People's * A 中的 China

October 1, 1951

A Special National Day Issue

CHINA'S GREAT MASS MOVEMENTS

Soong Ching Ling

TWO YEARS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Tung Pi-wu

VOL. IV

Special Articles by the Ambassadors of Germany, India and Czechoslovakia



People's China

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CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG



The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference issued the following slogans for the celebration of the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1:

- 1. Hail the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China!
- 2. Salute the people of the entire country who are opposing imperialist aggression, eliminating feudal exploitation, wiping out the counter-revolutionary remnant forces and building New China!
- 3. Salute the ground, air and naval forces of the People's Liberation Army, the People's Security Forces and the People's Police!
- 4. Salute the Chinese people's volunteers who have won great victories on the Korean front!
- 5. Salute the stretcher bearers, transport and medical workers, railway and communications personnel, rear servicemen and frontline cultural workers who are supporting the Chinese people's volunteers!
- 6. Salute the comrades wounded in resisting American aggression and aiding Korea!
- 7. Eternal glory to the martyrs who have fallen in resisting American aggression and aiding Korea!
- 8. Salute the Soviet Government and people, our great ally and bulwark of world peace and democracy!
- 9. Long live the great unbreakable friendship between China and the Soviet Union!
- 10. Salute the great victories in the Korean people's war against aggression!
- 11. Salute the heroic Korean People's Army and the Korean people!
- 12. Salute the heroic Viet-Nam People's Army and the Viet-Nam people!
- 13. Salute the Japanese people fighting for independence, democracy and peace!
- 14. Salute the peoples of India, Burma, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines and other Asian countries who oppose imperialist aggression!
- 15. Salute the peoples of the fraternal nations, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania and Mongolia, who are fighting together with us against imperialist aggression!
- 16. Long live the friendship between the peoples of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and other countries and the people of China in the struggle to defend peace!
- 17. Oppose American imperialism which is occupying Taiwan and invading Korea!
- 18. Oppose the American-British imperialists' illegal peace treaty with Japan! Oppose American imperialism continuing its occupation and rearming of Japan!
- 19. People of the entire country, unite! Strengthen the campaign to resist American aggression and aid Korea, and to defeat American aggression!
- 20. Strive to extend the patriotic pact movement!
- 21. Strive for the completion of the patriotic donation campaign!
- 22. Young men and women! Join the national defence forces and consolidate our national defences!
- 23. Root out the counter-revolutionaries and imperialist spies!

- 24. Complete the agrarian reform and thoroughly eliminate the feudal land ownership system!
- 25. Workers! Step up your efforts in production, strengthen the patriotic labour emulation campaign, strengthen the unity between manual and brain workers, improve production techniques and working conditions, increase the quantity and raise the quality of your products, economise on materials, reduce costs and guarantee the fulfilment of production plans!
- 26. Leading managerial personnel of state-owned factories and enterprises! Rely on the workers, manage the factories and enterprises well, realise democratic reforms within the factories and enterprises, streamline management and administration, strengthen unified leadership and practise budgetary control!
- 27. Peasants! Put forth your best efforts in cultivating land, extend the patriotic drive for increased production, develop mutual aid and rural co-operative enterprises, improve farming technique, build water conservancy works, actively develop afforestation, and strive to raise further the level of agriculture!
- 28. Workers in organs of the state! Put forth your greatest efforts, study government policy, strictly observe state discipline, keep close contact with the masses and strive for higher efficiency in organs of the state!
- 29. Young students! Study hard, keep physically fit and be ready to serve the Motherland at any time!
- 30. Women! Break the bonds of feudal ideology, take an active part in labour and production and political and cultural activities, and strive for the full realisation of equal rights for women in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life!
- 31. Educational workers! Put your best efforts forward in educational work, develop a revolutionary outlook and patriotic spirit in the youth, and train personnel for national construction!
- 32. Scientific, technical and medical workers! Strive to master advanced theory and technique and combine these closely with practice so as to serve the people and national construction!
- 33. Literary, artistic and film workers! Carry out the policy of putting literary and artistic creation at the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and strive to create literary and artistic works of correct ideological content and high artistic value!
- 34. Industrialists and merchants! Develop consultation between labour and capital, improve management and administration, develop economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood, support the Government's decrees and orders, oppose the seeking of exorbitant profits and hoarding for high prices, pay taxes conscientiously and take an active part in national construction!
- 35. Followers of all religious creeds! Demonstrate your patriotism and liquidate the influence of imperialism, join the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front!
- 36. Democratic parties, democrats and people's organisations! Consolidate and develop your organisations, and strive for the strengthening of the People's Democratic United Front and the complete realisation of the Common Programme!
- 37. All nationalities of the country, unite! Work for progress in the fields of politics, economics, communications, culture, education and health in the areas inhabited by national minorities. Fight unitedly against imperialist aggression, and strive to construct an independent, unified and great Motherland!
- 38. Overseas Chinese, unite! Love your Motherland and strive to defend your own legitimate rights and interests!
- 39. Long live the great solidarity of the Chinese people!
- 40. Long live the great solidarity of the peoples of Asia!
- 41. Long live the great solidarity of the peoples of the whole world!
- 42. Long live Generalissimo Stalin, leader and teacher of the people all over the world!
- 43. Long live the great People's Republic of China!
- 44. Long live the Communist Party of China!
- 45. Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, great leader of the Chinese people!

## New China's Second Anniversary

On this October First the united Chinese people, together with all peace-loving peoples of Asia and throughout the world, celebrate the second anniversary of the great revolutionary victory—the founding of the People's Republic of China. They rejoice, too, on this occasion in the brilliant successes achieved under the leadership of the People's Government.

Victorious in their struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, the Chinese people have become the masters of the nation and of their own destiny. The long-cherished goal—a nation united, independent, free and democratic—has at long last been realised. China stands today as the great impregnable bastion in the East of the world peace camp headed by the Soviet Union.

This historic achievement is a great victory not only for China but for all the oppressed peoples, the greatest gained by the world revolutionary forces since the glorious October Socialist Revolution. It broadens and deepens the mighty influence of that Revolution over the whole of mankind. world camp of peace and democracy China's support has brought more definite superiority over the imperialist camp of aggression. To the colonial and semicolonial countries, particularly those in Asia, China has set an example of victorious struggle for the liberation of all the peoples fighting for independence and freedom. It has shown them the invincibility of the theory of Marxism-Leninism when correctly applied to the concrete conditions in their countries as Mao Tse-tung has applied it in China. and when carried through resolutely by a steeled revolutionary party of the working class.

This glorious role of the Chinese people's revolution has been brilliantly confirmed and strengthened by the tremendous successes of the past two years. Rapid progress has marked every sphere of the people's life, political, economic, social and cultural.

People's state organs of all levels have been established practically throughout the mainland. The various nationalities of China have been united into one fraternal family. With the completion of land reform in an area inhabited by over threequarters of the rural population, vast productive powers have been released. The foundation for the nation's industrialisation has been laid. The problem of the food supply has been solved while cotton production nears the level of self-sufficiency. Great public works like the Huai River project are freeing people from the age-old menace of natural calamities. Industry and communications have been rehabilitated and developed. A favourable trade balance has reversed China's 73-year-old position in foreign trade. The budget balance has been maintained, inflation ended and prices kept stable.

These successes have brought about a direct and vast improvement in the lives of the masses of the people in town and country. Educational facilities have been expanded to include new tens of millions of workers and peasants. The Labour Insurance

Regulations and their benefits now cover over 2,178,-000 workers and employees in 2,445 factories and mines in Northeast, North and East China.

Democratic China's rich experiences of the past two years demonstrate that the backwardness and poverty of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia are primarily the result of the spoliation and oppression of the imperialist powers and their lackeys, the feudal elements and venal comprador capitalists. Once the people take power into their own hands, their advance to prosperity and happiness is certain and rapid.

Fully aware of these facts, the citizens of New China have dedicated themselves to the cause of people's democracy and lasting peace. Inspired by revolutionary patriotism and internationalism, they have become a strong and dependable bulwark of the democratic aspirations of the Asian peoples. Their mighty deeds in peaceful construction have enabled them to send grain to aid their neighbour, India. Fighting side by side with the heroic Korean people, the Chinese people's volunteers have turned the balance in the Korean war, driving the invaders back from the Yalu River to the 38th Parallel. The Chinese and Korean peoples fully support the stand of their delegates at Kaisung who are working patiently and firmly, in the face of numerous U.S. provocations, for a successful outcome to the ceasefire negotiations. But their vigilance is never relaxed.

Thus on her second anniversary New China can report that the foundations have been firmly laid for the country's advance to a stage of extended national planning in peaceful construction for the people's welfare. The basis of final victory in the movement to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea and defend world peace has been made still more secure.

It is in this spirit of deep confidence that the Chinese people are participating so enthusiastically in the various campaigns of the world peace front. Over 344 million people or 72.9 per cent of the entire population of the country signed the call for a Five Power Peace Pact, and 72.04 per cent voted against Japanese rearmament. The Chinese people, rallying still more closely around their beloved leader Mao Tse-tung, have answered the provocations of the warmongers by redoubling their efforts for peace, by greater determination to smash all the aggressive imperialist plots and particularly those in Asia so blatantly exposed by the so-called peace treaty with Japan. They are determined to strengthen and expand the basis of their victory—the invincible united front of all democratic social strata, nationalities, democratic parties and groups under the leadership of the working class, leading force of the Chinese revolution.

The people of China realise fully that their successes could not have been achieved without the assistance given by the U.S.S.R. and the fraternal support of all other People's Democracies and peace-loving people throughout the world. They are determined to strengthen still more these ties of international friendship and co-operation.

# China's Great Mass Movements

Soong Ching Ling

Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government

It has been two years since the founding of the People's Republic of China. This is a mere moment, but a whisk of time in history. Yet, in that short period, not only have the Chinese people asserted themselves within their own realm, but our Republic has become one of the most stable, progressive and powerful nations in the world.

There are several prime movers in this epic success. The first of these is the profound leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government. The second is the patriotic fervour of the Chinese masses, their recognition of the necessity for struggle, their willingness to undergo hardship and sacrifice to achieve independence, people's democracy and the remoulding of our country.

