been adopted by any modern and enlightened government desiring to improve its country: the nationalistic character of the enterprise is, in a sense, more emphatic than its communistic character. One reason for this is that from 1927 on Mao Tse-tung worked at elaborating a "Chinese Communism" which has proved admirably suited to the specific concrete needs of the nation; the other reason is that his Communist program was the only possible way out for China. Every other sane regime, had it been in the Communists' place, would have done what they are doing; but there was not and there is nobody else who could have or who can occupy that place.

The Long March ends as it began with the peasants whose history is the history of China:

Toiling in order to eat, eating in order to toil, using his excrement to fertilize the little field where he grew the little millet he fed on, the Chinese peasant turned within the agonizingly hopeless circle of animal existence. The Revolution split that circle apart; it liberated a spark of energy, still tiny, but which has begun its own chain reaction. Life in China is still hard, its roots show: if they do not take hold, if they wither, then all will die. But in this morning's early light the prospect ahead is already visible, and it is limitless.

American Tempo

Big Oil Man from Arabia, by Michael S. Cheney. Ballantine Books, New York, 1958. 282 pages. \$4.95.

"We do things differently here. None of the old-style, gunboat imperialism."

—Aramco official.

MR. CHENEY was an employee of the Arabian-American Oil Company in Saudi-Arabia from 1948 to 1956. These were important years in Aramco's (the usual name for the Arabian-American Oil Company) massive penetration of this backward country. Mr. Cheney has an observant eye when he is not being "sound" on the glories of private enterprise, or "loyal" to Aramco, and he has some instructive stories to tell.

The facts Mr. Cheney lists about the volume of money, material, and manpower poured into this barren Arabian country for the purpose of extracting oil are overwhelming. This is how a vast, planned operation working on the most advanced technical lines can move today into undeveloped, largely desert land and produce results that seem almost magical. Here is what our technical advance in engineering has made possible. Here are the means with which a more rational social order could in the briefest period transform the most barren of wastes into humanly desirable areas.

Aramco's purpose, however, is more limited: to create further wealth for its stockholders by the extraction and sale of Arabian oil. But it must also, whether the stockholders like it or not, produce two other results: millionaire sheiks, generally contented with air-conditioned palaces and Cadillacs, and, *horribile dictu*, a militant working class, in very short order.

One of Mr. Cheney's enlightening stories is that of a young Saudi Arabian named Salah who had been "taken from

the desert, raised and shaped by the company." Having completed every training program offered by Aramco, he was sent for a year to the U.S. to teach Arabic in the company training school. Returning, he quickly realized that his position in Saudi society had not changed: "The government is for princes, and the Company is for Americans."

Salah soon joined with a group of other frustrated Aramco-trained young Saudis and together they presented to the company officials their demands, spelled out in great detail.

The Aramco officials were astounded. With the most complex machinery for dealing with individual complaints, the company had no provision for mass demands. But a still darker shadow hovered over this unfortunate incident—the lovely dream of an unorganized working class was all too quickly coming to an end.

The Royal Commission set up to rule on the case was, after all, composed of other Saudis who were not unsympathetic to the demands (as fellow-Saudis) of the young workers. Nevertheless the group was thrown in jail. There then followed a three-week general strike throughout the oil fields: a militant working class had come into existence!

How the tempo of imperialism has accelerated! England was in India for some two hundred years, in Egypt for something under a hundred. But Aramco (the only Middle Eastern oil company, by the way, that is one-hundred-per cent American-owned) first sent prospectors into Saudi Arabia in 1933 and in 20 years had produced Salah and his militant comrades.

Thus to the slower rhythms of "old-style, gunboat imperialism" have we brought our American tempo. But let Mr. Cheney point the moral and adorn his own tale:

Aramco's labor force, although but a fraction of Arabia's population, is

fast becoming the most potent and cohesive single force in a country where once-supreme tribal power has been dissipated, the ruling caste remains a tight, if uncertain, clique, and the new army is an unknown quantity.

It has become a matter of some urgency, both for the government and the company, that some formula be found that will offer a means of letting off the dangerous head of steam now building up among the oil workers. If allowed to build up indefinitely, that pressure may eventually generate an explosion that could topple the present government; and Aramco might well be dispossessed in the process. . . .

—M. Y.

Scott Nearing On Soviet Education

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