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Special Supplement

ON PRACTICE

MAO TSE-TUNG

On Peaceful Co-Existence

Soong Ching Ling

Asia's Path to Freedom and Prosperity

Liu Ning-I



Supplement: Chinese and Soviet Notes on U.S. Draft Peace Treaty with Japan



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Mao Tse-tung's On Practice

ON PRACTICE is an important essay in Marxist philosophy by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is a profound summation in regard to those aspects of the many-sided experience of the Chinese revolution with which it deals.

The Chinese revolution is already crowned with success. But it was not achieved without various kinds of mistakes being made—mistakes which, depending on their seriousness, damaged the cause of the revolution to a greater or less extent.

Why are such mistakes made? These mistakes arise politically because of a non-proletarian stand, and logically because of unscientific ways of thinking. And in this essay, using the epistemology of Marxism-Leninism as his instrument, Mao Tse-tung makes a penetrating analysis of those unscientific ways of thinking which lead to mistakes in practical revolutionary work.

He points out that:

"Idealism and mechanistic materialism, opportunism and adventurism are all characterised by the separation of the subjective from the objective, the divorce of knowledge from practice. The epistemology of Marxism-Leninism characterised by its scientific social practice cannot but be strongly opposed to these incorrect ideologies." (On Practice, Supplement to this number, p. 21.)

In this essay Mao Tse-tung stresses, in the first place, the dependence of knowledge and theory on practice. This he takes as his main theme in order to bring home the fact that it is the separation of the subjective from the objective, the divorce of knowledge from practice that characterises the ways of thinking which lead to various mistakes in revolutionary work.

In the course of the Chinese revolution some comrades have committed mistakes due to doctrinairism. Such comrades failed to achieve through practice an understanding of the laws of the external world. They did not subject their knowledge to the test of practice. They merely clung to certain isolated principles or conclusions of Marxism, thinking that if they learned them by rote they could cope with any and every complicated problem and situation that might arise. And even when they failed miserably in actual practice they still did not admit their mistakes. Such comrades did not try to analyse from the Marxist view—

point the specific historical environment of society and the situation of the class struggle in which they had to act. In their hands Marxist theory became a lifeless dogma, divorced from practice. As a result, their knowledge was fundamentally erroneous.

In short, the mistakes which such comrades make in the course of their revolutionary work can be traced back to their erroneous ways of thinking, and these in turn can be traced to the fact that they do not relate their thought to actual revolutionary practice.

Clearly, Mao Tse-tung has these erring comrades in mind when he says:

"If anyone wants to be successful in his work or to achieve the anticipated results, he must make his ideas correspond to the laws of the external world; otherwise he will fail in practice." (*Ibid.*, p.3.) and again:

"One's theory or cognition is judged to be true or untrue not by how it is subjectively felt to be, but by what objectively the result is in social practice. The criterion of truth can only be social practice." (Ibid., p. 4.)

In this essay Mao Tse-tung analyses the gradually deepening process of cognition based on practice. He gives a clear account of how perceptual knowledge is developed into rational knowledge. Stressing the dialectical materialist principle of Marxism-Leninism in regard to the problem of knowledge—the principle that knowledge starts from experience and perception—he shows that any belief that rational knowledge is not founded on the material, that it need not depend on experience gained through social practice, is precisely the ideological source of doctrinairism.

Mao Tse-tung sharply criticises those people who approach problems one-sidedly. These people, to be sure, do not deny perceptual knowledge entirely. But the perceptual knowledge which they possess is not complete. At times it is unreliable to boot. To form judgements and theories on the basis of incomplete and unreliable perceptual knowledge is a very hazardous undertaking indeed. It never occurs to these people that it is wrong to be satisfied with their first impressions gained from perceptual knowledge and that the advance from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge can be made only

as a result of actual practice, that one must continually enrich one's mind with new perceptual knowledge drawn from practice. Failing this, one falls into the error of subjectivism.

As Mao Tse-tung points out,

"Those are bound to stumble who approach problems only subjectively, one-sidedly, superficially, who, upon reaching any place, start to issue orders or directives self-assuredly without considering their environment, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole), without coming into contact with the essence of things (their qualities and the internal relations between one thing and another)." (Ibid., p. 13.)

"It is only when the perceptual data are abundant, not fragmentary or incomplete, and are in correspondence with reality, instead of being illusory, that they can serve as the basis for valid concepts, judgements and inferences." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

THE opposite of doctrinairism is empiricism. Both are erroneous, though in different ways. Empiricism is also subjected to severe criticism by Mao Tse-tung in this essay. The error of empiricism arises as a result of emphasising perceptual knowledge only, of failing to realise that it is necessary to develop perceptual knowledge into rational knowledge. In doing practical work empiricists only take account of events that have happened; they cannot foresee future events. They only look to the interests of the moment; they cannot make long-term plans. They only consider this or that separate aspect of things; they lack an over-all view of the situation as a whole. They are called "vulgar plodders," and quite rightly. They may toil incessantly; but as they do not use their brains to good purpose, their work always remains at a low level.

As Mao Tse-tung says:

"Vulgar plodders absorbed in daily trifles do not know this. They bow down before experience and despise theory, hence they cannot have a comprehensive grasp of the entire objective process, lack a clear direction and a long perspective, but are self-satisfied with one instance of success, one ray of light. Were these persons to lead a revolution, they would direct it to a dead end." (Ibid., p. 15.)

The advance from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge is a process of comprehending the laws of the external world. The ultimate aim of Marxists, however, is not merely to understand such laws, but to use them to change the world. Theory formed in the course of practice must return to it and give it guidance; it must stand the test of practice.

As Mao Tse-tung points out, the process of cognition is not completed when a set of theories has been formulated. It is completed only when such theories, applied to practice, have produced the preconceived results. To revolutionaries, the achievement of such a result marks the time when yet another new revolutionary task emerges to be tackled in practice. So it is necessary to develop untiringly, through practice, ever new processes of cognition. According to Marx, while the laws of the external world are knowable, the objective laws of a given process cannot be completely grasped in a single instant. The process by which practice is guided by theory is precisely the process in which theory is corrected, substantiated, and developed by practice. On this point Mao Tsetung gives the following important directive:

". . . not only must a truly revolutionary leader be adept at correcting his ideas, theories, plans, or programmes when they are mistaken, as mentioned above, but he must also be adept at making himself and his fellow participants in the revolution advance and change their subjective cognition accordingly when a certain objective process has already advanced from one stage of development to another. That is to say, he must propose the new revolutionary tasks and programmes in such a way as to correspond to the new changes in the circumstances. The situation in a revolutionary period changes quickly. If the cognition of revolutionaries does not change quickly with it they cannot lead the revolution towards victory." (Ibid., p. 20.)

Hence, the abilities of the leaders of a revolution are often put to the most searching test at the crucial moment when the revolutionary situation develops from one stage to another. No leaders can stand the test if they do not closely relate their knowledge to practice in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A good steersman must be clear-sighted, wise and courageous when he charts the course of a ship on a stormy sea. He must know the nature of the tides and the winds; he must know how to steer his ship confidently towards the shore of victory.

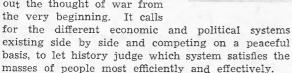
Mao Tse-tung is such a steersman. He makes the best use of the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism in the practical direction of the Chinese revolution. He uses the practical experience of the Chinese revolution to enrich and develop the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. That is why he can guide the Chinese revolution through all difficulties and along the most circuitous paths, overcome all the mistaken views that arise in its course, and lead the revolution to victory.

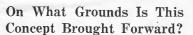
ON PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Soong Ching Ling

International Stalin Peace Prize Laureate

There is a heavy pall of international tension which hangs over us today, a tension that threatens every person on earth. Many solutions have been offered to remedy this situation, but there is only one worth consideration. That is the proposal for peaceful coexistence. This idea rules out the thought of war from the very beginning. It calls





This concept of peaceful co-existence is brought forward by all partisans of peace with the recognition that differences do exist between the various systems. It further notes that not all of these differences can be solved at once. But it is an honest offer "to meet the other fellow half-way," to work out the differences together and thereby strangle war before it ever gets started. It is an offer jointly to isolate the warmongers, to consolidate the ranks of all those who favour peace so that it may be nurtured to full-grown strength.

Therefore, the concept of peaceful co-existence is not a mere slogan or tactics, premeditatedly tossed out to dupe the unwary. It is a precious principle meant for energetic promotion and sincere implementation, a policy with which the people of the world can advance to everlasting peace and the satisfaction of all their welfare and cultural needs. Peaceful co-existence means a call for unity of action on all levels for world tranquillity.

Is Championing Peaceful Co-existence A Sign of Weakness or Strength?

In understanding the concept of peaceful coexistence, it is fundamental to recognise that it is not advocated from a position of weakness, that it



is not a plea to gain some concession or time advantage. On the contrary, the idea of peaceful co-existence springs from unparalleled confidence and unswerving faith in the strength and abilities of the masses of the people. This confidence in the advantage of people's rule is such that we are fully prepared to put it into peaceful competition with all others at any time.

This confidence is founded in fact. There is, for example, the overwhelming success of the Soviet Union's post-war Stalin Five Year Plan, the stabilisation of China's economy and her great leaps forward in reconstruction, the obvious advances that are being made in every nation, in every factory and on every farm where the people are in control.

A second indication of the strength behind the concept of peaceful co-existence is the fact that the great majority of mankind wants peace. Thus, this idea has world-wide support. Even in those places where the term "Peaceful Co-existence" is slandered along with all efforts for peace, the masses in their hearts know that war and its preparation can only profit a few, that for the people, war's only promise is poverty and sorrow. "Peaceful Co-existence" may have been kept from their sight and they may never have been allowed ever to hear the term, but they arrive at the same conclusion as a result of their experiences. The people associate their own struggle for a decent life with the fight for peace. They soon come to know that it is better for their government to compete peacefully and benefit the masses than to wage war, and plunder them.

We see then that the concept of peaceful coexistence is based on fact and is the will of the majority of mankind. There is no other position of strength which can match this combination.

Is Peaceful Co-existence Possible Under the Present Circumstances?

Since it represents the will of the majority of mankind, there is no question that peaceful co-exist-

ence can be successfully carried out. Not only is it possible for the nations of the earth to exist and compete peacefully side by side, but it is also possible for them to construct an era of great co-operation. We have but to look back to the anti-fascist coalition of the last war to see the validity of this. That coalition demonstrated, for all of the differences in systems and governments, that the people of the Soviet Union, China, the United States, Great Britain and other allies all had identical interests-to defeat imperialist reaction and to liberate the masses in every country from the fear of want. Those interests are the very same today for the same people. Thus, if it could be accomplished to win a war, it is certainly possible to form a coalition against war, based on peaceful co-existence, to settle all presentday differences on behalf of universal harmony and co-operation.

Since Peaceful Co-existence Is Possible, Who Is Preventing Its Implementation?

There are certain segments of the American and British ruling circles who simply refuse to recognise this truth, who just cannot live peacefully. They have blood in their eyes and are always spoiling for a fight. Even the mildest mention of the Soviet Union, People's China or other people's countries and organisations causes them to rave in the wildest manner. These are the handful of monopolists and cartelists of Wall Street and The City, with their mouthpieces, such as the Trumans and Attlees, and their "men in the field," such as the blood-thirsty MacArthurs and Montgomerys. These are the "bosses" of the American and British people, the would-be exploiters of all mankind. These are the only ones who profit from war. These are the enemies of peaceful co-existence.

These enemies would have the world look the other way while they rip out the pages of history that detail the rape of Nanking, six million European Jews slaughtered, Seoul bombed off the map. They shout "Peace" to the high heavens and would have us believe that unceasing shiploads of arms to Europe, Western Germany and Japan are for peace, that air bases in Africa and Turkey, naval bases in Taiwan and Trieste also are for peace.

All of us know, it takes two sides to improve international relations, to ease the tensions and enhance the peace. But from the above we can see the warmongers are doing everything possible in the opposite direction. If we look to the city of Paris these days, we can observe similar indications. There the deputy foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France are discussing an agenda for a proposed meeting of the four foreign ministers of those countries. We can see that one side, the side led by the United States, constantly thwarts the efforts of the conference so as to delay any decision, even to the point of refusing to accept its own proposals when the Soviet delegate agrees. In the meantime, this side effects its rearmament policy at increased speed. In this conference, and on all other fronts, the three Western Powers are seeking to blunt the attempts to achieve real peace. They would drive from our heads the very thought of peaceful co-existence. This makes the

task of all peace partisans more difficult and doubly urgent. As the enemy strikes one blow for war, we must strike two for peace.

How Can We Defeat the Warmongers and Assure Victory for Peaceful Co-existence?

In mobilising the campaign for world peace, there are several factors which we must keep to the fore. The first of these is that war is unpopular with all peoples, including the German and Japanese populations, as evidenced by their protests against rearmament. The warmongers do not yet fully comprehend this opposition and do not gauge it accurately. Consequently, they will drive themselves and their forces into further impossible positions, both at home and abroad. We peace partisans must be prepared to use these errors to expose the warmongers and lead the people to struggle for peace. We must be prepared at these vital moments to unite all forces for peace to further check these bandits of destruction as they lash out in madness and desperation.

The second factor which we must take into account is the realisation that the threats of warmongers cannot frighten us. The aroused Korean and Chinese peoples are demonstrating what we do with such threats. The courage which is daily being displayed on the ravaged soil of Korea is an example for the hundreds of millions all over the world who will fight for peace. It provides a mighty lesson. It teaches us that the decaying flower of imperialism is rotting on the vine of history, and in fresh bloom is a new flower with all the vitality of youth, a blend of national independence and internationalism. It explains that the strength of awakened people can meet and defeat any imperialist onslaught.

As to concrete measures, we must continue to spread the influence of the World Peace Council to every corner of the globe. We must make that influence part of the everyday life of the people, to wipe out any complacency or despondency in the fight for peace. They have lost faith in the United Nations because the warmongers have twisted it out of recognisable shape. We must revive the light and hope that the U.N. evoked upon its inception. We must show that war is not inevitable, that there is a powerful international organisation which stands behind that idea—the World Peace Council.

We must connect the fight for peace with all other struggles on the national and local levels—for increased production in the people's countries; for civil liberties and against the oncoming fascism in capitalist countries; for independence in the colonial countries; for lifting the standard of living in every country. All of these questions are important and directly linked with world peace and peaceful co-existence.

Partisans of Peace! Our task is clear! Rally all those who declare themselves for peace behind the World Peace Council! Lead the struggle for peaceful co-existence! Lead the struggle to write in the annals of our time, "PEACE—what joys you unfold!"

This article, written for In Defence of Peace, organ of the World Peace Council, is published in this journal by special permission of the author.

Asia's Path to Freedom and Prosperity

Liu Ning-I

Liu Ning-I, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour, was head of the delegation sent by the World Federation of Trade Unions to participate in the Seventh Session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, held in Lahore, Pakistan, from Feb. 28 to March 7, 1951. The following article is largely based on the memorandum which he submitted there on behalf of the WFTU.

On their way to Lahore, Liu Ning-I and his party attended the Second Burma Trade Union Congress at Rangoon. They arrived in Calcutta on Feb. 11, where, as in Burma and Pakistan, they were warmly welcomed by the people, and especially by the workers and partisans of peace.

Half of the world's population lives in the vast lands of Asia and the Far East. Here, there is an abundance of natural resources. The peoples are industrious and intelligent. Yet with the sole exception of the People's Republic of China where a fundamental change has taken place, the economy of this region is still very under-developed. The people's living standards are pitiably low. The working class and the peasantry in particular exist in a state of utter poverty and misery and are housed in animal-like conditions. Diseases of all kinds are rampant and the mortality rate is the highest of any region in the world. On these points there is little room for discussion.