During these two years, our leadership and our people, acting as one, have launched a series of mass movements which for size, scope and accomplishment are unprecedented in China's long history. Agrarian reform, suppression of counter-revolutionary elements, and the Resist American Aggression, Aid Korea, Protect Our Homes and Defend Our Country Movement-these have touched the lives of every person in the land, in every occupation and profession, of every shade of political and religious thought. The overwhelming participation of the Chinese people in these movements laid the foundation upon which our Republic proceeded from one success to the next, from one degree of strength to the next highest. It has been these three great mass movements which consolidated the victories of the Chinese revolution and provided the basis for future advances. As well, they have served notice that we will not allow our gains to be snatched from us.

#### The Agrarian Reform

The thorough and speedy implementation of agrarian reform has been a momentous victory. Already areas containing two-thirds of China's rural population, upwards to 310 million people, have experienced this elevating struggle. It is anticipated that by the spring of 1952, this movement will be heading towards completion on our mainland. The only exceptions will be special regions, many of them inhabitated by minority races and groups, where the process will proceed more slowly and according to the local conditions. In the main, we can now say that in our nation, the land belongs to the tillers. We can rejoice on this second anniversary of our People's Republic in all of the good things this means to us at present and for the future.

China's agrarian reform has been an intrinsic aspect of her revolution. The conditions of our peasants had to be among the first things of the old society to be changed if we were to have people's democracy, prosperity and the strength to defend ourselves. It was by the oppression of our peasants that feudalism held sway. And it was feudalism which opened the gap through which imperialism gained entry to our land and drove us to poverty and backwardness. Therefore, agrarian reform was provided for in our Common Programme. The law defining the process of confiscation of landlord's land for distribution to the landless and land-poor peasants was derived from the vast experience of the Chinese Communist Party. This law has been enforced with signal success. In other words, the Chinese people knew what they had to do and they did it with certainty and firmness.

Agrarian reform has all of the characteristics of revolutionary struggle. We place our reliance on the masses of poor peasants and farm labourers. We promote unity with the middle peasants and effect the neutralisation of the rich peasants. With the exception of those who committed criminal acts, we allow former landlords enough land so that they can maintain their lives and reform themselves through labour. We do not liquidate them physically, but we definitely do away with what they representfeudal exploitation and all of its manifestations. Through agrarian reform we put the final signature and seal on the death warrant of the feudal system. The landlords cease to exist as an economic and political class. Rural life comes completely under the control of the masses of peasants.

Because of its very complicated nature, agrarian reform is carefully prepared and executed. The actual work is implemented step by step. If an area is not immediately ready, the movement is withheld until the masses of peasants understand and demand it. Once started, the differentiation of the class status of the various peasants, a most complex and extremely important work, has to be handled with skill and accuracy. This differentiation is based on the multiform relationships of the people to the means of production. All of the varied kinds of productive relationships between the exploited and the exploiters have to be considered and dealt with accordingly.

It is easy to roll off the tongue that 310 million people have gone through the land reform. But it is infinitely difficult to describe all of the hard work that went into that struggle. Behind the figure stands the indefatigable work of the land reform cadres, their ability to meet all sorts of problems, their patience with and understanding of our peasants, their cool-headedness and courage in the face of danger.

We must also note that the victory of agrarian reform would have been impossible without the

ardent support of the peasants. This was expressed through their participation in the Peasants' Associations. It was through these organisations that the peasants themselves carried out the verification of available land and saw to it that the distribution was fair. It was in this work that the Peasants' Associations practically demonstrated the meaning of collective strength and the application of democratic procedure. From land reform the peasants move on to the administration of their own village affairs, then to districts, counties, up to the highest bodies in the land. This explains why there are over 84 million members in the associations, with some villages having as high as 50 per cent of their inhabitants enrolled. This total membership includes an impressive number of women, for whom the land reform has really meant emancipation by giving them their own land and economic independence.

From the Peasants' Associations stem the enlightened political outlook, the keen evaluation of science for the land and the vision of China's future peasants—collective farmers.

Soaring production is the result of giving the peasants the land and heightening their political activity. This, in fact, is the aim of agrarian reform, to release the latent talents and creative forces which will lead to the attainment of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. This provides the basis for industrialisation. Such was the dream of Sun Yatsen. Such has been the fundamental platform of the Chinese Communist Party. Such is the working programme of the Central People's Government. It is the correct and only solution to China's poverty.

Our Northeast and older liberated areas are demonstrative proof. There the great majority of the rural population have become middle peasants and very little difference separates the remaining poor peasants from them. In general, their lives are daily

improving. They have surplus grain in their bins. That means an increasing demand for manufactured goods. This demand is China's guarantee for our industrial reconstruction.

Thus, the great land reform mass movement affects the majority of China's population. It is the life-blood of our existence today and our foundation for tomorrow.

#### The Suppression of Counter-Revolutionary Elements

The second great mass movement—the suppression of counter-revolutionary elements—has accomplished several vital tasks with one stroke. It has effectually exposed those who would destroy our new life, apprehended and punished them.

In the process it has given our people a deeper sense of unity and immeasurably fortified the belief in their own collective strength.

We people of advanced countries understand and practise the principle of leniency. But we have also learned that that principle has a limit. If we are too lenient, the bad elements take advantage of us and the nation suffers losses as a result. Revolutionary cadres are murdered; crops set afire; factories sabotaged; the people disturbed by wild rumours; friendly ties between our peoples threatened. This we cannot tolerate.

For the last 30 years, the Chinese people have been struggling for their revolution, fighting to create a people's domain. Many an uphill battle has been fought, many a revolutionary lost. Could we allow all of this tremendous effort, suffering and sacrifice to be expended in vain? Could we allow the success of our revolution to go unguarded? Of course not. Chairman Mao has taught us that unless we take steps to wipe out the activities of counter-revolutionary elements, the people's state is placed in jeopardy. Therefore, our people have demanded protection and preventive measures.

The government has answered the call, this as part of its responsibility to the people, to maintain their safety and the revolutionary order. In February of this year, a law was promulgated which, in conjunction with Article 7 of the Common Programme and other directives, sets up a thorough procedure to uncover those who actively work against the people, to detail and verify their guilt beyond question, to give them a fair trial and to mete out deserved punishment. This law was heartily applauded by all democratic parties and individuals and by the people's organisations. It was widely supported by the general population, who enthusiastically joined with the public security forces in bringing to book the unscrupulous elements.



Peasants work out a Patriotic Pact through which they pledge to increase production Woodcut by Li Chun

Peasants and workers, students and professors, industrial and commercial circles, housewives, cultural workers, the various religious circles—all took part in this campaign. Participation on such a grand scale attests to how politically awake the Chinese people are becoming. They recognise that the agents of imperialism and reaction are a mortal danger to peace, both within the country and throughout the world. Thus, our people closed their ranks and mobilised their might to strike these enemies down.

The people were active on every level of the movement to suppress counter-revolutionary elements. They hunted down and turned over the criminals. They aided in the painstaking certification of charges and evidence. The people sat on panels and rendered judgement. Then they joined by the millions in the public reviewing meetings.

This was very involved work. It took time and patience. But our alert public security cadres and the people had that patience and took the necessary time to track down every clue, some investigations covering several provinces. Every effort was made to be absolutely certain that the correct person was brought to trial. No accusation was accepted which could not be backed by indisputable fact. Every fact was checked and checked again. This testifies to the responsible attitude which the Chinese people have towards justice and to the seriousness with which they attacked the menace of counter-revolutionary elements.

The results of this campaign have visibly lifted the spirit of our whole population. In the cities, although many of them had been liberated for two years, some sections of the people were not experiencing the full joy of liberation. The criminals. an inheritance from the old society, continued brutally to oppress them. They were typical gangsters, operating in our streets, infiltrating into our factories and lording it over our workers on the wharves. But now these bad elements have been swept clean and our city people are truly emancipated. Now our workers go about their jobs with free minds. They launch into their problems with a new vigour, determined to keep their homes and places of work secure for all time, and to keep production mounting.

The peasants too have been further liberated by this mass movement. They have rooted out the skulking, plotting feudal remnants, the ones who tried to burn the crops and those who thought they could reverse the revolution by the assassination of rural political workers. Now the land is secure and the peasants organised to protect it. Now they can throw their whole hearts into production. This is especially a new experience in the more recently liberated areas.

The Chinese people, while counting their gains, recognise that the suppression of counter-revolutionary elements is a long-term struggle. It will exist as long as imperialism exists, as long as there is a base from which these criminals can be supplied and sent to harass our people's land. Our policy then is as follows: Be ever vigilant; to those agents



Soong Ching Ling, wearing the International Peace Prize medal, chats with Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet, after the presentation ceremony

who cut their imperialist and reactionary ties completely and sincerely repent for their misdeeds, the people will still be generous; but for those who persist in staining their hands with the blood of the people, we will relentlessly seek them out and destroy them.

In summary, this campaign has been another significant defeat for the imperialists and the feudal elements. The only persons they could enlist from our hundreds of millions to carry out their dirty work were a few scoundrels with long criminal records. But the people have control of the situation. By thus enhancing our inner strength, by guaranteeing that China remains in the hands of the people, we have contributed once again, in another wise and in increased measure, to our country's future and proportionately to the security of world peace.

#### Resist American Aggression, Aid Korea, Protect Our Homes and Defend Our Country

The daily lives of the Chinese people are today immersed in the mass movement which resists American aggression, aids the Korean people, protects our homes and defends our country. This mobilisation is carried out by the China Peace Committee, since it is impossible to separate the fight for peace from the actual threat of an imperialist aggressor. This great patriotic movement links the safety of our Motherland with the protests against the rearming of Japan and Western Germany, with the demand that the five leading powers sign a peace pact. It puts the Chinese people, side by side with the Korean people, in the very first line defending peace.

It is quite natural that we go to the aid of Korea. In the first place, the relationship between our two countries has a history of several thousand years. In the modern era, we were especially close during the Anti-Japanese War. Then, as now, our two peoples

had a common imperialist enemy. Many Korean sons served in our famous Eighth Route Army.* Many of them laid down their lives for China's emancipation. Therefore, our comradeship has deep roots.

In the second place, North Korea is a people's land. As such, it is part of the world peace camp. We could not sit by disinterestedly and watch the warmongers swallow it up.