Two figures will suffice to show the general tendency. According to statistics of the Japanese Ministry of Labour published on April 29, 1951, the number of unemployed and partially unemployed there had reached over 8,000,000 by the end of 1949. The real wages of those in employment have fallen to 50 per cent of the pre-war level.

In the Philippines, even the figures published by the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Philippine Government in March 1950, showed that the number of unemployed in that country in 1949 exceeded 1,000,000.

Such facts simply illustrate a general situation which has been chronic in Asia and the Far East for many years and is becoming consistently worse.

What are the causes of this economic backwardness and the poverty of the people and the misery of the working class in Asia and the Far East?

According to Mr. Truman and his colleagues, it is the lack of "foreign capital" which makes it impossible to develop the economy of backward countries. They say that with "economic aid" from the U.S., these "under-developed" areas can be developed and their people's living standards raised. These statements are made with a great show of reason, and there are people who actually believe them. But the facts entirely contradict Mr. Truman and Co.

The backwardness and destitution of the countries in Asia and the Far East are not due to the "lack of foreign capital." They are in fact the very consequence of manipulation and exploitation by "foreign capital."

Mr. Truman and his colleagues further attribute the under-developed economic situation of the Asian and Far Eastern countries to the absence of "science and technology" and the lack of "knowledge and skill." But this lack of "science and technology" and "knowledge and skill" is not the cause but the consequence of the inability, so far, to develop independent national economies in these countries. The cause of their economic backwardness is the penetration of foreign capital, because such capital is utilised to exploit the people and not to help the development of the economic independence and freedom of these countries.

It is an irrefutable historical fact that the underdeveloped economy and poverty-stricken lives of the people in these regions is due to the penetration of imperialist forces which have used military, political and economic pressure to transform the Asian and Far Eastern nations into colonies and semi-colonies. The political and economic independence of these countries has been undermined and they have been turned into markets for surplus commodities, into sources of raw materials, into areas for the exploitation of cheap labour and for investments. It is this that has reduced the industrious, intelligent peoples of Asia to a backward, poverty-stricken state.

Oppose the Colonial System

Therefore, in order to develop the economy of their countries and to better their living conditions, it is only natural that the peoples of the Asian countries should in the first place oppose the whole colonial system and fight for their national independence. They have struggled in this way in the past and are continuing to struggle in the same way today. The great People's Republic of China with a population of 475 millions has already won its victory. As regards this point, Mr. Acheson has been forced to admit that "we must understand that a new era is in full course in Asia." Referring to the Asian countries he has also said: "The other common aspect that they have is the revulsion against foreign domination" and "the desire for national independence is the most powerful spontaneous force in Asia today."

In the face of this new situation, the American Government proposes U.S. "economic aid" and the Point Four Programme for the development of the backward areas of Asia and the Far East. They say that this is the best way out for the Asian peoples. But in fact, this is only a new rope to strangle the Asian peoples with.

In the post-war years, the U.S. has seized the opportunity to carry out her policy of expansion and world domination, not only in Western countries, but

more and more conspicuously in Asia. Her "economic aid" and Point Four Programme to "help develop the backward areas of Asia and the Far East" are shown to be weapons to oust the forces of other metropolitan countries from Asia, to suppress the people's liberation movement in the East and to turn the Asian and Far Eastern countries into her colonies.

To reveal the true nature of American "aid," it is sufficient to study more closely the conditions under which it is granted and its actual effects.

The methods of administering "economic aid" by the U.S. may be divided into two categories: the first are the "bilateral agreements" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia," and the second, the "general agreements" of Mr. Truman's "Point Four Programme." The first category includes the "Sino-American Agreement on Economic Aid," or the Economic Bilateral Agreement between America and Chiang Kai-shek (concluded July 3, 1948), the "Economic and Technical Assistance Agreement between Thailand and the U.S.A." (September 19, 1950), and the recent "Memorandum on Economic Assistance Agreement between the U.S.A. and the Philippines" (November 14, 1950). The second category includes the "General Agreement for Technical Co-operation between Ceylon and the U.S.A." (published November 7, 1950) which, as was noted officially by the U.S., is the first standard General Agreement concluded on the basis of Point Four in the East.

Aggressive U.S. Agreements

Whatever these agreements may look like superficially, they are essentially aggressive in nature.

According to the provisions of these "bilateral agreements," all countries receiving American economic aid are called upon to fulfil the following obligations:

- The recipient countries must guarantee supervision and control by the U.S. over the use of American aid, thereby placing their economies under her control;
- The recipient countries must accept the U.S.
 "international free trade" principle, and thus
 clear the way for the dumping of American
 surplus goods on to their domestic markets,
 thereby destroying completely their national
 industries:
- The recipient countries must give the U.S. priority in securing supplies of strategic and raw materials;
- 4. As a "counterpart fund" to American aid, a sum in "national currency" equivalent in value to the American aid received must be deposited in a "special account" in the national banks of the respective recipient countries, and the use of this fund will be supervised by the U.S.;
- 5. The recipient countries are obliged to supply all the information demanded by the numerous missions sent by the U.S. and, at the same time, guarantee that the missions sent will "enjoy diplomatic immunities and privileges."

These are the main conditions for receiving economic aid from the U.S. And no matter how the consequences may differ in degree, the general result of these agreements can only lower the people's

living standards and prevent the formation of an independent national economy.

This is obvious from what has happened in the Philippines. Since 1946, the U.S. has imposed the Bell Act and the Parity Act on the Philippines, using the U\$\$620,000,000 economic aid of the "Rehabilitation Act" as a bait. Under these Acts, American monopoly capital, which has been tying up the Philippines, further tightened its grip. In other words, on receiving "aid" from the U.S., the Philippines were still further reduced in their status as a U.S. colony.

According to the provisions of the Bell Act, the Philippines should resume their pre-war "free trade" with the U.S. for the first eight years after the Act comes into force; American goods must be exempted from tariff duties, and import restrictions on them removed. In the 20 years then succeeding, an import tariff rate of 5 per cent may be levied annually. An additional 5 per cent may be added each year afterwards. Thus the U.S. can take advantage of its superior industrial power to dump surplus goods on to the Philippine market, consequently stifling the national industry of that country, and bringing about a serious excess of imports in the Philippine balance of trade.

During the 50 years of American domination, there was practically no development of Philippine national industry. Furthermore, although originally, as an agricultural country, the Philippines were selfsufficient in foodstuffs, they are now compelled to import American food, as a result of the forced adaptation of their national economy to the needs of the U.S. Even American tobacco is imported to this land of the world-famous Luzon tobacco. On the other hand, the import of industrial equipment really needed by the Philippines has decreased from the pre-war 25 per cent to only 7 per cent of the import total from the U.S. This state of affairs is obviously detrimental to the interests not only of the common people, but of the national industrialists and businessmen of the Philippines as well.

In addition, the U.S. controls the factories, mines and finances of the Philippines through its investments and banks. According to Article 341 of the above-mentioned "Parity Act," America may continue to make investments in the Philippines. It is also provided that, "The disposition, exploitation, development and utilisation of all agricultural timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the U.S. and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by U.S. citizens."

Hence, not only foreign trade, but also the factories, mines and industries of the Philippines are put under the control of American capital. By extending loans and issuing bonds through its banks in that country, American capital furthermore manipulates the Philippines' finances. And, in collaboration with the Philippine compradors and feudal landlords, it imposes an inhuman exploitation upon the people of that country, bankrupting her economy and finances and reducing her people to a deplorable condition.



Liu Ning-I is garlanded on arrival at New Delhi's Airport

Even the U.S. ex-Secretary of the Treasury, D. Bell, who conducted investigations in the Philippines last July, was compelled to admit that industrial and agricultural production was below pre-war levels, and that economic conditions in that country had deteriorated, while the living standards of the people were especially low as compared with pre-war. The daily wage of an agricultural worker was 1.5 pesos or less. The Philippine Government, with its tax revenue meeting only 60 per cent of its expenditure, was confronted with considerable treasury deficits and a financial crisis. Commodity prices on an average had increased 3.5 times compared with pre-war, while the credit of the currency was faltering.

Such are the results of the "economic aid" rendered by the U.S. And this is but one typical example. Similar measures are being adopted by the U.S. with like results in other countries in Asia and the Far East.

Yet another typical example is the "Bilateral Agreement between the U.S.A. and Chiang Kai-shek," under which "economic aid" of US\$275,000,000 was extended to Chiang Kai-shek in 1948; in return, America tightened her grip over the Chiang regime and the economic life of KMT China.

Such "economic aid" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia" type is in fact intended to open a road, through the form of bilateral agreements, for the export of American capital, the seizure of markets, the obtaining of strategic and raw materials, domination of the recipient countries and their transformation into colonies.

Moreover, it is worthwhile pointing out that "economic aid" rendered by the U.S. further involves the obvious aim of military and political invasion. This can best be shown by the "aid" of US\$6,000,000,000 given by America to the KMT regime to wage a bloody civil war against the Chinese people.

The economic aid given by the U.S. to the Philippines has also helped the U.S. to secure war bases.

Many facts show that America is utilising economic aid to force the recipient countries to adapt themselves both internally and externally to the demands of her policy of plunder. On the one hand, this "aid" brings about the daily deterioration of the national economies of the countries of Asia and the Far East who receive it, and ruins the workers,

peasants, small proprietors and national capitalists as well; on the other hand, it props up the big reactionary capitalists and feudal landlords in those countries and supports them against the national liberation movement of the people.

It can be seen from the above that essentially the "economic aid" of the U.S., patterned on the "Marshall Plan for Asia," is not only a weapon of American monopoly capital to undermine the economic development of the Asian countries and exploit their peoples, but at the same time is also a means of aggression and interference in the domestic affairs of those countries.

Although it differs in name from the "bilateral agreements" of the "Marshall Plan for Asia," Mr. Truman's Point Four Programme is also essentially predatory in nature.

In accordance with these agreements, large numbers of American "technical experts" of all kinds can swarm over recipient countries and openly collect economic information about their natural resources. Based upon such investigations, the U.S. can draft different programmes in her own interest—programmes actually meant to manipulate and exploit the economies of the backward areas.

Countries accepting Point Four Assistance have to concede the following special privileges to private monopolists who make investments there:

- 1. The recipient countries must guarantee to extend the "most favoured nation clause" or equal treatment to American investments without discrimination by law;
- 2. The recipient countries must guarantee the security of U.S. investments so that American private capital will not be confiscated without compensation. They must also guarantee the security of "legitimate profits," while at the same time providing all kinds of facilities for the remittance of these profits back to the U.S. at any time.

In other words, American capital will enjoy the most extensive privileges in the recipient countries.

Real Meaning of "Point Four"

Hence it must be stressed among the peoples of the countries in Asia and the Far East that if Mr. Truman's Point Four Programme is enforced in any country, not only will it not promote an independent national economy or raise the living standards of the people, but on the contrary, it will bring further disasters. The aim of the Programme is to carry out the economic exploitation and political enslavement of the people concerned through American private investments.

One particular result of the increasing penetration of U.S. capital and the growth of American political and economic control throughout the regions in Asia and the Far East, which is of vital concern to the World Federation of Trade Unions, is the persecution of genuine trade union organisations.

As a result of the general lowering of living standards and the interference of foreign capital in the internal affairs of the Asian countries, there has been a systematic repression of genuine trade union movements, a limitation of democratic freedom, the creation of pseudo-trade union organisations under

imperialist and local government control and an attempt to group them into pseudo-international federations. The workers of Asia must be continually on guard against such attacks on their trade union organisations.

The U.S., as stated above, is not only following a policy of direct economic penetration in these countries, but is also actively rearming Japan, resurrecting Japanese militarism and using it as her tool for aggression in Asia. As part of this general scheme, America is now re-developing a large-scale war industry in Japan. She is turning the latter into her Asian arsenal and by disrupting normal trade relations between that country and other parts of Asia, is thereby hindering the economic development of this area.

The scheme for "an industrial Japan and an agricultural Southeast Asia" is used by the U.S. as a means of aggression. On the one hand, she is exploiting the raw materials of Southeast Asia to increase Japanese war production under the domination of American monopoly capital, and on the other hand, she is extorting the blood and sweat of the peoples of those countries through exchanges of unequal value, thereby increasing the super-profits of American monopolies.

In this set-up, the U.S. naturally places herself in a leading and dominating position to put both "an industrial Japan and an agricultural Southeast Asia" under the control of her monopolies. Although Japan is an industrial nation, she is under a colonial type of control and domination. All her finances and economy are subject to U.S. dictation; Japan has lost her economic independence and is no longer an independent industrial state. She has actually become a U.S. dependency. The so-called "Nine Principles of the Economic Stabilisation Programme," the "Dodge Line," and the "Logan Concept" applied by Washington in Japan are all aimed to dominate the economy and finances of the latter and to secure super-profits for American capital. The function of the "U.S. Aid Fund" in Japan, just as in other Asian countries, is to serve as a weapon for achieving the above purposes.

All the facts show that no matter whether it is "economic aid," the Point Four Programme, or the building up of Japan as an aggressive war base, although they differ in methods, they are in essence all means of carrying out the American policy of expansion and aggression. They serve only to guarantee the profits of American monopolies and oppose both the independent development of national sconomies and real independence of the peoples of the countries concerned. They not only lower the living standards of the people, but also doom the national capitalists of those countries to depression and bankruptcy. It is for this reason that the U.S., as she applies this economic policy of expansion, at the same time arouses dissatisfaction on all sides and brings into being the forces which oppose her. The policy of the U.S. inevitably widens and intensifies her many-sided difficulties, and daily increases her isolation. Such a policy has already provoked and will in the future intensify, the resistance of the peoples of the Asian and Far Eastern countries, and this in the end will be the undoing of the U.S. Naturally, all who have the people's interests at heart will whole-heartedly support economic aid which conforms with the provisions of the United Nations Charter for the promotion of the independence and self-reliance of under-developed areas. Such aid should be rendered according to the principle of developing the national resources, industry and agriculture of the under-developed areas concerned, and must neither infringe upon the independence and autonomy of the recipient country, nor involve any military or strategic conditions. But it would be naive to expect such aid from the monopolies of Wall Street.

What, then, is the correct path for the development of the backward economy and the improvement of the people's living standards in the countries of Asia and the Far East? Is it possible, for the peoples of these countries to develop their economy independently of foreign, conditional assistance? In order that this important problem may be seen in its true light, it is essential to consider the experiences of China. The most appropriate answer to this question is furnished by the example of how China develops her economy and carries on her economic construction.

The Example of China

Under KMT rule, China depended on the U.S. for large sums of so-called "economic aid." However, the result was that U.S. goods flooded her market, and that American monopoly capital and KMT bureaucratic capital allied with it drew huge profits from China and strangled China's economy. They jointly organised civil war and created complete financial bankruptcy, a malignant currency inflation and an endless rise of commodity prices. Normal commerce came to a standstill and rural economy was entirely disrupted. Finally, the whole national economy collapsed.

The reactionary rule of American imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism was the fundamental cause of the economic crisis in China. Only by shattering the fetters which hindered the development of China's economy, was it possible for China's national economy to flourish and the Chinese people's living standards to improve. This is the truth that the Chinese people learned from their bitter, century-long experience. As one man they rose and took part in the heroic people's liberation struggle. They overthrew the rule of American imperialism and its puppet, the KMT. It was not until the grip of foreign capital had been destroyed that a wide and unobstructed road was opened for the development of China's economy.

In the first place, this eradication of imperialist influence and the special privileges of imperialism guaranteed the independent development of China's national economy. In the past, the imperialists opened banks in China and controlled China's finances. Now such privileges have been abolished. China has established a strict and independent control over her finances and has prohibited the circulation of foreign banknotes in the country. All transactions in foreign exchange, foreign currency and gold and silver are in the hands of the state banks. The People's Government reserves the sole right to issue banknotes. Formerly, imperialism violated China's

tariff autonomy and controlled China's foreign trade. In this way, it monopolised the market, dumping foreign goods, buying raw materials at low prices and strangling China's national industry. Today, China enjoys full tariff autonomy; she has established control over her foreign trade and created healthy conditions for the industrialisation of China.

Secondly, the elimination of the monopolies and exploitation of the whole national economy by bureaucratic capital allied to imperialism has enabled the various sections of China's economy to make reasonable adjustments and to develop systematically. During the 20 years that they held power, the "four big families" of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and the Chen brothers (Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu), concentrated in their hands a colossal sum of between 10 and 20 billion U.S. dollars, by means of which they put a stranglehold on the nation. After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the monopoly capital of the "four big families" was immediately confiscated and became the property of the New Democratic state. This measure uprooted the economic foundations of KMT rule, and changed this monopoly capital from a means of oppressing the people into a method of rendering them service.

Now, "all state-owned resources and enterprises are the public property of all the people and are the main material basis on which the People's Republic will develop production and bring about a prosperous economy." (Article 28, The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.)

Thirdly, by the land reform (already completed over a vast area) land taken from the landlord class has been distributed to the landless and poor peasants. This reform has fundamentally changed the feudal land ownership system into one of peasant ownership. The productive forces of the village have been released, the life of the peasantry improved, and their purchasing power has risen sharply. This release of productive forces is not only providing unlimited sources of capital for industrial development and an adequate supply of food and raw materials for the cities, but also opening up an extensive home market for industrial products. An important condition has thus been fulfilled for the development of industry and the national economy.

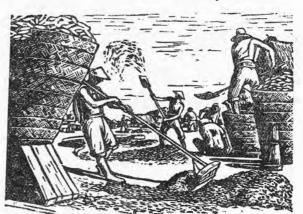
In place of the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy, an independent and free New Democratic economy has come into existence. The economy inherited by the Chinese people from the KMT was in a very bad state, but in the short space of one year, the Chinese People's Republic has already achieved remarkable results.

These achievements are first and foremost manifested in the unification of the national finance and economy, in the balancing of the national budget and in the stabilisation of finances and commodity prices. This put an end to currency inflation and speculation created by imperialism and KMT rule. A firm basis has been given to economy and trade, thus enabling public and private production and commerce to develop swiftly. This is an important achievement in the economic history of China.

The KMT could only survive by issuing large quantities of banknotes and borrowing foreign money. But today for the first time, China's finances and economy have been unified, and her national budget balanced. And, be it noted, the Chinese People's Government has been able to carry out these important reforms in a very short period, and obtain such results, in spite of the blockade by American imperialism.

A New Democratic Economy

In the period from 1937 to 1948, under the KMT, commodity prices increased 6 million times. However, since March 1950, the soaring of commodity prices throughout the past 12 years has been brought to a halt, and commodity prices throughout the country have been stabilised. This has guaranteed the development of the economic life of the people all over the land. It has also laid a solid foundation for the rehabilitation and development of industry and commerce. Capital is being invested in industry and commerce instead of being lost $i\mathbf{n}$ speculation. A sound beginning has been made throughout the entire country in the establishment of a New Democratic economic system and the reconstruction of the national economy.



Stacking the harvest

Woodcut by Tu Ke

The second achievement is the development of water conservancy for agriculture, flood control and drought and pest prevention. During the period of KMT rule, land accumulated in the hands of the big landlords. The peasants became impoverished. Large tracts of arable land lay waste. Livestock decreased. Water conservancy was for long neglected. Consequently, agricultural productivity greatly diminished. But today, the situation in the villages is completely changed. The peasants of China, who have already obtained land or are obtaining land, are working with unparalleled enthusiasm. Moreover, with the systematic help and direction of the Chinese People's Government, the peasants are being organised into various forms of mutual aid teams and co-operative production schemes, voluntarily and to their mutual benefit.

A campaign for improving agricultural technique is in full swing. The use of fertilisers has increased and measures for the improvement of agricultural

(Continued on page 34)

Patriotic Emulation Sweeps Industry

Liu Hsin-hua

On February 25, 1951, a team using pneumatic drills in the Huainan coal mines in East China cut 146 tons of coal in one shift, setting a new record for China.

On March 22, coal miners at Fengfeng in North China beat the Huainan record by cutting 254 tons.

On April 27, coal miners in Chiawang in East China surpassed the Fengfeng record by cutting 258 tons.

Coal records are soaring. Miners all over China are smashing records considered impressive only a few months ago and chalking up new records.

At the Tangshan Steel Works in Hopei Province, taking the highest daily output for 1950 as 100, on February 12, 1951, the workers' production reached 103.5. On the 18th of the same month the production record was raised to 125. On March 3, it reached 127; and on March 9, it was 156.

Records are being broken and new records constantly set in every industry—in mines, steel works, machine shops, engineering plants, flour and cotton mills, railway works, on construction sites and on farms . . . all over the country.

Workers in the Tsingtao Power Plant at the end of 1950 challenged the workers in all power plants in North China to see which plant could operate with the greatest safety. For their high record of safe operations in the first quarter of 1951, they were recently awarded a special banner of citation.

In Shanghai, in the No. 2 Textile Mill, workers created a new record for the highest cotton yarn output—1.2 lbs. per spindle per 20 hours.

In Canton, workers in a cement factory operated their plant for 136 days running without once having to stop for a major overhaul. The top record of its kind in the industry, this, too, boosts production.

Along the Chungking-Chengtu Railway now under construction, workers laid 4,080 metres of rails in one day, another record broken. . . .

By the end of April 2, more than 2,232,000 workers in 2,811 factories and mines had voluntarily joined in this tremendous patriotic emulation movement. Men and women workers, employees, technicians, administrative personnel, medical workers, cooks, and even the relatives of workers and employees participated.

It was Chao Kuo-yu, the well-known labour hero in the forefront of the nation's defence line in Northeast China, a lathe turner in a Mukden Engineering Works, who made the first challenge that opened this drive. When the American imperialist forces were pressing on the Yalu River, and the aggressors' planes invaded Northeast China again and again, bombing and strafing peaceful workers and peasants, Chao Kuo-yu expressed the anger of the whole nation in his October 25 appeal: "To protect our great Motherland, to strengthen our national defence, to crush the American imperialist

aggressors, I call on you, workers of Northeast China, to raise production. My co-workers and I in our shop will accept the challenge of any group!"

The famous labour hero Li Yung, driver of the "Mao Tse-tung Locomotive," on November 4 in Peking challenged railway workers all over China. "My team," he guaranteed, "will carry more loads, at a higher speed, with still greater punctuality and without accidents to keep supplies rolling to the Korean front."

The All-China Federation of Labour on November 6 in a statement to workers in all parts of the country called on them to fight against American imperialism and aid Korea by joining the nation-wide patriotic emulation drive. Railway workers, dockyard workers, coal miners, arsenal workers, textile workers . . . all pledged themselves to raise the quality of their work and increase production.

"Machines are our weapons, factories our battle-fields!" was their slogan.

Production spiralled upward. Targets for 1950 were met ahead of schedule. And in the first quarter of 1951 the majority of industries reached the 1936 pre-war level. The textile industry even surpassed the 1936 level. Targets set for 1951 in industry were higher than those for 1950. During the first quarter of 1951 coal production, among others, surpassed the target for the first quarter by 5.97 per cent.

Workers' Patriotism

How did China's emancipated workers accomplish such brilliant achievements? First and foremost, there is the workers' deep love for their Motherland and hatred for the American aggressors. This has stimulated them to fulfil their targets ahead of schedule and create new records, paying particular attention to such factors as reduction of waste or avoidance of accidents. Ever since the victory of the revolution the enthusiasm for labour of China's workers has been greatly heightened, for they are fully conscious that they are now working and building for the people—for themselves.

Antung workers in the Northeast provide an example of this new labour enthusiasm. In October, 1950, when power lines in Antung broke as a result of the American bombing, the workers in Antung improvised a network of automobile and steamboat generators, ingeniously keeping the supply of power flowing so that production was not forced to drop in a single factory.

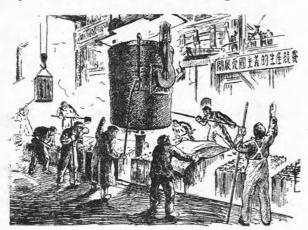
In last November, when enemy planes continued to bomb Antung, a worker named Shu Chen-fa kept mobilising repair teams day and night to repair electric poles and make other repairs to keep the electricity supply running smoothly in the city. He didn't sleep for four days and four nights. In the same month, when the walls of a telephone exchange collapsed as a result of the bombing, a girl operator, Wang Chin-ping, called all the other young women operators together, and said, "We must stay at our

posts." In the midst of this emergency the girls devised a new system for shortening the time required to put through calls.

Ma Heng-chang's Experiences

The second factor in achieving these successes is that teams in factories and mines throughout the land have improved their technical knowledge by utilising the advanced experiences of the model Ma Heng-chang team. Named after Ma Heng-chang, a model lathe turner and head of the team in a Mukden engineering plant, this team has steadily distinguished itself since 1949 by fulfilling its production targets ahead of schedule. The quality of their work is high, with practically no imperfects.

The Ma Heng-chang team has achieved its outstanding results by adopting a bold and creative approach to technique by real collective effort and by sharing the knowledge of each new improvement or device they created with all the other workers in the plant. Those who were more advanced taught those with less skill. Special attention, for example, was given to the young apprentices. Their high enthusiasm for labour was integrated with



Steel for New China!

Drawing by Wu Pi-tuan

their enthusiasm for technical improvement. They strove constantly to improve their tools and their labour organisation. In this way they fulfilled targets ahead of schedule. Their April target, to cite the most recent instance, was completed eight days before the end of the month. During the same month this team alone turned out 1,032 complicated machine parts without one imperfect. During the first quarter of this year they put forward 12 rationalisation proposals and created 33 new records. Because they systematised each new improvement às it was developed, their production soared steadily rather than in spurts. For example, when fulfilling an order for 20 identical parts, there was a most careful inspection by all the team's workers when the first machine part was completed. Any mistakes or possible improvements were discussed at this stage. Such a method of work is now part of their routine.

The Ma Heng-chang team challenged all workers in China on January 17, 1951. By April 5, the response to this challenge came from 5,522 teams in various factories and mines. These teams utilised

the experiences of the Ma Heng-chang team, which were widely publicised by the All-China Federation of Labour.

When the Liu Te-chen team at the Shihchingshan Power Plant near Peking, for example, learned that the Ma Heng-chang team made a practice of close co-operation with technicians, this repair team in turn called on the engineers in its plant to help them undertake what was for them a difficult task, the repair of a generator axle which was vibrating dangerously. With the suggestions the engineers gave them, they made the repairs successfully.

The Tu Lai-sun team in the Central China Steel Plant in Wuhan benefited by analysing Ma Hengchang's superior organisation of labour. They studied and improved their own labour organisation, thereby reducing the time required for finishing a steel wheel from three hours to 15 minutes.

Soviet Technique Aids

The assistance of advanced Soviet technique and experience was the third major factor enabling the workers to raise their productivity. High-speed cutting devices for lathe turners were introduced to factories in Northeast China at the beginning of the year, and later elsewhere in China. Many workers in the Northeast studied this method including six of the 30 workers from Ma Heng-chang's team. While ordinarily it took 2½ hours to turn out an axle measuring 64 centimetres, with Soviet methods it took only nine minutes.

Many teams, too, have applied the Kovalev system—studying the different methods of operation of many workers working in the same process—to their work. Workers specially skilled in one step of the process are selected for observation by both experts and workers who study and analyse each of the workers in action. From the group of workers under observation, they select those who excel in each of the various steps of the process, combining the best technique for each step to establish a single model for the whole process, thus setting a high standard for all the workers.

The Chu Hung-yi team in the Mukden Railway Works learned from the Kovalev system in this way. Three of the team members who worked on an electric drilling machine were compared in action. They discovered that one operated the machine 13 turns per minute quicker than the others. The second one's drill had a sharper point. The third opened and closed the machine more quickly. These three advantages were combined and, by adopting all three, the workers reduced the time required for a certain piece of work from 1½ hours to 40 minutes. (Under the Japanese occupation this particular step took four hours.)

Inspired by a lofty patriotic spirit, reaping the fruits of Ma Heng-chang's advanced experiences and progressing with the help of Soviet technique, China's workers are releasing and developing their great creative power. It is this power which fires the emulation drive throughout the country. Through it the workers are gradually changing the face of China's industry, transforming it into a mighty bulwark capable of bringing abundance to the people and defending the country against any threat.

The Growth of a New Outlook on Marriage

Ling Mei-li

"Chia han, chia han, Chuan yi-fu, chih fan."

So went the old rhyme. "Marry a man, marry a man, Clothes to wear and food to eat." Today this commodity morality, the evaluation of marriage in commercial terms and the subordination of the woman to the man is being replaced by an entirely new approach to marriage. The new concept of marriage, based on a healthy attitude to love and the principle of equality between men and women stressed in the new Marriage Law, looks upon the relationship between husband and wife as a full partnership.

The old attitude towards women and marriage was intricately interwoven with, and maintained by, the feudal social system. For thousands of years women suffered as a result of arbitrary and compulsory marriages, the buying and selling of wives, the ill-treatment of women-folk, child marriage and concubinage—all sanctioned by custom. Yet already, though the new Marriage Law of the People's Government has been in force only 13 months, a new morality is evolving. A more harmonious relationship is developing between men and women, a new type of family based on the recognition that women have an equal right with men to develop their knowledge and skills, an equal right to independence and freedom and full participation in the social life and manifold activities of the people's state.

In Linghsien County, Pingyuan Province, a group of young women studied the Marriage Law and put forward a set of "conditions" to their sweethearts. "We hope our partners agree," they declared, "to our entering spare-time schools, joining in winter study and participating in meetings and mutual aid groups." These "conditions" express the great progress achieved by women since liberation, land reform and the promulgation of the Marriage Law. It was only a few years ago that such women as these from Linghsien County were barred from every kind of activity except "domestic slavery."

Many similar examples could be cited. The women of Linghsien County have been given economic independence by the land reform, without which the Law by itself would not have been practical among the rural masses. This new economic independence, taken together with the over-all economic gains of the people, is the groundwork upon which the Marriage Law is based, and the foundation on which the New Democratic social relationship between men and women is being built.

The appearance of this new relationship is not confined to the countryside, of course. The independent position of women of the working class, based on their full equality of rights with men in wages, social status and the operation of the Labour Insurance Law, is creating new relations of comradeship between married couples in the towns.

In the factories, husbands and wives hold emulation drives to create new records. In Dairen a young married couple in a factory make a weekly review of their achievements when they study and criticise each other's work. In a dockyard in that city a young couple celebrated their engagement by undertaking to "fulfil our work ahead of schedule, study technique with our whole heart, increase the rate of production, save materials, and overcome shortcomings." These are only a few cases among the many thousands in every part of the country which are bringing about the creation of new relations between husband and wife and the appearance of a wholesome new type of family.

Marriages of Free Choice

The Law's unequivocal declaration that freedom of marriage means the free choice of one's partner has been taken up and used by young and forward-looking people to break away from the old, hampering traditional pattern of relationships. In all parts of China they are utilising it as a powerful weapon to fight for independent and happy marriages. Often today young couples pioneering the new ways with the full support of the Law and government have to show great determination against the wishes and orders of parents who have arranged other marriages for them.