Another consideration was that the Chinese people are thoroughly familiar with the tactic of "Grab Korea First." We recall with deepest wrath that the Japanese militarists used this same route to invade our Northeast.

Therefore, we had only one course open to us—to help our neighbour and thereby help ourselves and world peace at the same time. We organised the Resist American Agression, Aid Korea mass movement and our nation has risen as one. We support the front with manpower, our volunteers with inspiring heroism notifying the aggressors that they are held accountable for their mad destruction. We support the front with resources, both through increased production and a huge donation campaign. Our people have never acted with such despatch and force in their entire history. An example of this is the increased production through labour emulation, a mass movement in its own right which has spread over the entire land through the medium of patriotic pacts.

China's working class realises that the fighter at the front and the worker at his bench are intimately connected, that the factories are a battlefield also. Therefore, they are fighting to raise production, lower the cost per unit and improve quality. This movement, at the latest count, had 2,230,000 workers with signed patriotic pacts, and 11,159 groups which are following the lead of Ma Heng-chang's brigade. It has reached every variety of factory and enterprise.

China's workers are simultaneously demonstrating that they are the builders of a new epoch. Not only is the labour emulation drive a primary force in the Resist American Aggression, Aid Korea campaign, but it is also preparing China's industry for the future. Workers and technicians no longer accept old methods and systems without critical examination. Now they reverse the order of things and they become the masters of the machines. They approach the problem of lifting the production level with a scientific-revolutionary attitude, to keep what is good of the old while unremittingly searching for the new. In addition, the old way of keeping a good idea for one's own benefit has been discarded. Today a new idea must serve the people and the more it is broadcast to other sections and plants, the better. This outlook has led both to a greater unity of the whole working class, and to the development of a new type of worker combining manual skill the more effectively with creative initiative. It has also led to the swift promotion of workers to administrative posts. For example, in the mining industry last year nearly 7,000 miners became directors, technicians and administrative officers.

At the same time that production rises and more support goes to the front, the lives of the workers improve with heartening rapidity. There is no inflation to rob them of their wages, consequently, they eat and dress better and advance their housing conditions. The medical and other benefits of labour insurance are gradually expanding to include more workers. Safety and sanitation on the job are constantly being lifted to higher levels. Also, not only can the workers' children have schooling, but the workers themselves can make up for lost time through the increasing educational and cultural facilities. All in all, the lives of our workers have completely changed, on the job and in their homes.

This circumstance is possible in China today because we are a nation where labour is honoured, where those who work are the masters. This has nurtured our workers politically. Through labour emulation they demonstrate their comprehension of the spirit and principle of internationalism, how it is part of protecting our homes and defending our country.

The drive to contribute directly to the front through donations also shows the strength of New China. We can see that not only do we have the capacity to improve the living of the people, but we can also put cannon and shell, tanks and aeroplanes into the hands of our fighters who use them for the defence of peace. We have seen how the workers contribute. But the peasants contribute their share also through increased production. And non-productive workers—teachers, shop-keepers, relief workers, cultural workers—all can do something extra or give funds to support the front. To date, this drive has resulted in 2,481 aeroplanes being contributed, in addition to a large number of field pieces, anti-aircraft guns and tanks.

The facts on the battlefield and the facts here at home in this great move to resist American aggression and aid Korea, illustrate what is meant by the phrase, "The new, aroused Asia." They prove that the mightiest of the imperialist powers, aided by a bevy of satellites, can be completely defeated. The struggle may be long and it may be hard, but there is no question as to the outcome. The Chinese and Korean peoples will win. This is a righteous war for our very existence and for the well-being of all mankind.

#### Conclusions

The agrarian reform, the suppression of the counter-revolutionary elements, the Resist American Aggression, Aid Korea, Protect Our Homes and Defend Our Country campaign—these three great mass movements have made the first two years of our People's Republic among the most glorious our nation has ever known. We have added our strength to the struggle for peace and dealt its chief enemy a hard blow. We have added our strength to the struggle of all Asian peoples as they surge forth towards independence. On this second anniversary of our People's Republic, let us take note of these significant accomplishments and prepare ourselves for the next step forward.

^{*}The Communist-led Eighth Route Army which fought in the Anti-Japanese War was the predecessor of the People's Liberation Army.

# Two Years of the People's Republic of China

#### Tung Pi-wu

Vice-Premier of the Central People's Government

The Chinese people, full of hope and confidence, celebrate the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

This establishment of the People's Republic of China two years ago ended the criminal rule of imperialism and China's reactionaries. The imperialists, and first and foremost the American imperialists, had drained blood from the Chinese people to enrich themselves. Mistakenly thinking that the basis of the People's Republic of China was unstable, they decided to achieve its downfall by military aggression, economic blockade and the subversive activities of secret agents. However, history has completely shattered the dreams of the imperialists.

In the past two years, the Chinese people have won brilliant victories in the struggle against foreign aggression, in the fight to wipe out the counter-revolutionary remnants at home, and in the battle to restore and construct the economy, culture and education of the people. The People's Republic of China, far from being weakened or overthrown, has consolidated its gains and increased its strength day by day.

The People's Republic of China was founded in the struggle against the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys. The greater part of the first two years since the Republic's establishment bears witness to the struggle to resist imperialist aggression.

More than a year ago, in June, 1950, to be more exact, the American imperialists who were unwilling to accept their defeat in China crossed the Pacific Ocean which stretches over 8,000 kilometres and launched their campaign of armed aggression against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, our friendly neighbour. At the same time, the American imperialists sent naval and air units to occupy our territory—Taiwan.

The Chinese people have endeavoured to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Like the Soviet government and all peace-loving governments and peoples throughout the world, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly advocated that foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea and that the Korean people be permitted to settle their own domestic affairs. Moreover, it has issued warnings time and again to the American imperialists. However, ignoring the repeated proposals and warnings

of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, the American invaders crossed the 38th Parallel in October, 1950, occupied Pyongyang on October 20 and drove furiously towards the borders of the People's Republic of China. Since August 1950 the American air force attacking Korea has been constantly invading the skies of Northeast China. Furthermore, through U.S. government manipulations and coercion the United Nations General Assembly on October 7 passed a blood-thirsty proposal to occupy all Korea. This tried the patience of the Chinese people too far. They therefore organised volunteers to resist American aggression, and Korea, protect their homes and defend their Motherland. The volunteers went to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army.

From October 25, 1950 to September 10, 1951, the Chinese people's volunteers, together with the Korean People's Army, wiped out over 317,000 American-Rhee troops, including more than 140,000 American, British, French, Turkish and other troops. The invading troops suffered telling blows and were driven back to the vicinity of the 38th Parallel. In July this year, the United States Government was compelled to express its willingness to conduct negotiations for an armistice in Korea.

The Chinese people have consistently advocated a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. However, as American imperialism does not show the least good faith, the Chinese people have no option but to stand ready to beat back any new offensive of American imperialism while, at the same time, striving together with the Korean people for the success of the armistice negotiations. In a joint declaration issued on September 3, 1951 the various democratic parties of China supported the solemn and just stand taken by the delegation of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers in the negotiations. They declared: "So long as the American side does not change its attitude, it must bear full responsibility for and take the consequences of the failure of the negotiations." They also called on people throughout China "to bend all their efforts to wage a protracted struggle, together with the Korean people, for the victorious termination of the Korean war against aggression and pledge themselves not to stop until this purpose is achieved."

While heroically resisting American imperialist aggression, the Chinese people have not relaxed their

efforts in the internal struggle. During the past two years, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has liberated all China except Taiwan which is now being occupied by American imperialism. The peaceful liberation of Tibet in May this year is one of the most important victories won by the Chinese people in 1951.

The victory won in the People's War of Liberation has brought China a unity without precedent in Chinese history—the unity of the people throughout the country, including the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democrats under the leadership of the working class; and the unity of the various nationalities in China on the basis of equality, solidarity and mutual help.

During this two-year period, the Chinese people have widely established in areas which they themselves liberated, the state rule of New Democracy led by the working class and carried out the stupendous task of wiping out bandits, secret agents and other counter-revolutionaries remaining on Chinese soil.

Under the leadership of the people's government and the Communist Party of China, the masses of



The Land Reform—burning the old feudal title deeds

Drawing by Chen Yin

peasants in the vast newly liberated areas have carried through the land reform struggle and shattered the feudal basis of land ownership. During the past year, land reform has been completed in areas with a rural population of over 150 millions, and approximately 90 million peasants who had no land or only a little land have received over 12 million hectares of land. At the present time, land reform has been completed in areas with a total population of over 310 millions. The remaining work of land reform in areas with a total population of less than 90 millions can be completed in the main within the coming The development of the land reform has greatly enhanced the political consciousness of the peasants and their enthusiasm for production. It has transformed the face of China politically, economically and culturally.

Since their overthrow of the imperialist and feudal regime, their establishment of the people's democratic rule, their consolidation and development of the people's democratic dictatorship and the people's democratic united front, the Chinese people have been able to reconstruct and develop their economy, culture and education.

The Central People's Government has exerted gigantic and strenuous efforts to improve the economic and financial life of the country which had been repeatedly damaged. These efforts included the centralisation and regulation of finance and the curbing of the protracted inflation. In accordance with the directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, every effort has been made to achieve the completion of various necessary preparations in a short space of time so that planned economic construction can be started. One of the preparatory steps is land reform. Another step is the adjustment of old industrial and commercial enterprises. These are being transformed from instruments which originally served imperialism into industrial and commercial enterprises led by the new state economy. Notable achievements have been made in this work.

As a result of the carrying out of land reform and the aid given to the peasants by the people's government, China's agricultural production has been rapidly restored. The output of grain this year is estimated to increase by eight per cent over that of last year, or 92.8 per cent of the 1936 pre-war level. The output of cotton this year is expected to increase by 36.9 per cent over that of last year, that is, to surpass by 10 per cent the highest level known in China's history (1936). As a result, this year China not only does not have to import grain as it did under Kuomintang rule, but is in a position to export grain. China is gradually becoming self-supporting in cotton.

For the long-range purpose of ending floods, the Central People's Government has led the people throughout the country in carrying out gigantic water conservancy plans. Of particular importance is the harnessing of the Huai River first proposed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Construction work for the first stage of the project to harness the Huai River has been completed. This work has made possible the first bumper harvest in many years in the Huai River valley. The 55 million people in the Huai River valley have freed themselves forever of the grave threat of floods.