The example of Hu Yu-mei, a 19-year old girl of Hsinan County, Hopei Province, shows the determination with which young people are fighting to secure their right to marry of their own free choice.

Hu Yu-mei, a member of the New Democratic Youth League, fell in love with another Youth League member, Wang Chan-kuei, whom she met in the course of her work. They decided to marry. Her father, however, was furious with her. "A daughter's marriage must be arranged by her father." No explanations by Yu-mei satisfied the old man. The girl slipped out of the house to seek the advice of a friend in the village. She decided to marry Wang Chan-kui despite her father's protests. When her father discovered that Yu-mei had gone, he ran after her.

By the time he found her, she and Wang Chankuei had already made all arrangements for their marriage and Yu-mei was walking down the village main street. The old man started to curse and tried to beat her. When a district government cadre heard the quarreling, he rushed out of his office and restrained the old man. Then and there he tried to explain the advantages of the new Marriage Law to him. His daughter, emboldened by the support, said, "This doesn't mean that I'm running after any old body. It's my right to marry whoever I want to, and I want to marry Wang Chan-kuei. I won't marry anyone else. No one can handle this for me except myself!"

Frustrated, the father strode away in indignation. Yu-mei was married that very evening.

The couple were very happy and the girl came to be well-liked by her husband's family, who particularly admired her diligence and industriousness. For many of the villagers this marriage was proof of the superiority of marriage based on freedom of choice. In many similar instances, though not always, such marriages have not only served as living proof to others but have by their success and obvious happiness mollified the parents' feeling of outrage and eventually won them over.

New happy marriages based on freedom of choice are now taking place in increasing numbers all over China. In eastern Shantung, for example, where such marriages were almost unknown before liberation, over 3,000 couples registered their "free choice marriages" with the people's government during the last three months of 1950. In Hsiaohsing Village in Tinghsien County, Hopei Province, 15 couples were married on the basis of freedom of choice within the first few months of the Law's promulgation, with the assistance of the local government, women's organisations and the New Democratic Youth League.

Aids Victims of Feudal Marriages

The Marriage Law has brought relief and a chance of new marital happiness to those for whom there was no release in the past—the victims of arranged and forced marriages. The example of Wang Yu-hsia of Lingshan District, Shensi Province, is typical.

Wang Yu-hsia was betrothed by her parents when she was only 14. She didn't want to marry the man selected for her. Despite her many protests and tears, she was forced to marry him when she was 19 years old. Her husband treated her like a bought animal and was indifferent to her feelings. Her parents-in-law never bothered with her except to scold and beat her. She became sick as a result of the strain.

"How will all this end?" she thought to herself many times in desperation. Under the old regime suicide or natural death would have been the "normal" way of release. When the Marriage Law was promulgated on May 1, 1950 and its terms propagandised in her village, she realised that women were now free to marry and free to divorce with a just cause. She went to the government and applied for a divorce. The case was investigated carefully, and the divorce granted.

A year later Wang Yu-hsia, still a young woman in her late twenties, fell in love with a peasant in the same village, and they were married. Since then she has taken up work with an energy no one in the village had suspected she had. She helps her husband plough and sow. Out of the profits of her own side-occupations she has purchased two pigs and more than 20 chickens. She has never been ill or idle for a single day since her divorce.

Women thus oppressed by the old marriage system are among the foremost fighters for the new Marriage Law. This is shown by the fact that since the promulgation of the Law, divorce cases have been the largest proportion of all marriage disputes brought to the courts. The great majority of the applicants for divorce are women who were forced into marriage or who were the unhappy victims of arranged marriages. In Chungking and South Szechuan, one of the latest areas to be liberated, for example, the people's courts have already helped over 7,000 women to dissolve unhappy and forced marriages.

Because the people's courts have taken a resolute yet careful attitude and have found reasonable and correct solutions to many such cases, they have won the support of the people, and especially the support of the women freed by divorce. Divorce was unheard of in the countryside before liberation. A woman might be beaten, tortured or neglected, but the remedy of divorce was then impossible.

Another typical case of emancipation from the dead hand of the past took place in a certain village of Yunhsien County in Fukien Province. Wang Wulan, a widow, wanted to remarry. This, however, was bitterly opposed by the old men of the village who objected that for a widow to remarry was indecent and an affront to society. The local people's government called a mass meeting, and explained that the remarriage of widows was legal. The objections of the old men based on their backward ideology were set out and discussed by the whole village. This not only overcame the objections to the widow's remarriage but was an education for all the villagers.

New Type of Family Emerges

The Marriage Law has brought advantages not only to women, as some have protested half in jest and half in earnest. Based on the best interests of men and of women and of the family, it affords special protection to women only because of the terrible oppression they suffered in the past. This emphasis on women's rights has fully justified itself.



In Chungking, for example, investigations show that since the Marriage Law was studied by the workers in the No. 21 and 31 Factories, the majority of husbands no

longer interfere unreasonably with their wives' activities. Where the Law is properly publicised, mutual help in the family has replaced old antagonisms and family bickering has been replaced by harmony.

Let Liu Hui-chung, a peasant from a Honan village, express a husband's opinion on the new concept towards marriage.

"Once all marriages were arranged and ordered by the parents. No one could look for his own wife or husband. Take me for example. Before the land reform, I'd worked as a hired hand for 15 years. Nobody would introduce me to a wife, even though I was past 30. Of course I was very poor and had scarcely enough to eat myself. When I asked a gobetween for an introduction, her first question would be, 'Do you have land and a house?'

"Now I've found myself a good wife without any middleman's help. We compete in mutual aid teams. Our marriage has been so happy that my wife's sister decided that she, too, would have a marriage of her own choice.

"The old lady, my wife's mother, was against our marriage at first. She couldn't grasp the idea (Continued on Page 29)

Howard Fast Writes to a Friend in China

Dear friend:

... How it would cheer your friends in China if they could see, as I have seen, the literally thousands of committees and voices for peace forming everywhere in America. It is much as if all the decency and good heart of the American people has broken through this hellish wall of deceit and lies woven around them and voiced itself in the single sentence, "Bring our boys back from Korea, and give us peace."

While I do not over-exaggerate this, I must immediately add that this peace movement is still not organised, not even led by progressives except a small part of it. It is a spontaneous outburst, the voice of a people. But what a heart-breaking thing it is to see how little our people know politically of the world. I tell you that the merest Chinese peasant, under the present regime, knows more of world events and world issues than the average American intellectual. But here, too, the people want only to be let alone, to live their life in peace.

We are a country of enormous contradictions, of great wealth and power and, in some respects, awesome ignorance. What the future holds in this situation I can't possibly say. I do know that those of us who are in the organised centre of the struggle are more hopeful now than we have been in many months. Of course we have some very strong allies. As one progressive put it the other night, "It is a comfortable feeling to have 475 million Chinese on our side."

... I find that there is much left to be cheerful in heart about not only in your land but here in ours. We have not yet surrendered America to the fascists and I think it would be a mistake if the Chinese people were to do so. We have always here in America admired and taken comfort out of the faith which Chinese leaders have shown in the masses of the American people, the American working class and the Negro people here. Believe me, what is happening in America today should re-enforce this faith.

December 22, 1950



Dear friend:

... I cannot tell you sufficiently how quickly things move here and how each day an action is taken by the Truman government which would be unthinkable only the day before. We ourselves, who should have known better, did not believe that the Truman government could possibly go ahead with their execution of the seven innocent Negroes of Martinsville, Virginia. When it happened—and we fought against it with all our strength—we began to understand what it means to have innocent men put to death as hostages for others. There is no question in our minds any more but that these Martinsville Negroes were deliberately silenced as a warning to all and any Americans, Negro and white, who dared to talk up for peace.

And now they have indicted that great old man, Dr. DuBois, as an agent of a foreign country. Can you imagine, is it possible to believe that this could happen? Here is Dr. DuBois who is 83 years old and who was head of the Peace Information Centre in America. His reward for being perhaps the outstanding American in the fight for peace, and for his great life-time service to all people, is an indictment—the punishment for which is five years in prison, which is tantamount to a sentence of death. You see, it was inevitable that this bestial business in Korea would find its reflection at home. And that is coming about. I know that we should not be surprised, and yet we are.

I want to tell you though that there are millions of good people in this land. Every force in America concentrates on drowning out the plea of the American people for peace. Yet the voice of peace cannot be silenced. Millions of Americans see the truth of this ghastly Korean adventure, and call for peace. Those of us who are fighting for the preservation of our country from those insane and evil men who are driving it down the road to destruction, are by no means disheartened. We feel that more and more Americans will speak out. In any case we are not giving up the struggle. And one can have a unique pride in the role of our people here as that role develops. I don't think we will do worse than our comrades in other lands, but I do think of course that a great deal of hardship and suffering still lies ahead of us. . . .

February 16, 1951

Howard Fast

LAND REFORM IN HUNAN PROVINCE

The peasants of Hunan Province, comprising 90 per cent of the population, owned less than 30 per cent of the land. The rest was owned by rich peasants and feudal landlords who, backed by the KMT reactionaries, ruthlessly exploited the peasants and took from 50 to 90 per cent of their harvests in rent.

Starting last autumn the land reform in Hunan, by April, 1951, had been completed in an area inhabited by 14,600,000 people or a quarter of the province's population.

The accompanying photographs were mostly taken in Yuehyang, North Hunan, and Langli, near Changsha. They show dramatically how the rural tyrants are overthrown, the feudal land system ended and a new era starts in the liberated countryside.



Peasants at an Accusation Meeting expose the landlords' crimes.



Two landlords who tried to sabotage the Reform are arrested by the People's Militia.



The charges against a landlord are investigated at a preliminary hearing by the District Government.

The People's Tribunal holds a public trial. Local peasants form half the jury.



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAN



The peasants rejoice as the old feudal title-deeds are

The peasants themselves determine the class status of each inhabitant.



The final decisions on class status are posted up.



Women militia members preserve order during la



D REFORM



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who help d reform.

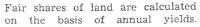
Landlords' tools and animals are inventoried before distribution.



The emancipated peasants celebrate their victory with a folk drama.



Convicted landlords reform themselves by honest toil.





Mutual aid teams re-enforce neglected river embankments to protect their land against flood.

To irrigate their land, peasants volunteer enthusiastically to repair a reservoir.

AFTER THE LAND REFORM



Members of the Women's Small Group hear a lecture on U.S. aggression in Korea.

No longer exploiting others, this landlord's family earns its living by its own labour for the first time.



A peasant newspaper-reading group discusses current events.



How the Tillers Win Back Their Land—IV

Extracting the Poisonous Shaft

Hsiao Ch'ien

When he saw that the organisation of farmhands and poor peasants had thus got underway, Chu Yao-hsien, whom a preliminary investigation revealed to be a rich peasant, grew bitter. He would say with a wry smile, "Wasn't I the one who had to go up to town to see to the autumn taxation business? Those illiterate bumpkins, what do they know besides pounding mud-cakes?" The insinuation was perfectly land reform could not succeed without him. When this reached the ears of the farmhands and poor peasants, they were naturally indignant.

Tu Yu-chen, who was working as a wet-nurse in the Chu family, said, "He saw to the autumn taxation, did he? He was a representative, but he cheated by not reporting the five tou of land he had on the river bank and paid three or four piculs less grain tax than he should. He certainly has got nerve, still swaggering about the way he does!"

With the memory still fresh in their minds of how Chu Yao-hsien used to harp on "supporting the People's Government," the whole group got furious. Some said he should be arrested at once.

"Don't let us forget that Peng Erh-hu, and not he, is the man we want," Lu Yang pointed out. "Chu Yao-hsien is sore simply because he wants to find an outlet for his own petty jealousies. If he should actually do anything to undermine our land reform, like spreading rumours or dispersing properties, then we would certainly arrest-him."

Two problems were taken up in the Small Group that evening: the organisation of a people's militia and closer unity with the middle peasants to enlarge the ranks for struggling against the landlords.

Around 30 people had registered to join the people's militia during the last few days. Those who were under 18 or over 30 had to be turned down. According to re-

This is the fourth instalment of a seven-part reportage-novelette dealing with the agrarian reform in Hunan Province. The third instalment described the awakening of the peasants and the formation of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants. The fifth instalment will be devoted mainly to showing how the peasants discuss and determine the class status of the various peasants and landlords.

The illustrations are by Chiang Chao-ho.

gulations, people between 30 and 60 are only allowed to join the militia after the completion of land reform. This is because during land reform a militia man has quite a strenuous job, requiring physical strength and endurance.

Following the establishment of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants, a number of middle peasants, who had shown courage in unmasking the landlords' schemes, had also been drawn into the struggle. At first this had given rise to some misunderstanding on the part of a few poor peasants who feared the drawing in of new members would mean cutting down their future share of land.

Lu Yang, however, made it clear to them that land distribution is not the sole aim of land reform, and that political emancipation, with the complete overthrow of the landlord class, is equally important for the peasants. To achieve this, farmhands and poor peasants must join hands with the middle peasants and work at it together, with the former as the backbone.

But in this united front, a rich peasant like Chu Yao-hsien still could not be allowed a foothold in the Peasants' Association. The sight of more and more middle peasants joining the Association

while he himself was excluded further tormented him. He began to act queerly.

For instance, in ordering his wife to prepare something good for him to eat, he said:

"In times like these, it would be downright foolish not to eat all that one can get hold of. After all, who knows when the Third World War might be here and the atom bombs dropped!"

Little did he know that someone quite nearby had already made giant strides in her political awakening. Tu Yu-chen was breastfeeding the baby when her ears caught that remark and she spoke up with some vehemence, "It's wrong to say things like that!"

"How do you mean, wrong?" Chu Yao-hsien really didn't know what the world was coming to. Imagine Tu Yu-chen using that tone to him.

"Because you're making up rumours!" Yu-chen pointed out sternly.

The way Chu Yao-hsien reasoned out the matter was like this: You, Tu Yu-chen, are paid and fed by me and you dare to accuse me of rumour-manufacturing. All right, out you go!

Buttoning up her jacket, Yuchen left without a word. She knew whom she wanted to find: Hsin-wu and Lu Yang.

The next morning, Fu-chuan and the Secretary of the hsiang Peasants' Association went up to town together. They had an official letter with them made out by the Huilung hsiang government and addressed to the Bureau of Public Security in town, introducing them and explaining what their mission in town was. There was another letter, a letter of accusation, signed by the hsiang Peasants' Association, in which landlord Peng Erh-hu's crimes were enumerated. It closed with this sentence, "We peasants want to appeal to the Bureau of Public Security to see that justice is car-

Soon after Fuchuan and his companion left, Hsin-wu, together with two militia members, set out to arrest Chu Yao-hsien and escort him to the District Government. Returning in the afternoon around two o'clock, Hsin-wu made the following report to the hsiang chairman. "I told the District Officer of Chu Yao-hsien's suspicious conduct, how he spread rumours about

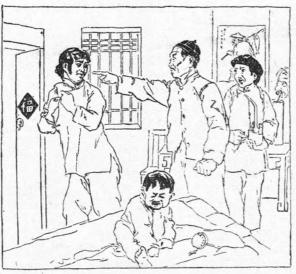
land reform and disturbed us peasants. 'Please keep an eye on him for us,' I said, 'and don't let anyone bail him out without our consent.'"

Chu Yao-hsien's wife got really frantic. Finally she got eight "high-class gentlefolk" of the village to write out a petition for her. The letter was duly written, but someone would have to deliver it in person to the District Government. This unpleasant duty all the guarantors declined to perform. In the end it was the fiftyish Lo Chaojen who volunteered his service.

Well, he went and came back, and Chu Yao-hsien was still not with him. Sadly shaking his head, he said to Chu Yao-hsien's wife, "Ta Sao (big sister-in-law), a guarantor has to have certain qualifications. You'd better strike my name off from the list. I don't have those qualifications. I used to lend out bits of money from time to time and the interest rate was apparently a little too high. I don't know yet what the peasants will do to me!"

At this, the other seven naturally withdrew their support too.

It was not till then that Chu Yao-hsien's wife thought of the head of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants, Peng Hsin-wu, who actually escorted her husband to the District Government after his arrest. She went to his home and upon entering, immediately went down on her knees in front of the man who used to work for her as an odd-



Yu-chen left without a word.

jobber before liberation. Hsin-wu helped her to her feet and said, "You'll have to speak to Tu Yuchen about this."

That evening the problem of Chu Yao-hsien was thoroughly gone into in the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants. They discussed how and under what conditions they would bail him out. The final consensus of opinion was: one, upon his return Chu Yao-hsien must publicly admit his mistakes in a mass meeting; two, he must undertake to guarantee never to spread rumours again or undermine in any manner the carrying out of land reform; and three, he must turn in the crop payment he cheated the government out of during the period of autumn taxation. Yu-chen was the one who put forward these three ideas, and the others all agreed.

Three days later Chu Yao-hsien was let out of jail. Three days had already brought him down quite a bit. At a public meeting held that evening, the now subdued Chu who had little resemblance to the "scholar" of old made his apologies before the peasants. He promised never to spread rumours again or to do anything detrimental to land reform. cheating the government for during the autumn taxation, he said that this was true and that he would go to the hsiang government immediately after the meeting to make a clean breast of things and to hand over the amount he owed.

Peng Kuo-chang, a teacher at the primary school in Big House Lo, was holding a class when he heard someone yell inside the homestead, "Peng Erh-hu is caught!" Throwing down the textbook, he rushed out of the room and hurried after the peasant who had been shouting the news.

"Is it really true?" he asked.

"Every single word of it," said the peasant with pardonable pride. "I saw it with my own eyes in Shihma hsiang. He was all tied up with ropes, and Fu-chuan, who was following behind, had on a grin which practically stretched from ear to ear."

When Peng Erh-hu was brought back to the District Government, the Second Divisional Tribunal of the People's Tribunal immediately decided to have an open hearing in the Huilung hsiang government office. District Government Chairman Shao Tsu-chang was to act as judge, and eight peasants were invited to make up part of the jury. Among them were Yueh-lien, Fuchuan and one Li Chen-nan, who had worked as a farmhand for Peng Yin-ting.

By then the Huilung hsiang militia could already boast of possessing weapons of a rudimentary kind—namely, spears. True, they were primitive weapons, but in the hands of grimly determined peasants, their gleaming points could still send a shiver down the spines of landlords. Behind the militia were crowds of peasants from the village.

Confronted with this awesome display of the power of the people, the three landlords resorted to all kinds of crafty evasions. It was too bad that right there sitting among the jury were farmhands who had toiled for them and maid-servants who had heated their opium and emptied their chamber pots. They simply had to plead guilty to some of the charges.

For instance, Peng Yin-ting admitted that he had collected together 80 sacks of copper coins for the Japs, for how could he deny it with Li Chen-nan as a witness to everything? Didn't Li Chennan have to transport some of the coins in a hand-cart himself and get tenants to help him ship off the rest? Another more heinous crime was also laid at his door—that of abetting the Japs in cap-

turing two young guerrilla fighters. He was present when soldiers of the "Japanese Imperial Army" hacked off their heads on the open ground in front of the ancestral temple. Later, at the order of his Japanese maters, he had their heads tied to bamboo poles and planted on the dyke near the Seven Star Slope for exhibition until they rotted. Finally, Peng Yin-ting had to confess to yet another charge. He admitted that a remnant organisation of the "Circle" had its headquarters in his house. But "the members had disbanded long ago." At first he denied that he had any small arms, but two ex-Circle members, a carpenter and a builder, who had helped him construct a secret double wall, testified and gave the whole thing away. Two six-shooters, one revolver, 500 cartridges and one huge trunk of jewellery and valuables were found in the hiding place.

Now for Lo Pei-jung. He admitted that prior to liberation he had treated peasants in the village somewhat roughly since he thought, with his son-in-law serving in the KMT army as a battalion commander, he had nothing to fear. Shortly before the arrival of the Land Reform Work Team, he had twice visited the Peng brothers. According to him. Peng Erh-hu had made repeated attempts to contact that KMT battalion commander through him. He did ask someone to pass the word but nothing ever came of it as later on his son-in-law was reported to have been arrested in Canton. As for rumours, he confessed he might have spread around a few, but not intentional-

Peng Erh-hu at first would not plead guilty to any of the charges. Crossing his arms over his breast, he said defiantly, "I've been told the People's Government is reasonable and would never browbeat people. Now let us see!" The fake deed of transaction which Fu-chuan produced momentarily threw him off-balance. To make it worse, a search of his person revealed that he had on him a written statement with Fuchuan's thumbprints on it saying that the land was to revert back to its original owner in case Chiang Kai-shek should come back.

Peng Erh-hu was tongue-tied. Before he had a chance to recover his composure, accusations from different quarters began to pile up.

One accused him of embezzling public money for dyke repairing when he was Village Elder, Grandma causing yearly floods. Li's shrill voice was also heard. "My Teh-ming! Give me back my The school teacher Peng Kuo-chang said, with a catch in his voice, "Peng Erh-hu, how did my father die at your hands? My aunt didn't tell me until after liberation that you were responsible for his death, but I still don't know the details. Tell me!"

Of the three criminal landlords held in temporary custody in the temple, two had blood on their hands. Peng Yin-ting was guilty of collaborating with foreign imperialism and causing the deaths of patriotic youths, and hiding weapons during land reform, with the intent of carrying out subversive activities. Peng Erh-hu had killed revolutionary cadres during the Great Revolution of 1927. After the victory over Japan, he had committed many corrupt and fraudulent acts besides helping the KMT by levying taxes pressganging able-bodied men. He too, hid weapons during land reform and spread rumours to undermine the land reform's success.

Lo Pei-jung was not much better, though no death could be traced to him. A tyrant landlord, he had consistently adopted a high-handed attitude towards peasants and by spreading rumours had also tried to sabotage land reform.

The confessions of the three prisoners and recommendations of the Divisional Tribunal were passed on to the County People's Tribunal over the telephone. In the evening came the telephoned reply: "Regarding Lo Pei-jung's tyrannical deeds before liberation, the peasants should certainly take them up when they settle accounts with him. But since he also went in for rumourmongering during land reform, he should be duly punished. The fiveyear sentence which the District Government recommended is too light for such a misdeed. To give other landlords an appropriate warning, it should be changed to a longer term, the actual length depending on the masses' accusations. With regard to the Peng brothers, this Tribunal thinks the death sentences suggested by the Divisional Tribunal are just. However, a meeting for public judgement should be held before their execution, to make sure that all peasants have poured out their grievances. Then execute them on the spot in the presence of the masses, so that the peasants can shake off the last trace of dread they have for the landlords and other landlords may thereby receive a timely warning."

* * *

December 17th. The sky was overcast. On the Huilung hsiang fieldpaths one could see here and there red flags fluttering against a grey backdrop. Peasants, men and women, beating gongs and drums, once more poured into the open meeting place in front of the ancestral temple. Again a platform was made on the terrace, in front of which were placed two square tables. A horizontal tablet was hung on the spiked railing outside the temple with the characters: "Second Divisional Tribunal of the County People's Tribunal: Meeting for Public Trial" written across it.

At around ten, the Judge together with 16 members of the jury walked to the platform amidst prolonged, enthusiastic applause from the masses. Following them came two cadres to keep a record of the trial. The meeting opened with the singing of the national anthem, with the students of the primary school at the Seven Star Slope in the lead. Then everybody took off their hats and bowed to the national flag and to the portrait of Chairman Mao.

"Today," announced the Judge, who rose to his feet, "we are going to pass judgement on three criminal landlords from Huilung hsiang."

At this the three prisoners, handcuffed, clambered up onto the two square tables in front of the platform, under the close surveillance of a squad of militia and six guards from the District Government. The guards were armed with rifles or six-shooters with floating silk tassels. Peng Yin-ting was trembling all over, his head bent low. Lo Pei-jung made a deep bow to the audience when he got up. His face was as pale as the mackerel sky. Peng Erh-hu's mouth was clamped shut, and with cruel bulging eyes he scanned the jostling masses below, expressionless.

"We've caught these rogues," continued the Judge. "They couldn't escape if they had wings on them, so you don't need to be afraid of them any more. Now is the time for everyone to pour out the grievance he has kept in his heart for years—murder, swindle, rape, ill-treatment, everything. The final verdict of this tribunal on the prisoners will be based on your evidence and your opinions."

The first to reach the platform was a woman in her early fifties.

"My name is Peng Shu-min," she said, fingering the red insignia pinned on her breast. One of the first Huilung hsiang women to join the Peasants' Association, she was also the chairman of the women's group in this hsiang.

"I am Peng Kuo-chang's aunt, and I am accusing Peng Erh-hu on behalf of my third brother, Peng Chiang, Peng Kuo-chang's father. In the 16th year of the Republic,* my third brother was Vice-Chairman of the local Peasants' Association. At the return of the reactionaries, he took me and his wife, and their 3-year-old son Kuo-chang to the hills, where he became a member of the Red Army. My old father was thus left alone at home.

"Peng Erh-hu had a group of soldiers from the 'Countryside Liquidation Corps' quartered in our house. They ate up everything they could find and burnt and destroyed. What's more, they dragged my father, who was then in his eighties, to the temple where they strung him up, beat him, and trampled on his back, in order to get him to hand over a list of the members of the Peasants' Association. My father's spine was broken (here she lost control and slapped Peng Erh-hu's face hard) but he died without giving them the list.

"In the 12th month of that year, my brother thought he'd come back in disguise and look my father up for the lunar New Year. Before he had a chance to set foot inside the homestead, Peng Erh-hu caught him. He was stabbed several times and left to die. After he died, we still didn't dare collect his body; so finally, we had to ask some country people to stuff it inside a

sack and take it to the foot of the hill to be buried. I had a glimpse of him before they lowered him into the grave. His ten fingers were covered with bruises from the bamboo pricks they forced between the flesh and finger nails and all his upper and lower teeth had been knocked out..."

By then she had worked herself up to a point where she could not continue. She reached down to strike Peng Erh-hu again. Tears of sympathy trickled down the cheeks of the militia members standing nearby.

With raised fists, the audience below shouted in one voice, "Down with reactionary landlords!" "We demand that Peng Erh-hu be shot!"

Standing there as though rooted to the ground, Peng Shu-min tried to go on, but couldn't, because there seemed to be a lump in her throat. Finally she managed to get these words out:

"Killing one of the chickens we have around the house would practically scare me to death ordinarily. But now I feel I could kill this Peng Erh-hu with my bare hands!"

A young peasant was the next to appear on the platform. Bowing to the audience, he began:

"My name is Tien Yi-che, and I came from Tienchialung in Shih-chiao Village. In 1939 when the KMT said they would co-operate with the Communists, the New Fourth Army marched up north to fight the Japanese, leaving behind a People's Livelihood Team, with my father, Tien Chih-cheng as its captain. The Team was to mobilise the peasants into guerrilla units to fight the Japs.

"Seeing the people organised and armed, Peng Yin-ting began to feel nervous about the security of his own position as Village Elder, so he sent for a whole regiment of Yang Sen's (a KMT general's) men and made a raid on the Team's headquarters on the night of March 23, taking seven comrades away. Later on they got on the track of my father, the captain, and to this day I've never heard from him.

"The arrival of the Japs made no difference to Peng Yin-ting's position. He still continued as Village Elder, and not for one instant had he taken his eyes off our family. Without even bothering to give a pretext, he took our ox away from

us. It finally got so that we had to take other names and live away from home. We didn't dare come back until after liberation. Nothing short of death is good enough for this traitor, Peng Yin-ting!"

Paper flags crackled and the square was a forest of upraised fists. The crowd yelled, "Down with this traitor-landlord!" "Wipe out reactionary power!" "A life for a life!"

Mass sentiment continued to run high when Fu-chuan and Grandma Li unburdened themselves of their grievances.

They were followed by a young peasant, Lo Yung-nien. With a deep bow he introduced himself and began: "I'm landlord Lo Peijung's nephew. Sometime before the Land Reform Work Team came here, Lo Pei-jung once gave me some of his title deeds to be taken to a photographer's shop at the Seven Star Slope to be photographed. 'So that I'll have some evidence on hand once the real deeds are burnt,' he said. Also he hid two of his trunks in the attic of my house. The way I looked at it in the past-well, he's my uncle, isn't he? I hadn't the guts to refuse him. Now I realise that he's a landlord, and I'm a poor peasant. He has fish and meat by the mouthful, and rotten potato is all my family ever tasted. I was a fool. I can't face Chairman Mao if I don't deliver at once to the hsiang government the two trunks he asked me to keep for him!"

The masses again shouted in unison. "Down with criminal landlords who hide and disperse their properties!" "Long live the unity of the peasants!"

It had started raining. But the tense atmosphere did not in any way lessen. A woman tearfully told of how Peng Erh-hu had raped her 14-year old daughter. The accusations were practically drowned in the shouts from the masses. Hoarse voices were heard, shaking the half-moist fields:

"Shoot Peng Erh-hu!"

"Shoot Peng Yin-ting!"

"Punish the criminal landlord, Lo Pei-jung!"

"We won't go home until the Peng brothers are shot!"

By four o'clock over 20 peasants

^{*}The Manchu Regime was overthrown and the Republic began in 1911. Therefore, the 16th year is 1927.

had poured out their grievances from the platform. Mass sentiment had surged to boiling point. Over and above there was a curious hush of expectancy. Not one person left or took shelter in spite of the terrific downpour.

After retiring to the inside of the temple to deliberate over the cases, the Judge and the jury came back and took their seats amidst thunderous applause.

The pale features of the three prisoners standing on the tables suddenly became hard and drawn. Leaning a little to one side, they pricked up their ears to listen to the Judge pronounce the final verdict.

"Peasant Comrades!" The Judge's voice was grave. "We have just heard some of the accusations made by local peasants. From these accusations, it ought to be clear to everyone how the landlord class has always worked hand in glove with the enemy of the peasantswhether it was Japanese imperialism or the KMT-to oppress the peasants themselves. The same motive has prompted them to act as fawning lackeys to American imperialism, since American imperialism is directly opposite to the people's interests too.

"Our verdicts on the three criminal landlords are as follows: Lo Pei-jung, age 40, native of Hsinlu Village, is charged with rumour-mongering and dispersing of properties. Now these are crimes that the people won't tolerate. Not only has Lo Pei-jung dispersed his belongings, but he had made photostat copies of his title deeds, which shows that he is still pinning his hope on the KMT reactionaries. After careful consideration, the jury decided on a unanimous sentence of seven years. Do you all agree?"

There was a great burst of joyous applause and Lo Pei-jung was led away by militia members to be placed in temporary custody inside the temple.

"Peng Yin-ting, age 49, native of Hsinlu Village, has caused the deaths of patriotic youths during the Resistance War. After liberation, he organised superstitious societies and spread rumours to delude the public. Also he has hidden firearms with the intent to plan for an uprising. The sentence for him is—death. Do you all agree?"

The sound of applause that came from below the platform was practically deafening.