In the field of restoring and developing industrial production, striking progress has been made during the past two years. The People's Republic of China now has state-operated industries of a Socialist character, whose output accounts for half of the total output of China's modern industry. State-operated light industry constitutes about one-third of the total light industry. State-operated heavy industry forms about four-fifths of the total heavy industry State-operated industry thus constitutes the leading force of China's New Democratic social economy. China's light industry in general has been restored to its pre-war level. The cotton textile industry

already surpassed the pre-war level last year. Heavy industry which suffered serious losses during the war is rapidly recovering and new enterprises are being built.

There are more than 22,600 kilometres of railways throughout China, and all of them are now open to traffic. New lines are now under construction in Szechuan, Kansu and Kwangsi Provinces. China's 100,000 kilometres of highways are also open to traffic.

The rapid progress of the land reform programme and the restoration of industrial and agricultural production and of communications and transportation have brought about a great expansion in China's domestic trade.

Last year China's foreign trade showed a favourable balance reversing the unfavourable balance of 73 years since 1877. The centralised state control of foreign trade and the transformation of the Customs Administration into an independent and sovereign organisation combined have enabled China's foreign trade to free itself from imperialist bondage. At the same time, trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has developed according to plan. The volume of trade with these countries exceeds that with the capitalist countries.

The state banks and state trading companies of the People's Republic of China have become a powerful instrument for state control and adjustment of the market, for curbing speculative activities and for serving the development of industrial and agricultural production. Meanwhile, co-operative societies of a semi-Socialist character have increased in number to 46,000 with a total membership of 30 millions by the end of last year. Under the leadership and with the assistance of the state-operated trading companies, the co-operatives have had a very great effect on the interflow of goods between the urban and rural districts. They have also ensured the supply of necessities for the people's daily life.

Unemployment has almost disappeared in the old liberated areas as a result of the rapid recovery and development of industrial and agricultural production. The people's living conditions have either begun to show gradual improvement or the basic conditions for improvement have been created.

One of the chief reasons why the Chinese people have been able to achieve these results, despite the aggression and trade blockade of American imperialism, is the great and selfless aid given by the Soviet Union. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed in February 1950 serves as a powerful safeguard to the Chinese people in their struggle against aggression and in embarking on their national construction programme. The great aid from the Soviet Union in the form of credits, trade, technique and experiences has accelerated the progress of the Chinese people's construction. Experiences gained by China prove once again that an economically backward country-once it frees itself from imperialist and feudal enslavement—can rapidly restore its own economy and build a prosperous, rich

and powerful industrialised country through the solidarity and efforts of its own people and the friendly aid from the Socialist Soviet Union.

The cultural life of the Chinese people is also entirely different from what it was in the dark days of the past. During the past two years, the Chinese people have unfolded a wide self-education and self-remoulding movement to study the new ideology and new viewpoint, and criticise the old ideology and old viewpoint. This movement has an extremely great effect on raising the level of the people's political consciousness.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, more and more people have been afforded the opportunity of taking up cultural studies with the assistance of the people's government. The year before last, 10 million peasants entered winter schools. Last year, the number increased to 25 millions. This year, 10 million peasants attend spare-time schools. The enrolment of students in the workers' vocational schools reached 700,000 last year and has increased to over 1,500,000 this year. The total number of primary school pupils throughout the country was 30 million last year. This number increased to 37 million this year representing an increase of more than 55 per cent over the primary school enrolment before the Anti-Japanese War.

The press and publication enterprises of New China have made remarkable progress. The total circulation of newspapers throughout the country reaches six million copies, an increase of 300 per cent over the figure for 1948. Last year, more than 271,700,000 copies of books of various types were published in many parts of China.

The people's hygiene and health is now improving. Last year, there were more than 81,300,000 persons vaccinated against typhoid, typhus, cholera and tuberculosis. By September this year, 170 million people had been vaccinated. Not one case of cholera has been reported in China for three years, while cases of typhoid and typhus have been considerably reduced.

The distinguished successes and achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past two years are eloquent proof that the Chinese people, united under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government headed by Mao Tse-tung, can defeat all enemies at homeand abroad. Overcoming all difficulties they are building up a mighty and prosperous people's democracy leading to Socialism. The Chinese people are developing, with redoubled efforts, the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea. They are supporting the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army and making strenuous efforts to build a system of mighty national defences. The Chinese people stand firmly in the world camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. They will strive to the end to smash the aggressive war plot of the imperialist camp headed by American imperialism. No force whatsoever can prevent the Chinese people from marching forward.

### CURRENT ACHIEVEMENTS IN CHINA



#### FOR WORLD PEACE

344,047,932 people, or over 72.9% of the total population, endorsed the Appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact between April and July, 1951; and 339,898,125, or over 72.04% of the total population cast votes opposing the rearmament of Japan.



#### TO BUILD DEMOCRACY

People's Representative Conferences had been held, by the end of August, 1951, in 27 of the 28 provinces, in 8 administrative districts of provincial level, 147 of the 154 cities, and 2,032 of the 2,068 counties of China. 104 of the 117 administrative units, including banners, leagues and autonomous areas, had also held similar conferences.

Elections had been held in 17 provinces for Provincial People's Government Councils; and in 27 counties for County People's Government Councils.



#### IN LAND REFORM

Land reform has been carried out in areas with a rural population of 310,000,000 or 75% of the total rural population. Over 12,000,000 hectares of feudal land holdings have been confiscated and distributed to 90,000,000 poor and tenant peasants.



#### IN AGRICULTURE

Total grain yield in 1950 was 14% higher than 1949. It is estimated that the 1951 figure will be 8% higher than that of 1950.

The cotton crop in 1950 was 58.9% higher than in 1949. It is estimated that the 1951 yield will increase by 36.9% over that of last year.



#### IN INDUSTRY

Coal output in the first quarter of 1951 was 9% higher than for the corresponding quarter in 1950. The total 1950 figure was 28% higher than that of 1949.

Cotton yarn and cloth produced in 1951 exceeded the 1950 output by 33%. This was 28% more than the maximum pre-war production.



#### IN COMMUNICA-TIONS

Over 22,600 kilometres of railway lines have been reconstructed or built, making the total length of railways in regular operation 91% of the pre-war figure.

There are now over 100,000 kilometres of highways which is nearly equal to the pre-war figure.



#### IN FOREIGN TRADE

For the first time since 1877 there was a favourable trade balance: exports exceeded imports by 9.34%. Trade with the U.S.S.R. occupies first place.



#### IN CO-OPERATIVES

By June, 1951 after their recent amalgamation there were 42,427 co-operative societies, with 51,000,000 members and total share capital amounting to \(\foat{\pmathbf{7}}529,022,120,000\). The 1951 membership was over ten times that of 1949.



# FOR PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

37,000,000 students enrolled in primary schools, 1.570,000 in secondary schools and 128,000 in colleges and universities for the first term in 1951. 1.500,000 workers take part in vocational schools in 1951. 25,000,000 peasants participated in winter studies in 1950, and 10,000,000 attend spare-time schools in 1951.

# October 1, 1949 and the German People

#### Ambassador Johannes Konig

Chief of the German Diplomatic Mission to China

"Soon there will emerge an independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful China! Let us go forward to that great day!" These were the words of the great leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung, at the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1945. And this great day came on October 1, 1949.

For the Chinese people the establishment of the People's Republic was the climax of their victories in the protracted and difficult struggle which, at the cost of many sacrifices, they had waged against all their enemies. It meant the establishment of that independent, free, democratic, united, prosperous and powerful China of which Mao Tse-tung spoke, which for many centuries had been the dream of the Chinese people and the aim of their revolutionary struggle. The world historic victory of the Chinese people, however, has not only opened a new, bright chapter in their own history. It has also struck the heaviest blow at the imperialist system, at all the forces of reaction and at the warmongers throughout the world since the great October Socialist Revolution and the smashing of the Hitler-Tojo coalition.

#### New Strength to the Peace Camp

Thus, the crowning of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people by the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic has considerably weakened the imperialist camp. On the other hand, it has added great new strength to the peace camp, illustrating more vividly and impressively the superiority of the camp of peace and democracy over the camp of war and reaction. The historic event of world significance which occurred on October 1, 1949 has confirmed the wise prophecy of Stalin who, speaking of the prospects of the Chinese people's struggle, said some 25 years ago:

"The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are incalculable. They have not yet made themselves properly fell. But they will make themselves felt in the future. The rulers of the East and of the West who do not see these forces and do not reckon with them in due measure will suffer from this."

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, its development and its great successes have a tremendous meaning for the peoples of the peace camp. The peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are learning from the example of the victorious Chinese people how they can wage successful struggles for their own national liberation. The German people are also learning from the victorious Chinese people that their struggle for national existence, which is menaced by the American imperialists and their German lackeys of the Chiang Kai-shek type, can only end in victory, so long as the people close their ranks and unite in the defence of their vital rights. For this reason, on the occasion

of the second anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, we would like to evaluate the lessons provided by its emergence and development and the significance they have for Germany.

The victories of the new China confirm once again on a larger scale than ever before the worldhistoric significance of the great October Socialist Revolution and the leading role of the Soviet Union in the people's struggle for independence, democracy and peace. Without the existence of the Soviet Union, without the victory of the glorious Soviet Army over the fascist bandits, and particularly without the utter defeat of Japanese imperialism, and the establishment of the New Democracies in Europe, the victory of the Chinese people would have been impossible. It was the study of the invaluable revolutionary experience of the Soviet people and its adaptation to the concrete conditions and circumstances prevailing in China and in the liberation struggle of the Chinese people that made it possible for the leaders and masses of the Chinese people to achieve great and historic successes.

Through the experience of their own historic development, the Chinese people have come to know that the great land of Socialism, the land of Lenin and Stalin, is their best friend and helper. In the same way, the broad masses of the German people have also realised and continue to realise more and more that the Soviet Union is their best friend and most reliable support in the struggle for the unity of Germany, for peace and democratic construction. Thus, the friendship the Chinese and German peoples bear for the Soviet Union is at the same time the most solid foundation of their own friendship. The Soviet Union is also that great bridge that forever unites not only our countries, but also the hearts of our peoples. Our mutual friend is at the same time our common leader, standing at the head of our peace camp and giving the struggling peoples an inexhaustible faith in their own strength and victory.