"Peng Erh-hu, alias Peng Tienpao, age 47, native of Hsinlu Village, was a captain of an anti-Communist guerrilla team and of the Countryside Liquidation Corps during the Great Revolution of 1927, in which capacities he had several times broken up peasant organisations and caused peasant leaders to be arrested or killed. After the defeat of Japan, he succeeded his brother as the bogus Village Elder and spared no efforts in pressganging men and extorting 'contributions' for the KMT reactionaries, with a view to furthering the war against the people. In addition to these, he has been charged with misappropriating dyke funds, with disastrous results to the welfare of the peasants. For him also the death penalty. Do you all agree?"

The applause that greeted this pronouncement was even more enthusiastic. The militia held their spears way up to express whole-hearted support, and voices had almost become strained with the shouting of slogans:

"Abolish the wicked landlord class!"

"Long live the People's Government that sides with the peasants in their struggle!"

Peng Yin-ting and Peng Erh-hu were then led off the platform by the militia and the guards. The latter were to see to the actual execution. The masses opened up to let them pass through. In spite of

the guards, Peng Erh-hu, however, still received a number of glancing blows on his back from bystanders who stood sufficiently close.

With one arm sheltering his tear-stained face, Peng Yin - ting was hurried along. Intermittent sobs kept issuing from his gaping mouth. Peng Erh - hu's face had taken on an ashen pallor, and his bulging eyes were fixed and full.

When Grandma Li, with her bony fist clenched, edged her way through the crowd and struck him on the shoulder, he turned around once more, like a cornered animal, and bared his teeth at her. The guards quickly formed a cordon around the prisoners when more blows were about to shower from all directions.

It was now raining harder. Once outside the temple ground, there were not even many trees to take sheater under. But men and women in an uninterrupted stream followed closely behind, almost as though they wanted to make sure that not one prisoner would escape.

The prisoners were escorted to the graveyard south of the temple. From the back of the graveyard came the sound of eight or nine shots.

The sound shrilly pierced through the thick, moist atmosphere enveloping Huilung *hsiang*. Sighs of relief were heaved as justice was meted out to the convicted.

"Down with the reactionary land-lords!"

"Long live the emancipation of the peasants!"

"Long live the Communist Party!"
"Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung!"

The masses, for the first time, freed from their dread and restraints, let out these slogans with a voice stronger than ever. The poisonous shaft that was thrusted in their bosom was at last extracted, and mingled with the pain was the freedom they had never tasted before.



Grandma Li struck him with her bony fist.

An Evening with the Police

Chu Yu

The courtyard of the district police station in Peking's west city was filling rapidly with local residents. The station chief, Ma Chen, and the policemen attached to the station were ushering them to seats in the rows of wooden benches.

A simple temporary platform, three feet high, had been put up in front of the low single-stored main building, the station chief's office. Four incandescent lamps lit up the curtained platform which held a table and a programme stand announcing the entertainment—a play, a yangko dance with a singing accompaniment and selections from Chinese opera.

Ma Chen, the chairman of the meeting, thanked people for coming. "This meeting," he said, "is the first of its kind held in the district. A meeting between the residents and the policemen. Who would ever have thought of such a meeting in the KMT days?" he continued. "Then our masters were the enemies of the people, and we policemen also were the enemies of the people.

"Since those days we've changed. Through criticism and self-criticism we've corrected mistakes in our old attitude to the people and in many cases developed into new people. We have a policemen's training college, which was started in 1949 by the Municipal Public Security Bureau. There the city's policemen are trained in turn for half a year. In our station two-thirds of the policemen have graduated from this college already. Two more are studying there now.

"Education at the training college helps us realise that it is the masses and not the old ruling class who are the masters of society today. It is the people's interests that we must serve. Once this realisation sinks in, each of us makes a survey of his own past and clears the way for remoulding our old ideas.

"But, of course," the station chief went on to say, "our education isn't completed in six months. It's a long-term matter. We study one hour each day right here in the station, discuss political and current affairs, and review and criticise each other's methods of working. In this way we are trying to further improve ourselves."

Wang Shu-mei, a power plant worker, went to the platform. "This is the second time I've been here," he said with a smile, "and my first visit as a guest. And why was I here before? Because I was once overheard saying that I wished the American GI's would clear out of China. For this 'crime' I was detained for 36 hours for offending 'our American friends.'

"Before liberation I always thought of the police station as a hellish place to be avoided at all costs," continued Wang. "But after liberation the police were transformed, and my views on them changed too."

"Aunt" Kuan, as she was known in the neighbourhood, spoke next. "It was from this very same police station that I was driven away like a dog three years ago." She explained that she was the mother of a pedlar who had been snatched off the street one day by a KMT army pressgang. She had come to the station for help. She wanted to know her son's whereabouts.

"This is not our business," said the policeman in a cold voice.

"Then what is your business?"
"Aunt" Kuan had asked angrily.

"Eat, drink and be merry till we've had enough," shouted the man. "Then hunt up poor devils like you, or give you a taste of the club and cage. That's our business. Are you still going to meddle with us, you old tramp? Get out!" Pushed out of the office, "Aunt" Kuan had the door slammed hard at her back.

"Now I'm invited to the same place three years later to see a

performance given by the policemen for us residents. What a difference! The police are with us instead of against us these days."

Friendly Attitude

The last to speak was Old Chao, a pedicab driver. "Policemen in the old days were huo yen wang (Live Devils of Hell)," he said. Everyone laughed but there were cries of "True! True!" from other pedicab drivers in the audience.

"Nine times out of ten, the sight of a policeman meant trouble for poor people like us. They'd seize your cushion from the pedicab for no reason, and without a cushion, you couldn't get passengers. New cushions cost too much to replace.

"One day I parked my cab beside a sign which forbade parking right there, but not knowing how to read any characters, how was I to know? The policeman snatched my cushion and when I went up to ask him what it was all about, he didn't say a word but slapped me hard on the face.

"I had to get down on my hands and knees and beg him to give me back the cushion, for there was nothing to eat at home. He threw the cushion into the muddy drain by the kerb. It took me two days to clean it!

"But now, it's different. Any pedicab driver will tell you how friendly and kind the police are now. When you break a traffic rule, they take time to explain what you've done and why you shouldn't do it. That's how they're reducing accidents, by explaining and helping people understand the reason for the rules."

The station chief rose again. "There's an announcement I want to make before the entertainment begins. The Municipal Public Security Bureau in a special committee meeting recently nominated a list of model policemen in the city, and three are from our district," said the chief with pride.

"They're here tonight—Kuo Min, first class model, Na Jen-yi and Wan Wen-tao, both third class models."

Kuo Min, first class model policeman, was a sturdily built young man, commended for his "keenness and honesty." Some time ago the district police was informed that a landlord and his son, both local despots, had escaped from Fengjun County in Hopei Province. They were believed to have come to Peking where the landlord's younger son was a merchant. Despite close watch over the son's house, the criminals were still at large. Kuo was assigned to the case. He found out through one of the merchant's shop assistants that the landlord had a married sister living in that very district. Thinking this might be a clue, he looked over the census register and checked that the sister's husband, a rice merchant, was the only adult male in the family.

Kuo visited the house and while talking with the servant noticed two men inside. They disappeared at once by a back exit. Kuo dashed through the house and followed them to the lane. They were running as fast as their legs would take them. He called for help but the lane was deserted. At the end of the lane they separated. Kuo followed the older man since he was the one responsible for the death of several peasants. He soon caught up with him and took him to the station.

"Gifts" Futile

The next day a woman visited Kuo's home and surprised his wife by taking five taels of gold and 20 silver dollars from her purse. "This is Comrade Kuo's pocketmoney," the woman said. Kuo's wife was suspicious, but the woman assured her Comrade Kuo knew all about it and insisted on leaving the money. Immediately on his return Kuo recognised the gift as a bribe from the landlord's sister and he predicted she would return soon. Two days later, she came in the evening with more gifts-bottles of wine, cigarettes and ₹2,000,000 in cash.

"Do you think you're living in the old days?" he asked her angrily. "We people's police can't be bribed. This is an insult. Besides, you're helping an enemy of the people and you yourself deserve punishment." He took the woman with all her "gifts" to the district station.

The second model policeman Comrade Na Jen-yi was a man in



teran policeman, who at first had been thought by some to be hopeless of improvement. Na was cited for the high sense of duty he showed in helping a pregnant woman in distress.

his forties, a ve-

Just as his relief arrived one

night and he was going off duty, he heard groans from a passing pedicab. He found the driver was carrying a pregnant woman already in labour who had just arrived by train from Tsinan to spend the New Year holidays with her husband, a factory worker living at the other end of the city. She had expected to be met at the station, but had failed to meet her husband. Her labour pains began suddenly and she begged the pedicab driver to take her quickly to her husband's address. . . . Na judged there was no time to be lost. He escorted the woman to the nearest hospital only to find that it had no maternity department. The worried threesome made their way to another hospital which was full, but Na's earnestness convinced the superintendent to admit the woman to her own room where the child was safely delivered immediately.

An hour later Na led in the woman's husband whom he had found waiting anxiously at the station.

Wan Wen-tao, the third model policeman, was an old-timer connected with the fire-brigade before liberation. He had been involved in a notorious scandal in KMT days when the fire-brigade tried to blackmail a school administration while the school's buildings were burning. This was a common practice in those days. The school authorities couldn't pay the price and the buildings suffered heavy damage before the fire was put out. Since liberation Wan has been a census cadre at the district police station. Two months ago he distinguished himself as a better fireman than at any time when he had a helmet on.

One morning as he was making his rounds, he noticed smoke rising from a small temple where a cobbler and his family lived. Quickly he found the nearest telephone and called the fire department. As the occupants were out, the temple door was locked. It was too sturdy to break down, but he managed to climb over the wall and found that the kitchen was ablaze. He began to move things from the room-chests, bedding, a few pieces of furniture, hides for making shoes, boxes of nails and sewing thread and all the odds and ends a cobbler's family might have.

At this moment the fire-brigade arrived, forced the door and put out the fire promptly. Despite an injury to his left eye suffered when he was pulling the things out and the door frame collapsed, Wan didn't leave until the cobbler's wife and daughter who had been marketing came back, and he had helped them move their belongings into another room which had not been affected by the fire.

The citations ended. The crowd broke into enthusiastic applause. Residents jumped up to shake the three men's hands. "Aunt" Kuan raised her stick in the air. "All one family," she said. "With meetings like to-night's, then you can understand..." Ma Chen stood there smiling and raised his hand. "Now," he said, "sit down everybody, we're beginning to-night's programme."

A fiddler picked up his instrument and tuned it. They were going to start with a song from an opera.

CORRECTIONS: In Vol. III, No. 8, page 28, col. 3, line 12, the sentence should read: "They will avoid over-specialisation and pay attention to the allround mental and physical development of students."

In Vol. III, No. 9, in the middle page spread of the pictorial, the caption under the picture in the upper left hand corner should read: "Efficient Soviet electric drills used for coal drilling."

Report from the Korean Front

A Peasant Fighter from Heilungkiang

Wen Chao

The faint outlines of distant mountains and the pine groves covered with snow moved quickly past the train windows as a driving wind whirled snowflakes hither and thither in a blinding flurry. The train, moving southward in North Korea, had a large number of Chinese volunteers aboard. Some smoked and chatted, others hummed songs while still others dozed.

Sitting beside me was a heavily-built young man, his bronze skin tanned by the sun, with shiny black eyes and bushy eyebrows. Although he wore the same cotton-padded uniform as the others in the car, his slow and heavy movements set him apart at once as a peasant fresh from some remote farm. Pulling vigorously at his long-stemmed country pipe, he asked casually, "Ever been in this Korean country, comrade?"

"No, have you?"

"I've never been to Harbin, let alone Korea. Farm-hands like me didn't travel much before. We were nailed fast to the landlord's land and couldn't move."

"Anybody else at home?"

"My wife and two kids."
"What did they think of your

volunteering?"

"They were all in favour of it.

They were all in favour of it. They speeded me on my way and told me to be sure and bring home a red honour banner!"

That's how I first met Sun Tafeng, a peasant volunteer from Heilungkiang Province in late November, 1950.

Soon afterwards we left the train. We were all going in the same direction and continued our march southward on foot together. We walked through deep snow, along rugged mountain trails and passed bombed-out towns and villages strewn with the mutilated bodies of Korean civilians.

Early one morning we stopped at a hamlet clinging to a sharp mountain slope. Only one of the cottages had escaped the indiscriminate and brutal bombing of the enemy the day before and even that was damaged. We stepped inside to see if there was anyone there and found an old Korean woman, a young girl of about 12 and two infants lying on a clay bed built against the back wall.

The Korean woman was startled to see us, for the shock of the previous day's experiences had been almost too much for her. Gradually we put her at ease with the few Korean phrases we knew. Helped by the young girl who knew a little Chinese, she tried to tell us about what had happened. Just as they were running to the airraid shelter, a bomb splinter had hit one of the two babies the old lady had been carrying. The child. one of her grandchildren, died in the shelter. We did not know what to say to comfort her.

Sun Ta-feng took out three cold buns from his ration knapsack and handed them to the woman and the girl. The girl quickly put a bun in her mouth, and then suddenly took it out again. She turned to the bed and tried to feed the crying baby. Sun walked over to help her. He stopped and stared long and hard at the other one, the dead child. "Not a year old yet, and dead already," he said bitterly. Tears sprang to his eyes. As he made his way out of the house, I heard him stifling his sobs.

Later in the air-raid shelter Sun Ta-feng spoke to me quietly, "I don't like to see a man weep. But in there when I broke down, those were tears of hatred, hatred for the brutes who brought this death with them."

We marched on for two days to our next destination. There we parted after he laboriously printed his home address in my notebook and invited me to visit his new house which, he said proudly, "has shining glass windows."

By chance I met Sun Ta-feng again near the front south of the Han River in early February this year. A platoon commander told me that Sun's long training in the militia plus his recent practice at

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the front had made him an excellent marksman.

"Did you know we have two Tafengs now," the platoon commander said with a smile, and proceeded to tell me the story.

One day when Sun's unit was resting in a village near Seoul, three American planes came overhead. They swooped down and machinegunned a lone hut for several minutes. The hut caught fire.

Hiding in a nearby air-raid shelter, Sun heard a child crying in the burning hut. He ran towards the hut. The child inside was shrieking by then. But the whole house was wrapped in smoke and the windows were blocked by flames. Sun found the door, hesitated a moment and then jumped into the flames. Later he told us that he couldn't open his eyes, the smoke was so dense. Fortunately, almost immediately he found the child, huddled in a corner still untouched by the flames. He wrapped the child in his uniform coat and turned around to try to make his way out of the holocaust. In making his way in, his trousers had caught fire. The burns on his legs were painful.

But how to get out? He heard people yelling and he realised that the noise was probably to indicate the location of the doorway. Gathering all his strength, he pushed in the direction of the noise. He got out with the child in his arms and his quilted uniform smouldering. Someone took the child from him, and others rolled him in the snow to stop his clothes from burning.

"He was completely exhausted by this time," the platoon commander added, "and we sent him away to a field hospital where he recovered after a week's rest."

His comrades told him later that the mother of the child was still alive. To express her thanks she decided to re-name her son Tafeng after his rescuer.

By the time the platoon commander had finished the story, I had caught sight of Sun Ta-feng who was busy eating his ration. He had a handful of bean powder in one hand and a mug of water in the other. We greeted each other like old friends.

"This bean powder's awfully dry," he said. "You can hardly swallow it even with water."

"How's life here?" I asked.

"The life here is hard, to be sure." he replied slowly. "I wouldn't say I enjoy a cold drink in such biting weather. But I'm swallowing it now so that the folks back home won't ever have to swallow it. That's the way I look at it. So that back home they can sit on a warm kang and enjoy a cup of hot tea. . . . And the dug-out and the trenches. It's no fun squatting there day in and day out. But just because we're here folks back home can move around freely, go about their work in the fields and market places."

Suddenly several poisonous bloodred flowers blossomed in the air. The enemy artillery was beginning its bombardment again. Sun Tafeng and I broke company. He stayed on with his unit while I went to the rear.

. . .

In late February, about three weeks after the people's forces launched their successful counter-offensive on the Han River front, I visited a hospital on the outskirts of Pyongyang. In an underground ward lit with flickering gas lamps, a convalescent battalion commander was telling the other

patients a story of a recent battle south of the Han River...

". . . The Third Company held on to a small mound overlooking the highway. The enemy had to take this vantage point if their convoy was to retreat by this route. A furious battle took place.

"Thirty-two American planes lit the whole mound with napalm bombs. Then came the U.S. infantry behind a shield of 10 tanks. Not a single shot was fired from the mound. The enemy thought their fire had routed our men. So they pushed forward rather quickly.

"As they reached the foothill, however, all of a sudden our fighters swung into action. The Americans turned around and ran. But too late. They were caught in a shower of bullets and grenades. And after that our fighters charged them with bayonets. The enemy left scores of casualties behind.

"It was a tough job for the Americans but they had to take that mound at all costs. So their standard process of bombing, burning, attacking and running repeated itself for eight hours. The foothill was piled with American bodies.

"The Third Company was running out of munition. The enemy succeeded in taking the top of the mound and our men retreated to

can planes lit the other side of the slope. The

the other side of the slope. The Americans hovered overhead and plastered our position with incendiary canisters. The clothes of our fighters started burning. Still they wouldn't give up. They launched a counter-attack into the enemy line. By that time our reinforcements had arrived. They gave the Americans an even harder kick around the hill.

"When I inspected the mound after the battle," the battalion commander went on, "we found one of our fighters still alive but unconscious, sadly burned and seriously wounded. He was still holding on to his bayonet and the two dead Americans on either side of him showed how skilled he was in its use. Behind him was an abandoned machine gun, with no cartridges.

"I don't know yet whether he's pulled through or not. Tenacious as they come, and brave too, he's to be awarded a special citation for outstanding bravery. . . . Sun Tafeng's his name, a peasant from Heilungkiang."

NEW OUTLOOK ON MARRIAGE

(Continued from page 15)

that her daughter should become someone's wife without any payment to her, the mother, after she had brought her up all these years. But when she saw how happy her daughter was and how well we both worked together, she began to wonder if the old ways were so good after all. Just recently, her own son married in the new way too, and she was very surprised and glad that she didn't have to pay a penny for her son's bride!"

The full realisation of the Law's aims, of course, requires time, particularly in the countryside. Feudal ideology and the conventions reflected in the people's family relations and in relations between men and women cannot be liquidated by a single stroke nor without struggle—the struggle to propagandise the new Law's advantages and to fully rouse the people to break through conservatism.

Education in the Law's full aims must be long-

term and painstaking and no opportunity to propagandise them is neglected. Even where deviations take place as a result of certain cadres unconsciously carrying remnants of a feudal outlook towards women into their application of the Law, or in instances of mechanical interpretation of the right to divorce, or indifference to the Law itself, full exposure and criticism of those responsible has resulted in further educating the entire community in the Law's superiority over the old customs.

The new family relations and new type of family appearing in every village, town and city in increasing numbers are being observed carefully by the people. The thousands and thousands of couples who have married in the new way over the past 13 months are paving the way for more and more families to establish normal and happy family relations. This new outlook on marriage is becoming an important factor in raising enthusiasm for labour and in the full and healthy development of men, women, youth and children as members of the new society.

THE PEOPLE'S RECORDS

Of all the songs that tell of Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, the East Shines Red is the most popular. Two North Shensi peasants, Li Yu-yuan and Li Tsun-tseng, wanted to sing of their love and respect for Chairman Mao, and composed it to the melody of a popular folksong, never imagining that it would be the tremendous success that it has been. But it spread through the liberated areas like a summer wind. Soon it was on everyone's lips. It was carried by the PLA's victorious march over the Yangtse, down to the Pearl River in the far south and then west to the Tienshan Mountains. Today the whole nation sings this poem to Chairman Mao, "architect of the people's happiness." Hu Lo-ting, the composer and director of the Shanghai Music Academy, has orchestrated it. Its number in the people's records is 38217-A.

Music Born of Struggle

When New China's music lovers finish the day's work and put on their gramophones, what do they listen to?

The people's records fall into five main groups: 1) modern yangko operas; 2) modern songs such as the East Shines Red; 3) classical Peking operas; 4) folk music, songs and provincial operas; and 5) modern orchestral music, in roughly that order of popularity.

This alignment of public taste is quite a modern development, for before liberation the manufacture of records in China was by no means a flourishing business. There were three companies, all in Shanghai, two controlled by foreign and one by bureaucratic capital, The Great China Recording Co.

Since no record of a progressive nature could be produced under the Japanese puppets or the succeeding KMT regime, the people had long since ignored their products. Galloping KMT infiation finally put them out of business.

Fully realising its importance for the people's cultural life, the Shanghai Military Control Commission lost no time in taking over and resuscitating the last named company. Its workers and technicians eagerly greeted the de-The day after liberation cision. they were busy at work. The Literary and Artistic Working Group of the PLA's Third Field Army stepped into their studio and the first records of People's China were the song cycle of the heroic Huai-hai battle (Records Nos. 38213-5).

Shen Ya-wei, one of the composers, writes: "When the PLA stormed the railway bridge over the Grand Canal, we immediately put this into song. We cheered the heroic shock troops of the 69th Corps with it even before they had started their second assault. We joined in the thrust across the Lunghai Railway. All day long we saw the columns of fighters, artillery and transports rushing to the front. On every road we heard 'Hurry! Don't let the enemy escape!' In the evening, the bursting of shells, the stuttering of the machine-guns and the wild neighing of horses combined into a It was under stormy symphony. such circumstances that we composed the rest of this song cycle. including Flash! Flash! Huana Potao's Army Group has been Annihilated! Hit Them Hard and Harder, Southward March! and Win the Battle, the Glory is Yours!"

Among the most popular of such modern ballads are Wang Ta-ma Wants Peace (No. 50103) sung by Kuo Lan-yin and Song of Emancipation (No. 38257) sung by Li Pu, both prize-winning sopranos at the Budapest WFDY and IUS Festivals of 1949, and the Song of the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea (No. 51198), a song of great strength that was sung this last May Day by 200 million demonstrators throughout China.

It was only later when the factory moved to Peking that it was pos-



sible to cut the records of the modern yangko operas, showing what achievements New China has made in musical art.

The first of these was Brother and Sister Tilling Virgin Soil (No. 38209), produced early in 1944 by the Lu Hsun Art Academy of Yenan. It was written in the style of the North Shansi folksongs, and the music has a peculiar beauty. As lyrical and warm as the rising sun, it also has a great dignity.

Yangko Opera Favourite

Finally The White-Haired Girl was produced, so far the most successful of these operas. The album of five records of excerpts from this opera (Nos. 50101-5) quickly taken the first place in popularity. The most impressive of these are the two final records from the songs at the accusation meeting against the landlord. The white-haired girl sings: "There is no end to my grievances. the highest hills, they are beyond reach. Like the deepest seas, they But the heavens defy sounding. and earth have turned over and today I stand facing my foe." The grand finale sounds the triumphant asseveration of China's peasants: "Under the sunlight, all wrongs shall be righted!"

The classical arias from the Peoperas are, of course perennially popular. Of special interest are the eleven records from Three Assaults on Chuchiachuang (Nos. 38230-1, 38233, 38238-9, 38240-5), a classical opera produced in a modern, revised version in Yenan. And so are the old folk ballads from such musically rich provinces as Shansi and Yunnan, especially Peach Flower Inn, Plum Flower Village (No. 51174) or the Shepherdess' Song (No. 36155).

Many new harmonies sound today in the quiet hutung of Peking. There is an increasing popular interest in such modern orchestral works as Hu Lo-ting's Night of Music (No. 50128) and the sonorous Yellow River Cantata of Hsi Hsing-hai (No. 51175).

Wusman-Bandit, Killer, U.S. Spy

by a Special Correspondent

Wusman was a typical product of the political twilight of reaction in China's far northwest. He was a bandit, a ruthless killer and, as now seems only natural in this day of the American "cold war" against democracy, he was a U.S. agent.

With his capture and execution on April 29, Washington lost one of its main hopes of interfering against the rapid democratic rehabilitation of China's Sinkiang Province and of keeping its local spy network in being against the People's China and the U.S.S.R.

Confronted with irrefutable evidence, Wusman finally confessed to a series of atrocious crimes against the people, perpetrated in the closest collaboration with and under the orders of the former American Consul and Vice Consul in the region, J. Hall Paxton and Douglas S. MacKiernan.

Wusman's evidence threw light on many dark places. You will remember the "Peitashan Incident" of June, 1947. KMT and imperialist propaganda at the time made great play with stories of an "invasion" of China from over the border of the Mongolian People's Republic. Now we have the "inside" story. Wusman testified:

"MacKiernan organised my unit to co-operate with a regiment of the KMT 5th Cavalry Army under Sung Hsi-lien (then commanding the KMT Sinkiang garrison) in attacking the borders of the MPR.

"The first day we attacked Halayiti. On a hilltop nearby, MacKiernan was working on a map. The fire opened up by the defending MPR troops startled him so much that he stumbled down the hill, leaving his hat, map and telescope. I sent someone later to find them for him.

"The next day MacKiernan took part in military operations not far away. He managed to finish his map for the U.S. government."

Under MacKiernan's personal instructions, Wusman's and Sung Hsi-lien's troops repeatedly attacked the border of the MPR. They

were flung back, and MacKiernan withdrew them south of Peitashan.

A year later, in June, 1948, Mac-Kiernan and Sung Hsi-lien called Wusman to Tihua. They had organised what they called a "Revolutionary Committee against Communism, the Soviet Union and the 'Three Districts'" (the liberated districts of Ili, Tacheng and Ashan—Editor.) Wusman was appointed vice-chairman of the committee. MacKiernan ordered him to gather intelligence and get ready to attack the "Three Districts."

In the spring of 1949, the victories of the PLA threw these ruffians into a state of confusion. MacKiernan travelled to Santai several times to urge Wusman to expand his forces. In April, Hall Paxton told him: "The KMT will be smashed. I rely on you to make good use of the aid we Americans have given you against the Communists and the 'Three Districts.'" Paxton also urged him to keep in the closest touch with and Jaolobos Janimkhan, other notorious local bandits. Meanwhile Vasilii Zvantsov, White Russian, one of Wusman's right-hand men, had been learning ever from MacKiernan since February, 1949, how to maintain radio contact with his U.S. masters.

He Looted to Aid U.S.

Wusman admitted in his evidence that "during the period before the PLA entered Sinkiang, I looted Kital, Fuyuan, Fukang, Muleiho and Changki counties to build up supplies and funds for later uprisings. MacKiernan himself was organising about 100 White Russians to collect intelligence about the U.S.S.R. and the "Three Districts."

Sinkiang was peacefully liberated in September, 1949. Mac-Kiernan with his White Russians immediately joined Wusman in the Fuyuan mountains where they had a conference with Janimkhan's son, Zvantsov, and other bandit leaders to plan their next moves.

MacKiernan, always full of ideas, tried to persuade Wusman to go with him to America. He

said: "You and Janimkhan should come with me to the United States where you could put forward the Kazakh question in Sinkiang to the United Nations. America would appreciate such a move, but you would have to be there in person to give evidence."

Wusman, however, was unwilling to leave, so three young Kazakhs were chosen to go with MacKiernan to be trained "for the third world war."

MacKiernan left specific instructions for sabotage against the people's government. He guaranteed that Wusman and the other bandits would be fully supported by the U.S. government and told them that while continuing to oppose the people's government in every possible way, they should collect their forces and get ready to strike when the "third world war broke out."

"A few days later," said Wusman, "MacKiernan turned over his White Russian troops to me. He promised to maintain constant supplies from America."

After MacKiernan left, Wusman carried out armed bandit raids in collaboration with Janimkhan and Jaolobos against the people.

In a series of savage bandit forays, he and his followers killed more than 1,175 people of the various national minorities in Sinkiang and slaughtered the members of no less than 319 Kazakh households. One Kazakh woman described how Wusman's men had robbed her of all her livestock and had ended their orgy by ripping open the abdomen of her pregnant sister.

Wusman was captured by the PLA on February 19 at Haitzu, north of the Tsaidam Basin in Chinghai Province. His whole story was exposed in the public trial in Tihua which was attended by 80,000 people from many parts of Sinkiang. Ten thousand people witnessed the execution of this hated mass murderer, and the end of yet another chapter, in the bloody and shameful story of American espionage and sabotage against the Chinese people.

Tihua, Sinkiang

CURRENT CHINA

May 11-25



Spring Sowing Successes

The spring sowing, which began earlier than usual this year all over the country, is now almost completed. In Hopei alone, 133,333 hectares over the plan have been planted to cotton. In most parts of Southwest China the cotton planting plan has been completed, while Northwest China has already fulfilled 90 per cent of its plan. In Northeast China, cotton sowing has been completed by mid-May. The acreage there planted to wheat exceeds last year's total acreage by 22.5 per cent. In East China the tobacco sowing plan has been overfulfilled.

Land Reform in Chekiang

Land reform has been completed in Chekiang, one of the richest coastal provinces. In the Hang-chow district alone, over 40,000 formerly landless peasants are now tilling their own land. They also have enough oxen, tools and stocks to give them a good start.

Anti-Flood Hdqrs. Organised

A National Anti-Flood Headquarters has been established in Peking with Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Premier of the Government Administration Council, as Director. Measures to control China's principal waterways, before the rivers reach their maximum flow this summer, were worked out at its first conference opened in the capital on May 15.

River Fighters Honoured

The Honan Command Post to control the Huai River has been awarded a banner on which Chairman Mao Tse-tung had inscribed "The Huai River Must be Harnessed!" The presentation was made in Kaifeng by the Government Delegation now on an inspection tour. Since the spring project began, a large part of the dyke repair and dredging work has already been completed by 2,200,000 workers in Honan, North Anhwei and North Kiangsu. By mid-April, over 63,000,000 cubic metres of earthwork had been shifted.

Agreement Reached on Peaceful Liberation of Tibet

The historic Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed in Peking on May 23, by delegates with full powers representing the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet.

The signing took place in the presence of Chu Teh and Li Chi-shen, Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government and Vice-Premier Chen Yun, representing Premier Chou En-lai.

New Tariff Regulations

Provisional government regulations for customs tariffs came into force on May 16. The lowest duty rates are stipulated for countries which have concluded mutually beneficial trade treaties with China.

New Challenge on Railways

A nation-wide campaign to improve working methods has been touched off by a challenge from the Chu Shih-ching brigade in the Harbin Railway Workshop. The brigade has pledged itself to reduce defective products to 1 per cent, overfulfil its production quota by 30 per cent, reduce costs and eliminate mechanical breakdowns.

Cement Cheaper

Cement prices have been cut from 10 to 30 per cent below the 1950 level. A large part of current production is allocated to water conservancy work, railway and industrial construction.

Fish Catch Increased

The heaviest fish hauls for the past 10 years are reported from Tientsin, East China and Kwangtung. This was made possible by government grants of \\$80\ billion to these areas early this year to rehabilitate the fishing industry.