The German Democratic Republic was established a week after the Chinese People's Republic and the Central People's Government. It is natural that on the eve of the proclamation of their own Republic, the great achievements of the Chinese people made a particularly deep impression on the German population, which had followed events in China with great interest and sympathy. The closeness of the dates of birth of our Republics has helped to strengthen the solidarity of our two peoples, their consciousness of their own strength and their confidence of victory in the struggle against imperialism. This consciousness of the close ties that bind us reached its height in the words of Mao Tse-tung:

".... the people's Germany and the people's China are both standing at the forefront of the great struggle against imperialism."

There is another important lesson to be drawn from the struggle of the Chinese people against the foreign imperialists and the reactionaries of their own country: the victory has been won under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party. The failure of all earlier popular uprisings in China and the brilliant victory of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the Party of Mao Tse-tung show that, at the present time, it is only the working class and its Party that are able to mobilise the broad masses, unite them in struggle and lead them to victory in the national liberation struggle against imperialism. The events in China confirm once again the teachings of Lenin and Stalin regarding the leading role of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party. They are an excellent and instructive example for the German working class, which holds the leading positions in the government and econo-

mic organisations of the state of the German Democratic Republic and which is fighting in Western Germany for unity in its own ranks in order to win the struggle against American imperialism and against reviving German imperialism. What is absolutely clear and extremely instructive is the high level of political consciousness and fighting readiness, the unflinching determination to defend peace and help brotherly peoples in their struggle against imperialist aggression which the Chinese Communist Party has instilled into the masses of the Chinese people by its example and influence.

#### United National Front Needed

The German people are also learning from the example set by the Chinese people that in the struggle for national existence, it is necessary to create a broad united national front, embracing the workers and peasants and reaching into the national bourgeoisie. It is more necessary today than ever before to deepen and strengthen this broad national front of all the honest and really patriotic forces of the German people. The decisions of the recent Washington conference of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France are aimed at speeding the rearmament and remilitarisation of Western Germany and at locking her into the aggressive military system of the North Atlantic Pact on the lines of the infamous "Japanese model." This immeasurably increases the dangers that threaten the German people, their peaceful existence and peace among the peoples of Europe. Therefore, the progressive and patriotic forces of Germany are all the more conscious that the German people bear the greatest responsibility in the fight to preserve peace; that not a single German can escape this responsibility. Only the democratic unity of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the whole of Germany can provide a reliable guarantee that peace will be maintained and save the German people from another horrible catastrophe. For this reason the government and people of the German Democratic Republic are struggling tirelessly to achieve full understanding and unity of action among all Germans in the eastern and western parts of our country, in the interests of national unity and peace.



Ambassador Konig during a visit to the village of the Black Pagoda near Peking

The overwhelming majority of the German people realise not only that the preparations for the planned American war against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic are a crime against humanity, but also that participation in this crime is tantamount to suicide. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the German people are turning against the policy of the remilitarisation of Western Germany, which is being carried out by the American imperialists and their obedient agents, Adenauer, Schumacher & Co. In the course of the popular referendum in June this year, 96 per cent of the citizens possessing the right to vote in the German Democratic Republic protested against the remilitarisation of Western Germany and voted for the conclusion of a peace treaty with all In Western Germany, the Adenauer Germany. government banned the holding of the popular referendum. But despite the terror campaign of the Adenauer-Schumacher clique, a popular referendum was held in many West German enterprises, villages, towns and boroughs. The result was the same everywhere-between 80 and 90 per cent of the population of Western Germany voted against remilitarisation and for the conclusion of a peace treaty with all Germany. These facts bear witness to the real feelings of the German people to which the warmongers now reply with further war preparations, terror and new deceptions and tricks, with the result that the struggle for national democratic unification and peace now demands greater efforts from all really patriotic forces of the German people. In this struggle the German people have before them the brilliant example of the heroic and finally victorious struggle of the Chinese people, who united into a single national front against the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique and the imperialist interventionists.

The German people are waging their struggle as part of the world peace camp, headed by the great Soviet Union. They feel united, particularly, with the heroic Korean people and with the Chinese people who are giving invaluable help to their neighbour Korea, in the struggle against the mutual enemy,

(Continued on page 39)

# YENAN—

# Cradle of the Revolution

Impressions of a recent visit

by K. M. Panikkar

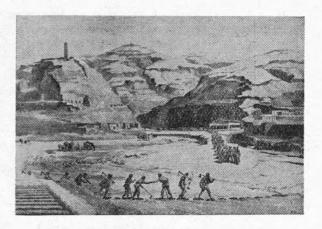
Indian Ambassador to China

Yenan, the holy city of the Revolution, as the Chinese call it, is now no more than a small mountain town, with little more than 10,000 souls inhabiting it, and yet for ten years it represented to the outside world the revolutionary spirit of modern China, was the symbol of unyielding resistance to Japanese aggression as even American observers testified, a name that inspired hope in the hearts of millions of people in China, and was feared and dreaded by many not only in China but outside also. For, it was this mountain town that Mao Tse-tung had finally selected as his headquarters after the historic 8,000-mile Long March in which he and Chu Teh had led their troops across mountains, rivers and grassy land, to reach a new revolutionary base. It is from the cave dwellings of this town that Mao planned his strategy and sent out his orders which carried the war behind the Japanese lines in areas as wide apart as Manchuria and Hainan. Also, it was the place where the principles of New Democracy were first enunciated and the practice of a coalition government including all parties was worked out. In fact for ten years, Yenan served as the laboratory of new policies and methods and practically everything which the people's government put into effect later on a nation-wide scale was tried out first in the mountainous countryside around Yenan.

#### Yenan's Famous Background

Yenan was not without a little niche of its own in Chinese history even before Mao Tse-tung made it world famous. Tu Fu, esteemed as one of the greatest poets of China, whose anti-militarist poems still vibrate with intense emotion, lived here for a few years. There is a small memorial temple standing even now on the site where he lived and wrote his immortal poems, and the valley through which he fled when the fires of war approached the place is still called after him. Nor did the pious Buddhist monks of the Tang Dynasty (7th-9th centuries) neglect so ideal a place for retreat and contemplation. The cave of Ten Thousand Buddhas, so named because of the immense number of small images of the Great Teacher carved on all the sides of the grotto, attests both to their piety, and to the popularity of the place with many generations of Buddhist monks.

Yenan is situated on both sides of a mountain stream named the Yen which flows through a narrow gorge here. The river has but little water except



during the rains and men, animals and vehicles pass across it easily and the want of a bridge is not seriously felt by the people of the area. The town is situated on the side of the mountains and though there are a few houses, a street and a market, caves bored on the side of the mountains take the place of houses here. There are no less than 20,000 such caves all of which were occupied when the town was the headquarters of Mao Tse-tung's government. In these caves as we shall see were housed universities, hospitals, newspaper offices, besides great administrative organisations which controlled the operations of armies and governed large territories. Many of the great leaders who now occupy the highest positions in China lived in these cave dwellings, which sheltered them against the extreme cold of Yenan's winter. Yenan, indeed, is the city of caves, where the normal habitations of men seem at all times to have been caves. At the present time many of these caves are lying deserted, as the major portion of Yenan's temporary inhabitants have moved into Peking.

The approach to Yenan is most forbidding. Over 200 miles of barren mountainous country intersected by deep canyons and rocky pathless hills lie between it and Sian. The canyons which from the air look like wide natural trenches afford ideal protection for guerillas and render it almost impossible for a modern army to advance into the region in the face of a determined opposition. Population is sparse and cultivation is only in patches along the terraces of the hills. One village which I visited had only 11 families. The life of the peasant folk living in these areas is hard, but the continuous fight against nature has bred a sturdy peasantry, virile and independent.

In the unsettled era that followed the revolution of 1926-7, two young men of the locality agitated among the peasants and established a guerilla centre in Yenan. No one took much notice of what was happening in this remote and forgotten corner, but in a few years' time the guerilla centre developed into an important regional revolutionary government. Liu Tse-tan and Kao Kang who founded this territorial base for revolutionary activity in the Northwest were both men of outstanding ability and leadership. Their Red Army, known as the Peasant and Workers' Army, established an effective control over a wide area where they gave effect to a land

revolution confiscating the property of the landlords and the rich peasants and distributing it to the peasants. When Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh reached Pao-an after the Long March and established their temporary headquarters there with a view to giving a respite to the armies which had marched continuously for over a year, Liu Tse-tan and Kao Kang got into communication with them and invited them to make Yenan their headquarters. In 1936 Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh with their forces which had been reorganised at Pao-an entered their new headquarters which remained for ten years the capital of Communist China. In 1947, Chiang Kai-shek's general, Hu Tsung-nan, occupied it for a period of 13 months and three days, a deceptive victory, which misled the world to think that the Communists had been finally beaten. But though, the red forces re-entered Yenan. Mao Tse-tung did not return with them. By that time much of North China had fallen to his generals and Mao was expecting soon to move into Peking itself.

From 1936 to 1946 Yenan was the capital of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region as it was officially called after the truce, the headquarters of the Communist Party of China, which led revolutionary bases in different parts of the country, the main centre of the Red Armies and the capital of what may be called the rival government of China. It vied in importance with Chungking and Nanking. Not only did the Americans maintain an observation group at Yenan, but Patrick Hurley himself visited the place and talked with Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders in their cave apartments. Foreign correspondents flocked to the picturesque mountain village and made its life in caves famous in the world's press. Following Edgar Snow's well-known book Red Star over China, many leading correspondents familiarised the world with the social atmosphere, political experiments, and conditions of living in Yenan.

What it must have been when it was the second capital of China I can only imagine. The area of activity ranged over many miles, for there are tiers of caves on all sides of the mountain and along both sides of the river. The Central Hall, the headquarters of the Party, and the caves which housed the Central Committee are situated about two miles away from the town of Yenan in a place known as the Yangfamily Homestead. The Central Hall which was solidly built of stone is now in ruins as Hu Tsungnan ordered its destruction when he reoccupied Yenan in 1947. It was in this hall that the 7th Congress of the Communist Party was held in 1945 when Mao Tse-tung delivered his famous speech On Coalition Government and proclaimed in general outline the programme he intended to follow. A little distance away from it is the building also of stone which housed the offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It is now a school for the children of cadres who have fallen in the struggle. The building is in two stories and Mao Tse-tung's room on the first floor faces the terrace in which are situated the caves of the leaders. The three-roomed cave in which he first stayed when he moved to this side of the town is stone-faced and has plenty of light and air. The window is covered with paper to keep

out the cold and the wind, and the familiar picture of Mao at his table with a kerosene oil lamp, facing the window is said to represent him in this cave. The caves of the members of the Central Committee were situated nearby all in a row. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and other political leaders had their residences there, while Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and his principal assistants lived in another set of caves, two or three miles away in a place called the Date Garden. Peng Teh-huai, Vice Commander-in-Chief also had his cave there. Chu Teh is a great planter of fruit trees and in this place as well as in the Wang Family Garden, where he lived later, he planted numerous peach trees. The Chairman also moved into a small three-roomed house here as it had the advantage of a small garden. Most of the Communist generals who became famous later had their caves in this area and lived here at one time or another.

The final place of residence of the Communist leaders in Yenan was in the Wang Family Garden. There, as usual, there was a small house for the Chairman, and at a little distance, one for the Commander-in-Chief. A fruit garden with a fish pond which the Commander-in-Chief had constructed for his amusement added to the attraction of the place. There was also a community hall for dances and amusements, a reception room and caves for officers and staff. The Wang Family Garden is a pleasant spot, in rural surroundings and was a great improvement on the previous caves.

#### Newspaper Printed in Caves

The public institutions such as General Lin Piao's Resist-the-Japanese Military and Political University, the Bethune International Peace Hospital, the women's college, the college for Japanese peasants and workers, recruited from prisoners of war, and the Liberation Daily were all situated in groups of caves in different places along the hillside. The university which trained cadres for the military and civil government who were destined to provide New China with its leadership, now houses a middle school. The offices of the Liberation Daily were in the grotto of Ten Thousand Buddhas. From these caves where Buddhist monks some hundreds of years ago retired for peace and contemplation there appeared everyday a strange sheet which was something more than a newspaper. Published on locally made paper, at first under the most primitive conditions, it was the official gazette of the Communist Party, its mouthpiece, the chief instrument of political education and a great vehicle of propaganda. Copies of the Daily went regularly to the office of Chiang Kai-shek, and I was told that when the Chungking censors prevented some issues from reaching the Generalissimo, a complaint was received in the office and an explanation asked for. When I visited the grotto of Ten Thousand Buddhas, I found three people working there under a dim light. In reply to my enquiry I was told that the local successor of the Liberation Daily continues to be issued from this grotto.

Apart from the offices of the Central Committee and the caves which Mao Tse-tung and other leaders occupied, the most interesting place to visitors from outside is undoubtedly the area known as the Valley of Culture. On both sides were caves and huts occupied by officials and Party members, with a community hall in the centre, where plays, concerts, dances, etc. were staged regularly. The technique of the new Chinese theatre, music and dancing were worked out there, and those who have witnessed the evolution of the Peking Opera into its modern form will certainly consider that this Valley contributed to a cultural revolution of no small significance.

The main institution here was the Lu Hsun Academy of Arts, named after the famous author of Ah Q, recognised universally as the father of progressive literature in China. The Academy was divided into four sections: drama, music, fine arts and literature. The courses extended only to nine months, the first term of three months being devoted to the general theory of the subject concerned. During the second term the students worked either in the Army or in the field or factory, and after gaining first-hand experience came back to the Academy for a third term of three months when they were taught the elements of craftsmanship in their own selected fields.

Whatever one may say of this rough and ready method of art education, there is no doubt that it gave a new realistic and progressive bias to Chinese literature. Also it is interesting as an evidence of the importance that the Chinese Communists attached to the cultural aspects of their revolution even in the hard days of their life in Yenan.

Today the Valley of Culture is totally deserted. Not only have its former occupants moved on to Peking, Shanghai, Mukden and other important cities, but the Hall, the Academy and the rows of buildings were razed to the ground by Hu Tsung-nan during the short time that he reoccupied the town.

What was my general impression of Yenan—the city of caves which Mao Tse-tung made his head-quarters for 10 years? The impression one receives is one of unbending determination—a solemn resolve, shared by everyone who cooperated in the effort to undergo every kind of physical suffering rather than give up the cause to which they had dedicated

themselves. When one sees a little more of the groups of cave-villages around the hills, it becomes evident that Yenan was more than a refuge or a sanctuary, but an attempt to create a new life. For, every aspect of the political, economic and cultural life of New China either originated here, or its practicability tested on a fairly large scale in the Border Region of which Yenan was also the capital. The prototype of the institutions now being applied on a national scale over the vast area of China can all be traced here. Agrarian reform was introduced here and its results studied carefully so that when the time came for its application to the rest of China, the leaders of government had a large store of experience to draw upon. The new people's education, which bases itself on peasants and workers had its origin here. The new economy, which Yenan was forced to develop as a result alike of the blockade enforced by the Kuomintang and by its own necessities to maintain and feed a large army in the field, forms the essential basis of the economy of the people's government-again let it be remembered a blockade economy. When almost immediately after the establishment of the Central People's Government, Premier Chou En-lai spoke of the ability of China to defy a blockade for any length of time he was almost surely thinking of the self-sufficiency that Yenan developed under the rigid Kuomintang blockade. The coalition system of government, in which all sections of opinion participated in the work of government, was also worked out in Yenan, for it was here in 1943 that Mao Tse-tung made the first declaration of the principle that the Communists will be satisfied with one third representation in political organisations, and in 1945 made the coalition government the central plank in the Communist platform. To Yenan's part in the cultural revolution we have already alluded. Briefly in Yenan, we can trace the steady development of the Chinese revolution to its present stage, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is impossible to understand New China without visiting Yenan, for the roots of many things lie buried in these mountain caves.

Yenan, August 26, 1951.

#### Postmen Help Spread News

A simple method for increasing the circulation of newspapers and magazines, for introducing new publications to a large readership and for circulating reading matter to remote areas, has been introduced in China. Subscriptions are collected and deliveries made by the postmen. About 2,200,000 newspapers now reach their readers in various parts of the country every day in this way.

The postmen are enthusiastic about their new job and compete with each other in obtaining new subscriptions. Subscriptions to the Peking People's Daily have in this way gone up by 150 per cent during the past year, while those to the Peasant Masses, a Chekiang province daily newspaper, have increased 19 times.

There is another advantage. The postmen see their subscribers everyday, and can discuss the merits of the various publications and take care of subscription renewals. They have also, in many cases, organised newspaper reading groups among the peasants so that those who are illiterate can keep in touch with events. One postman in Changsha, Hunan Province, has organised 1,250 such groups during the past year. In Shensi Province, 23,000 reading groups have been organised with a membership of 320,000 peasants.

This is one simple and effective way in which the thirst for knowledge of current events among the masses is being met.



China's Young Pioneers are enthusiastic participants in the peace movement. The flags they are carrying say "Ban the Atom Bomb"



Kuo Mo-jo, leader of the Chinese peace delegation was greeted with stormy applause by representatives of 81 nations as he took the chair at the 2nd World Peace Congress, Warsaw, 1950

# NEW CHINA In Defence of Peace

Over 344,000,000 people in China, nearly 73 per cent of the total population, have signed the call for a Five Power Peace Pact. In the forefront of the struggle to aid Korea against the U.S. aggressors or in peaceful productive labour on the home front, the people greet the 2nd



The peace dove is seen everywhere in China—in factories, offices, homes, shops, trains, and at mass rallies such as this where thousands of signatures for peace were collected

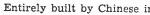
Anniversary of the People's Republic of China with new achievements in defence of world peace, the assurance of their continued rapid advance to prosperity and happiness

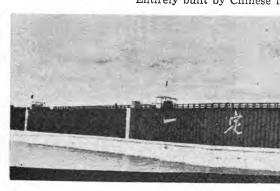


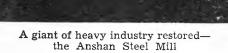
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Tientsin textile workers sign the call for a 5-Power Peace Pact

Students at the Central National Minorities College, Peking, sign for world peace







# IN PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION

Anshan Steel Mill's hero workers —masters of their enterprise



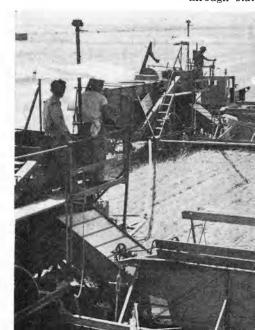
A bridge on the Lungha by the Kuomintang

The People - Their Deeds

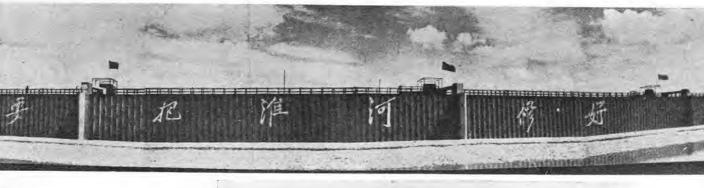
The emancipated peasants in mutual-aid teams like this of labour model Li Tien-ying, raise bumper harvests



With the aid of the U.S.S.R. and the s modern methods of farming are bein through stat



ustry, the great sluice gates of the Huai River project, installed at Jenhochi, North Anhwei, in July, 1951

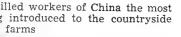




Railway, one of many destroyed and now completely rebuilt

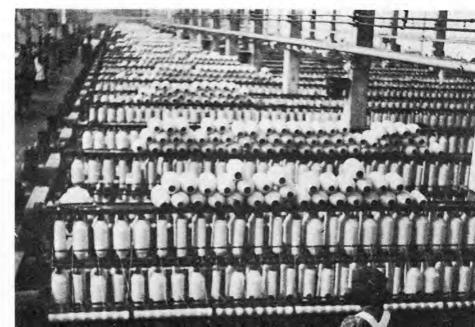


Peasant builders are removing 25,000,000 cubic metres of earth from the bed of the Sui River, part of the vast Huai River control project to protect one-seventh of China's arable land from flood





This Tientsin Textile Mill now works entirely on Chinese raw materials





The joy of working for her people and her country shines in the face of Wang Shu-min, a shock-worker who was elected chairman of her trade union shop committee at the Heng Yuan Cotton Mill in Tientsin



Ma Heng-chang and his brigade of machinists, pacesetters for all industrial workers in China, make plans for raising labour productivity in the Patriotic Emulation Campaign

# In the New Spirit of Work for the People

Workers and peasants know that increased production means improved living conditions. Now the masters of the country, their whole spirit towards work has changed dramatically

"Only the people's government could have made us owners of this fine grain," says old peasant Chao of Honan Province



Li Shun-ta, the Shansi leader of the nation's foremost mutual-aid team, discusses production plans with his record-breaking co-workers



# A Bridge Is Not Merely A Bridge

#### F. C. Weiskopf

Czechoslovak Ambassador to China

This is a chapter from a book still in the process of being written. It is tentatively called The Journey to Canton and deals with some impressions of New China gathered on a trip to that city.