Peace Power Mounts

Over 234 millions or approximately 49 per cent of China's population have so far voted against the rearming of Japan and signed in support of the Five-Power Peace Pact, states the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and against American Aggression.

A recent report shows that in North China alone, 43 millions or over 65 per cent of the population have voted and signed, including 3,240,000 in Peking and Tientsin combined. Nearly 1,600,000 signatures and votes have been reported from Inner Mongolia, representing 66.2 per cent of the populace.

Workers' Education

A million and a quarter workers in China are attending spare-time literacy classes. Reports show that as many as 80 per cent of the workers in large factories and other enterprises attend classes. In addition, nearly 100,000 workers are engaged in spare-time technical study. In many instances this is linked with regular apprenticeship in various skilled crafts.

Health & Safety Ensured

Formerly a preserve of the rich, the West Lake of Hangchow has now become a health resort for East China workers. A new 64-bed workers' sanatorium has been set up by the Railway Union at this scenic spot. Another sanatorium belongs to the Postal and Tele-Communications Workers' Union, which is building two more sanatoria to accommodate an additional 100 workers.

Striking decreases in the accident rate are reported from all factories and mines in East and Northeast China since the Ministry of Labour issued regulations governing safety measures in factories and mines. At the Huainan Colliery in North Anhwei, accidents dropped by 88 per cent in the second half of 1950. No accidents were reported in December. Following the inspection of safety conditions in factories and mines in the Northeast, additional safety devices were installed and safety rules drawn up.

Chou En-lai on Japanese Peace Treaty

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai in a Note, handed to the Soviet Ambassador to China N. V. Roshchin on May 22, states that the Central People's Government fully supports the Soviet Government's views and concrete proposals for preparing the peace treaty with Japan as expressed in the Remarks of the Government of the U.S.S.R. Regarding the U.S. Draft Peace Treaty with Japan, a copy of which was sent to the Chinese People's Government on May 9, 1951. (See Supplement.)

Friendship with India

Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling of the Central People's Government cabled greetings to the Sino-Indian Friendship Associations at Calcutta and Bombay. She hailed the two organisations founded on February 12 and May 15 respectively as having "far-reaching effects on our two mighty lands, on Asia and the world."

Rice: Another 400,000 tons of Chinese rice will be supplied to India under a third agreement concluded on May 22. This follows two previous barter agreements each providing 50,000 tons of grain for India.

Delegation Back from Korea

The Chinese People's Delegation to Korea has returned after a visit lasting one and a half months. The group of 208 members, sent by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and against American Aggression, visited the KPA and the Chinese volunteers at the battle-front and presented them with messages of appreciation and gifts worth \displaysib billion from the Chinese people.

U.S. Fabrication Exposed

The Chinese press widely publicised the May 16 statement of General Nam II, Chief of the General Staff of the KPA, exposing as "shameful fabrications" the two documents which Ridgway claimed were captured from the KPA and sent to the U.N. on May 2.

In these poorly-made forgeries, among other things, the names of the towns cited are Japanese names while only Korean names are used in maps of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

Foreign Ministry on Illegal Embargo

A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, condemning the illegal adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the resolution for an embargo on shipments to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, made the following statement:

The United Nations General Assembly, under the domination and coercion of the United States Government, illegally adopted, on May 18, 1951, the resolution submitted by the United States for an embargo on shipments to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in spite of the objection of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India and other countries. Subsequent to its illegal adoption of the shameful resolution which slandered China as an aggressor, this is another illegal act, on the part of the United Nations General Assembly, of violating the United Nations Charter, encroaching on the competence of the Security Council, and wilfully extending the aggressive war.

Since its General Assembly illegally adopted the resolution slandering China, the United Nations has already decisively alienated itself from the Chinese people. The fact that the United Nations General Assembly again illegally adopted this resolution submitted by the United States only proves once more that the United Nations has been increasingly and irrevocably converted into an instrument for extending the aggressive war in the service of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States.

This illegal resolution undisguisedly demonstrates that, with a view to retrieving the disastrous defeats repeatedly suffered by its aggressive forces on the battlefields in Korea, the United States Government is forcing its accomplices to put higher stakes into the aggressive war against Korea and China. The embargo on shipments to China and Korea is in fact an important step taken by the United States Government in its attempt to extend the aggressive war.

It is perfectly clear that this illegal resolution and action for applying an embargo on shipments to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea cannot affect to the slightest degree the victorious struggle waged by the peoples of China and Korea against the American aggressor. The Korean People's Army and the Chinese volunteers have already scored great victories on the battlefields in Korea; the situation in which the American aggressor is doomed to failure, while the peoples of China and Korea are bound to be victorious, is assured. No frenzied attempt and action on the part of the American aggressor and its accomplices to extend the aggressive war against Korea can save the American aggressor from final defeat. Every demonstration and action of the American aggressor to extend the war can only result in strengthening the fighting morale of the peoples of China and Korea against the American aggressor, and, in turn, hastening the latter's final defeat.

It should be pointed out that, long before the said resolution submitted by the United States was illegally adopted, the British Government has already taken a succession of unfriendly actions against the People's Republic of China in the field of trade, and been determined to be the enemy of the Chinese people. All the countries that follow the lead of the United States in banning shipments to China and Korea shall be responsible for all the consequences resulting from their hostile acts against China.

Nor should it be overlooked that the United States Government is making use of this illegal resolution for the so-called embargo on shipments to China and Korea for disrupting the normal relations in the world market and forcing down the market prices of certain raw materials in order to secure a monopoly of these raw materials for the American munition merchants as well as to control the economic lifeline of the countries producing these raw materials. All independent and sovereign states that are peace-loving cannot but be vigilant against this intrigue of the United States.

The Chinese people are determinedly opposed to this illegal and shameful resolution of the United Nations, and fully confident that they will be able to reply to this shameful and illegal resolution with the fact of crushingly defeating the American aggressor.

ASIA'S PATH TO FREEDOM AND

PROSPERITY (Continued from page 11)

implements and seeds, and the protection and breeding of plough animals have been carried out.

Furthermore, as part of the People's Government's policy of promoting production, large loans have been extended to the peasants. Large amounts of agricultural products have been bought by the Government to ensure legitimate profits for the farmers. As a result, peasants who have obtained land display a new enthusiasm in their work.

Agricultural productivity has thus been raised to unprecedented heights. In 1950, the crop yield throughout China was over 120 million tons, an increase of 9 per cent compared with 1949. In the same year, the total production of cotton was 710,500 tons, surpassing that of 1949 by more than 1½ times. China's rural economy is steadily forging ahead.

In 1950, water conservancy projects such as filling up breaches, repairing dykes, opening up channels, dredging river beds and constructing new waterways alone entailed about 420 million cubic metres of earthwork. Here the Huai River water conservancy project deserves special notice. Throughout China's history this river has never been properly controlled, it has had a long record of over-flowing its banks. But today this river is under proper control.

Agriculture Begins to Prosper

The completion of these large-scale conservancy projects and the extensive flood control works which were completed before the rainy season have brought a new countenance to the water conservancy system of the country. The major part of the 6,600,000 hectares of land which were flooded at the time of the liberation had been turned into fertile land in 1950. In addition to this, in 1950 China reclaimed over 201,000 hectares of paddy fields. The achievements in these water conservancy projects have provided the prerequisites for the further development of agricultural production in China. The above facts suffice to show that agriculture, that backward section of China's national economy, has begun to China, in fact, is today exporting rice instead of importing it as in the past.

The third point is that during the past year the People's Republic of China has also achieved outstanding results with regard to the rehabilitation and development of factories, mines and communications. A sound preliminary foundation has been laid for the industrialisation of China. Long fettered by the combined forces of reaction, China's industry was originally very backward. Totalling approximately 10 per cent of the whole production of the country, China's industry was composed, for the most part, of light industries with the textile industry as the main component and with most of the raw materials being obtained from the U.S.

After the founding of the Central People's Government of China, it was decided that:

"In order to lay the foundation for the industrialisation of the country, the central point of industrial work shall be the planned, systematic rehabilitation and development of heavy industry, such as mining, the iron and steel industry, power industry, engineering industry, electrical industry and the main chemical industries, etc. At the same time, the production of the textile industry and other light industries beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood shall be restored and increased so as to meet the needs of the people's daily consumption." (Article 35, Common Programme of the PPCC.)

This is a policy of independence, autonomy and the construction of the national industry. It differs entirely from the former policy of industrial construction adopted by the KMT regime, which relied on, and was an appendage of American imperialism.

In a report released by the Ministry of Heavy Industry of the Central People's Government of China, the following comparisons are drawn with regard to the total production of the various principal products of China's heavy industry:

In 1950, between January and August, as compared with the corresponding period of 1949, the production of pig iron increased 11.4 times; cement, 3.8 times; ammonium sulphate, 3.2 times; and machinery also more than 3 times. In other branches, such as the production of steel in Northeast China, according to statistics for the first half of 1950, a rise in production of 2.9 times was registered as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

According to figures released by the Ministry of the Fuel Industry, the production of coal in 1950 increased by 37.35 per cent as compared with 1949; the generation of electricity increased by 30.7 per cent and its consumption by 57.5 per cent.

In the textile industry, in 1950, the total production of cloth by public and private cotton mills throughout China exceeded the plan by 118 per cent. At present the rate of cotton yarn and cloth production by state-operated factories alone has surpassed the record levels under the KMT regime.

The achievements are even more astonishing in the restoration and reconstruction of communications. In a short period, from the time of China's liberation till 1950, 90 per cent of the railways of the whole country were re-opened to traffic. Now, railway administration throughout the land has been entirely unified. In 1950, for the first time, there was a nation-wide, unified and complete transport plan for the railways. This is unprecedented in the history of the Chinese railways. This great reform marks an important milestone on the Chinese railway industry's road to progress.

Due to the improvements in railway administration and equipment and installations, the efficiency of railway transport has been raised to unprecedented heights. Similar results have also been obtained in road and water transport.

The fourth point is that in China today, new achievements have also been obtained in the field, of international and domestic trade. Under the

KMT, there was a persistent adverse balance of trade, an excess of imports over exports, but with the founding of the People's Republic, this trend has been stopped. Exports and imports have been balanced and a relatively favourable balance of trade has been achieved.

For instance, in 1946, because of the large-scale dumping of U.S. goods on China's markets, China's excess of imports over exports reached the huge amount of US\$410,000,000, constituting 74 per cent of the total value of trade. But today, a change has been effected in foreign trade. According to the returns of the Chinese Customs Administration, the total volume of exports and imports through all ports throughout the country amounted to US\$460 million for the first half of 1950. Exports constituted 57.3 per cent and imports 42.7 per cent. The excess of exports over imports amounted to US\$67 million.

In addition, a change is also taking place in the items of export and import. Particularly in imports, the ratio of various types of basic production machinery, appliances, chemical products and other industrial raw materials has begun to increase while that of luxury and general consumer goods has greatly decreased.

This signifies that a great achievement has been carried out in China's tariff policy and in the control of foreign trade. The economy of China has already freed itself from the clutches of imperialist economy.

In domestic trade China concentrates its strength on the development of the state and co-operative trade system. At the same time, progress is also seen in private business circles. Under the principle of benefiting both public and private capital, a free trade policy within the country is being resolutely implemented. By means of this system and these policies the planned adjustment and allocation of materials is being unified, their flow between the cities and villages is being strengthened, guaranteeing supplies to various localities and stabilising the prices of commodities. Speculation is being laid by the heels and legitimate business encouraged.

Special mention should be made of the achievement of co-operative business in China during the past year. Co-operative organisations have great significance in the development of the national economy in China and other countries in Asia which are principally dominated by a scattered small peasant economy.

In May, 1951, there were more than 47,000 cooperatives in China with 30,500,000 members.

These co-operatives have become a nation-wide, systematic mass economic organisation of China today. They play a very important role in reducing intermediary exploitation, protecting the interests of small producers and consumers, solving difficulties among the masses, organising and aiding production in agricultural and subsidiary industries and organising the inhabitants in areas stricken by natural calamities for schemes of production and self-help. They have become a force that cannot be overlooked in the people's economy of China.

Finally, the new China has not only rehabilitated and developed her economy but has also raised the

living standards of the Chinese people. The peasants of China have begun to throw off the conditions of oppression under which they had to labour day in and day out without getting enough to eat and wear. Today, their own masters, they work zealously and happily, enjoying the fruits of their own labour and using their own production implements on their own soil. The Chinese peasants are becoming more affluent; many poor peasants have become middle peasants.

Standards of Living Raised

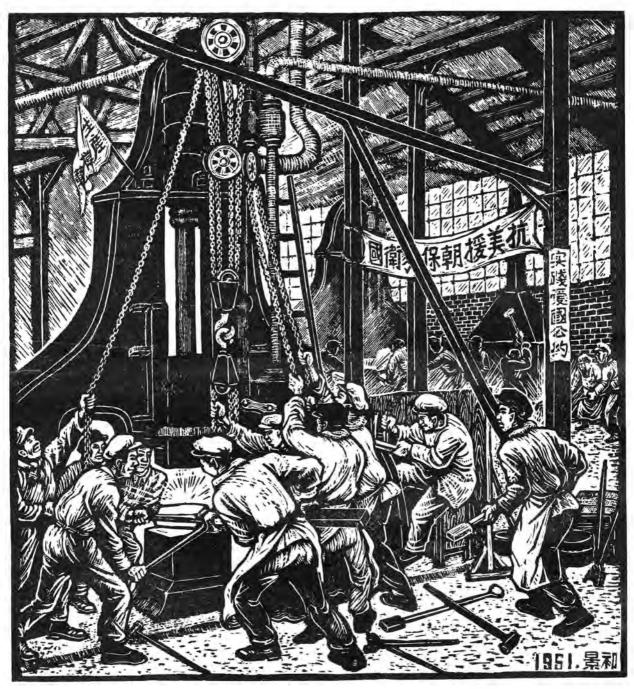
The lives of the working people have been similarly improved. Take Northeast China as an example: the average wage of workers and employees is being raised yearly. In December, 1949, as compared with May of the same year, it had risen by 27 per cent; while the average wage of December, 1950, as compared with that of December, 1949, had increased by 8 per cent. The average wage of technical workers was raised by 38.9 per cent in the same period. Because of the stabilisation of prices in China, an increase in wages is equivalent to an increase in real income. Particularly worthy of attention is the evidence that unemployment has been overcome in China. At the same time great strides have been made in the direction of labour insurance and welfare work for the workers. The People's Government, together with the All-China Federation of Labour, has exerted great efforts in establishing hospitals, homes for the aged, schools, clubs, etc. for the workers, which are designed to improve the health, culture and recreational facilities of the working masses.

In short, following the victory of the revolution, the Chinese people have already broken loose from the hard lot which was imposed on them by the imperialists and KMT regime. They are successfully building up their country. They are themselves raising their living standards.

From the above facts, we can see that the development of China's economic reconstruction is entirely independent of any American economic aid to which brutal political, military and economic ties are attached. It is, in fact, the result of the refusal of and opposition to such aid. It is the result of united and strenuous struggles undertaken by the great Chinese people themselves, aided by the fraternal help of their true international friends.

The experience of China is enlightening in the search for a path to freedom and prosperity for the Asian countries. This experience shows that by resolutely resisting American aggression, as China did, a people can surely develop its national economy and raise the living standards of the masses.

Only after freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism and establishing a people's government can the living standards of the people be raised fundamentally, working conditions improved and trade union rights safeguarded. The method of economic development in China points the correct path for the economic development of other Asian countries. This is the conclusion furnished us by history.



Increase Production in the Patriotic Movement!

Woodcut by Tseng Ching-chu