Novelists have a habit of prefacing their books with a note cautioning the reader not to identify the characters with any persons in real life. A warning of this kind seems advisable even here. The people dealt with in this chapter are composite characters. They are true in a poetical though not in a photographic way.—The Author

A steady whirling stream of traffic is flowing over the bridge whose central iron spans are still tigered with streaks of red indicating that another coat of paint has as yet to complete the attire of the resurrected "Pearl River beauty." lively hubbub of rickshas, buffalo carts, bicycles, trucks, automobiles and pedestrians on the bridge is echoed by the din of hammers and saws from the construction yard at the northern bridge-head. Down in the river, a number of huge concrete rocks and rusty iron pillars strangely twisted and curled-remnants of the former central spans which were dynamited by Chiang Kai-shek's fleeing troopsobstruct the main channel leaving only a narrow passage for the heavily laden sampans coming in swarms from both directions. There is a lot of shouting, ringing of bells, sounding of horns and waving of arms. The reconstructed, yet not fully painted bridge with its buoyant traffic, the din of work from the yard and the bustle of the boats.... all this together creates an atmosphere of boiling life, of growth, of transition, and progress: the same somewhat feverish but strong and healthy atmosphere that can be found on big construction sites or in huge factory workshops where new machines are being mounted.

#### The Dynamic Foreman

And the same breath of dynamic vigour and joy of life blows through the story of the broadshouldered fellow in greyish blue denims and an oldfashioned Chinese peasant straw hat to whom we have been introduced by our friend, the architect, who looks like a wise squirrel and speaks French with an undeniable Paris accent. The broadshouldered fellow-our friend's "very best foreman, better than two right hands"—tells us how the fitters and rivetters of a shock brigade, dead tired but flushed with pride and joy over their victory, succeeded in clinching the last pins at the central span construction just in time for the bridge to be opened for traffic well ahead of schedule on the morning of November 7, the anniversary of the Great Russian Revolution. "Ahead of a schedule fixed by specialists with foreign training, mind you!"

The book which the author refers to in the note above is scheduled for publication by "Mir" in Prague, "Dietz" in Berlin and "Ksiazka i Wiedza" in Warsaw in 1952.

"Those specialists with foreign training, that's me and a couple of fellow architects and engineers," adds our friend who acts as translator. He grins and pulls his tiny well-worn basque beret from his right ear to the left one. This beret, together with his Paris accent, some academic knowledge of bridge construction, a first edition of the poems of Rimbaud and a faint passion for cheese, form, so to speak, "the whole heritage from a long exile in France." He grins again and asks: "And of what use is it? I speak. French once in an eternity, I would be much happier with a bit of Russian, there are so many new engineering books published over there! Well, this fall I am going to begin a study course in Russian, I have already made preparations for it....But what was it I wanted to talk about? Oh yes, my French gets rusty, and there is no time for the poetry of Rimbaud, and entre nous I even think I might not like it so much on re-reading. As to my penchant for cheese . . . my wife comes from the Chinese interior and cannot stand cheese, she calls it rotten milk. Well, and that academic knowledge of bridge construction? You just heard how far one may be off the track as an expert with foreign experience. No Sir, academic knowledge in itself does not help you too much. You have to hammer it into a new shape, to melt it and bend it as we do the old material which we want to put to new uses. You have to adapt that knowledge and yourself to the new conditions. But it is precisely that which keeps you young. That is part of our new style of life which has been changed from the very bottom. You have to learn, re-learn and then learn again. This is done by everybody who wants to live and not merely vegetate. The whole country is one vast school house. Am I right, Cheng?"

Cheng, the broad-shouldered fellow, nods. Of course, of course! When did he learn rivetting? But a year ago. And the fixing of machine guns? Only two years earlier. And a little earlier still it was writing, reading and arithmetic. A bit earlier than that, it was thinking. That was when he joined the New Fourth Army. Smilingly he displays a mighty set of shining teeth. Then, tapping his forehead, he adds: "That was my real birthday. A great day."

"And when you were elected a delegate to the conference of labour heroes of Kwangtung Province, that was no great day, say?"

Cheng nods again. Right! That was also a great day. A great honour but also a great obligation. That's why his feet are itching to leave this place and get to that big new bridge and sluice project in the Southwest . To fish old iron out of a river as he is doing now, that's no work....Alright, alright, one must not despise any useful work, and he, Cheng, is certainly not one of those phony guys who always want some special arrangements. Why, he works (and with pleasure) wherever the government and the Party put him to work. Hasn't he helped to organise that competition between the various salvage groups? Well, you see....But as soon as the remaining big pieces of iron are out of the water, off he goes to the Southwest. Because, you see, that project ....

He has pulled a piece of chalk out of his breast pocket and begins to sketch the outlines of a lock and bridge on the metal sheet of the hand rail we are leaning against while listening to his story.

We hasten to assure Cheng that we are most interested in his future job. But wouldn't he volunteer a little bit of additional information about the reconstruction of the Pearl River bridge?

Cheng reluctantly puts his chalk back into his pocket. Why in the world should we be so eager to hear more about that? The work is done, the bridge functions again, and the best part of the story, the end, has already been told. And besides, it was just reconstruction work, patch work so to speak...not a bad job, almost 250 feet of new construction, without the proper machinery, without the proper materials, with only a handful of skilled workers...but all in all only a reconstruction job, not something new like that thing in the Southwest.

And out comes the chalk again. Only after strenuous persuasion in which our friend the architect joins, does Cheng agree to change his mind. He scratches his head under the hat, spits with as much resignation as determination, and starts to talk.

#### **Kuomintang Demolition**

Well, if we really want to hear more about this matter...although it seems rather unimportant... and, to tell the truth, that Southwestern job with its tremendously tempting tasks...but alright, if it is a question of doing a favour to comrades from a faraway friendly country, then he'll describe the reconstruction work. Only, we must not expect anything special. Is that clear?

As Cheng insists upon an answer, we assure him that it is perfectly clear to us.

He laboriously clears his throat, mutters something to himself, shakes his head as if to say, "Well, I warned you but you did not take the warning!" and finally points with his outstretched right hand at the river.

Did we notice that there was a spot where the current is broken? There in the middle? There lay the main part of the old middle pillar which was blown up by Kuomintang men. They had American TNT. It worked quite nicely. A third of the bridge was destroyed. They blew it up without warning. Without any consideration for the people on the bridge. There were a lot of people on the bridge,

and most of them were their own folk. But this did not bother the demolition squad. Not in the least. Well, they were officers or special service men anyway, and knew that the jig was up, and that the Kuomintang had lost once and for all, and so they just let off steam by blowing up the bridge with a couple of hundred men on it. Militarily speaking, the demolition was senseless. It did not slow up the advance of the People's Liberation Army for a day. But the civilian population was badly hit, the life of the city was so to speak torn asunder.

Under Kuomintang rule, the demolished bridge would have been patched up, if at all, in a makeshift manner. Most probably it would have remained as it was. Just think of the railroad bridges between Canton and Shanghai. They were blown up years ago in the war against Japan and remained broken as long as the Kuomintang stayed in power, even though the Americans sent over a lot of bridge building material to help Chiang in his (and their) war against the Chinese people. But this material was either sold on the black market by the bureaucrats or left to rot and rust. Until our boys came. . . .

Cheng has given up his nonchalance. He is getting warmed up by his subject. Now he pushes oack his straw hat and winks at us, a bit embarrassed and a bit triumphant and altogether happy.

"Yes, until our boys came. Then everything changed. Here in Canton things began moving very fast. The new city government made the reconstruction of the Pearl River bridge a number one job. It started to plan the work at once despite the fact that there was plenty to do in other fields. What do you say, comrade architect?"

"Right you are," says our friend. "There was still fighting going on on the borders of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. The hills were full of bandits. Hainan was not yet liberated. Kuomintang gunboats blocked the Pearl River estuary. Most of the Canton factories were closed. The workers, especially the longshoremen were starving. There was no electricity, no water supply, no garbage removal. The new city government had to tackle a hundred tasks at a time. Nevertheless, they started immediately with preparations for rebuilding the bridge. To my colleagues and to myself, the whole matter seemed a bit...how should I say...well a bit flimsy. We thought: a propaganda slogan and nothing more! Now, of course, our former attitude looks silly to me. Silly and even worse. But we were different then, old type people. We were so very proud of our experienced methods of work. In reality we were prisoners of those methods which belonged to a different kind of time and world. We thought we were great realists reckoning only with hard facts. Those hard facts were in this case: so and so many pounds of cement, so and so many machines and tools, so and so many skilled workers. But the building commission of the city government brought up instead the question of meetings, study courses, work competitions and means of stimulating the initiative of the masses.

Can you imagine what effect this had on us? I still remember how worried and perplexed we architects and engineers were when we were told at



The Czechoslovak Ambassador, and Mrs. Weiskopf arriving at Tien An Men for the 1950 Anniversary of the People's Republic of China parade in Peking

a meeting that work had to be started at once whether the machines and materials had already arrived or not. And we were at the brink of despair when the secretary of the General Labour Union told us: first of all we have to explain to the workers the true nature of the job so that they'll look at this work in the same way one looks at one's own personal affairs, as a matter of love and enthusiasm. This is as important, if not more important than the provision of concrete mixers or rivetting apparatus. Nonsense, I said to myself, and it cost me some effort to keep down my anger....You see, I was lacking in the proper insight then. I had no knowledge of and therefore no trust in the forces of our Revolution. I and my colleagues were just like people coming out of the darkness into the bright sun, groping and fumbling in half-blindness. But we were not the only ones who did not catch on immediately. Just ask Cheng about that!"

But there is no need to ask Cheng. He starts talking right away. Of course, the architects were not the only ones. Many of the workers acted the same way. They did not know what to think of those innovations. They came to the meetings but they only listened to the speeches without response. They were quite mute and stiff. "We called them the oysters, among ourselves, you understand. They were unskilled labourers, coolies, porters, peasant lads and so on. Deep down in themselves they still had the poison of distrust from Kuomintang days. But when they saw that the new foremen did not call

them names as their predecessors did; that they did not manhandle anybody as was the rule under the former regime; and that they did not steal half or even two-thirds of the workers' pay, they began to unbend. And then, on a nice morning, there came about a hundred printers and seamen to help with the work on the bridge without pay. They said: the bridge belongs to the town, and the town belongs to us, to the people, and if we help here we help only ourselves. After all, one mends also one's own roof if it happens to leak...Well, at the next meeting, a few of the oysters spoke up for the first time. The ice had melted."

Cheng laughs all over his round, lightly bronzed face. He is hot and has to wipe his head using for this purpose a kerchief (or is it a towel?) of rather non-descript colour. Only now we see that a deep scar runs through the closely cropped hair.

"A war souvenir?"

"No, a souvenir from the tiger, the landlord in my home village."

#### Collective Efforts

We would like to hear something about that, but Cheng declines. "That would lead us too much astray. I thought you were mainly interested in the story of the bridge. So let's stick to that. Any way, I have to finish the story quickly and hurry down to my group, or else it will lag behind in the work competition....Well, where did I stop? Yes, the oysters ceased to be oysters. Within a short time almost all of them had joined our hsuch hsi (study) groups. And during the building of the provisional wooden bridge they formed two shock brigades, which worked rather well. After that, work started in earnest on the broken central spans. But there was a damned hard nut we had to crack: how to get the necessary cement. The cement factory was idle because there was something wrong with the machines, missing parts which could only be obtained abroad and such stuff. But the cement workers fixed everything in their own way. How was it done? I don't know, but the machines worked. And though the cement at first was of a rather poor quality, we could use it, and then we sent a delegation to the cement workers and invited them to visit us on the bridge. Well, they came, and shortly afterwards, the quality of the cement improved, and how!...Well, and then there was that man Liu whom they nicknamed Half-Moon-Liu because he has but one eye (the other eye was knocked out by a Japanese officer, but even with one, Liu has a sharper look than many people with two eyes plus glasses) .... That Liu invented a rivetting gadget that is better than anything you can find abroad..."

Our faces might have expressed some slight doubt, for Cheng gets a little bit nervous. He looks for support to the architect who hastens to his aid: "We do not want to boast that our bamboo grows up to the skies...but I would like to point out that Liu's primitively constructed gadget which can be handled by any peasant lad or child, has rendered us the most valuable services."

Cheng is happy. But he does not embroider the anecdote about the Half-Moon inventor; he hurries on with his main story: "Alright, so finally we had

everything except the steel. Yet we needed exactly that. True, we could buy some girders and plates in Hongkong, but only in very small quantities and at high prices, and the transportation was complicated. Yet we had what we needed right here under our very noses at the bottom of the Pearl River. There lay the broken steel parts of the old bridge. If we could lift them out of the river we would kill, so to speak, two mosquitoes with one stroke: we would get a big quantity of steel and we would open up the obstructed main channel of the river. There was only one question: how to lift the heavy debris. We had no cranes. We first made a try with hand jacks and windlasses but it did not work. Not even with motor jacks. Of course, our architects and engineers would have invented something... I am quite sure about that ... "

The architect interrupts Cheng shaking a finger at him: "Oh you rascal! Of course we would have invented something, only, as a matter of fact, others did it quicker this time. And they were not only quicker than the engineers, my dear fellow!"

Boatmen's Ingenuity

"That's true," concedes Cheng. "These devils of boatmen were also quicker than us workers." He stops to let the architect tell the story, but the architect wishes Cheng to continue. For a little while they argue about who should acquaint us with the boatmen's story. Finally the architect wins, and Cheng resumes his talk. "Yes, it was those boatmen. They said to themselves: what if we'd get the sea to help us? The sea is stronger than any crane. The sea, they said, carries on its back the biggest ships, why then should the sea be unable to lift a few steel fragments? Do you get it right? What they meant was that the tidal movements of the sea are felt as far inland as Canton. At high tide, the sea water enters the Pearl River and makes it rise several feet. Now what was it the boatmen proposed to do? They wanted to chain the debris lying at the bottom of the river very tightly to big barges while the tide was low. Then, they figured, when the tide changed, the level of the rising river would lift the barges and the debris too. When this proposal was first mentioned at a general meeting, most of us were against it. Some said that the chains would break under the heavy strain. Others were of the opinion that the barges would sink. And some simply asked: what the hell do boatmen understand of steel salvage? But then old man Wu Wen-shan took the floor. He was formerly a shipwright, and he was one of those who organised the big march of striking Hongkong seamen to Canton back in 1922.* He said: 'Comrades, we often forget about it, but it really is a fact that as soon as we, the people, begin to rule the land, then everyone of us gets four arms and four legs and a double brain. And with so many arms and legs and so much brain should we be unable to lift those steel pieces from the river? That's simply ridiculous. I move that we now stop talking and have a try at those barges and chains in the way the boatmen propose. After all, haven't we a good old Chinese proverb which says that you have to strike a spark from a flint if you want to get fire; if you don't strike, you do not even get smoke....I volunteer for work in the first barge. Who is next?....'"

"And what do you think? Not a single one wanted to be a shirker. And of course it worked. We did the job with the sea as a crane. Up to now more than 80 per cent of the steel in the river has been salvaged." He grins and gently strokes the pegs on the hand rail. Suddenly he straightens up. "Well that's about all. You see, nothing fancy or extraordinary, just a simple story..."

He stops talking. A long drawn-out call comes floating up from the river bank. Cheng bows over the hand rail, shouts something back and starts dashing off without even saying good-bye. Only after several long leaps does he turn his head. Without stopping running, he shouts over his shoulder: "So long! Come and see us on the new job in the Southwest..."

He waves again a few times, then he disappears. A minute later we see him running towards a group of workers boarding a barge.

"Parbleu," says the architect in a meditative tone, "the fellow is right, after all. This reconstruction of the Pearl River bridge was in itself nothing extraordinary. The extraordinary bridge was in itself nothing extraordinary. The extraordinary toing was how we were all changed while working on that job." He pauses for a moment, pushes his basque beret from one ear to the other and back again, before concluding: "I don't know, it might sound a bit like Montparnasse talk or poetry or pure silliness...but I cannot help feeling that...that the extraordinary thing here is...well that this reconstruction site was not only that. But that it was also a factory for the production of new men from old."

#### Local Products Exhibit

A wide variety of products from the Central-South China area was displayed at a highly successful exhibition held in Hankow from June 28 to September 10. Exhibits ranged from rice, black tea, sub-tropical fruit and other foodstuffs to tobacco, long staple cotton, jute, tung oil, porcelain and other handicrafts, coal, iron, tungsten, antimony, gold, diamonds, uranium and other items.

Charts and diagrams showed various aspects of the rapid rise in production. Tea output, for example, has increased six times since 1949. The annual output of long staple cotton is now sufficient to keep nearly two million spindles busy the year round. Eggs are abundant. There are enough surplus eggs in the Central-South China rural areas to supply the whole urban population of the area with 750 eggs per person per year, or roughly two eggs a day per person.

This flourishing area, three times the size of Japan with a population larger than that of the U.S.A., has found growing markets at home, in the Soviet Union and in the New Democracies.

^{*}The Hongkong seamen's strike for higher wages in January, 1922 was a tremendous victory for the more than 20,000 strikers, and opened a new page in the Chinese workers' struggle against imperialism.

### TO THE BUILDERS OF NEW CHINA

#### FROM A SOVIET WORKER

Dear Comrades,

My friends and I, working on the construction of the Volga-Don navigation canal, send you our heartiest greetings and wish you new successes in the grand work you are doing for the welfare of the glorious Chinese people.

All the Soviet people and all honest people of the world celebrate with you the anniversary of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic. Mankind will never forget this day, for October 1, 1949 brought a greater brightness and happiness to our planet. On this day the great and free Chinese people, led by their heroic Communist Party and wise leader Mao Tse-tung, rose up to take their place shoulder to shoulder with the powerful Soviet people, fighting for peace and building Communism.

Dear friends, we greet your holiday while keeping a Stakhanovite peace watch. The builders of the Volga-Don navigation canal, like all the Soviet people, are striving through excellent work to multiply the wealth of their Motherland and consolidate the power and strength of the Soviet state, which stands in the defence of world peace.

I am writing you this letter after work. Today my shift excavated 5,000 cubic metres of earth from the canal bed. There are five of us in the shift. This means that each one of us excavated 1,000 cubic metres of earth and that the whole 17-man team operating the excavator will move 2,000,000 cubic metres of earth in the construction work this year. Such is the powerful technique we have received from our country. And we firmly believe that you too, dear friends, will very soon possess a similar technique. We firmly believe this because we see how swift is the development of the state economy and culture of the Chinese People's Republic. Soon, very soon the young industry of free China will equip her builders with mobile excavators, powerful cranes and other perfected machines that facilitate man's work a thousandfold. Soviet engineers and workers will readily help you to achieve this as quickly as possible.

The Volga-Don navigation canal, which we are now building, will unite the five seas of the U.S.S.R. into one single transport system. It will enable us to irrigate and supply water to 2,750,000 hectares of fertile soil which now suffer from drought.

The canal will be completed two years ahead of schedule. This has been made possible by the conscientious labour of the Soviet people and the rapid development of our technique.

Ships will sail along the Volga-Don canal in the spring of 1952, and by that time we shall already be working on some other great construction project. Perhaps we shall be digging a canal in some desert, perhaps we shall be building a powerful hydro-electric station. There are many such projects in our great country and the work of a builder is speeded by the honour paid him. We are happy that our work is multiplying the wealth of our people and that it brightens the life of the Soviet people and consolidates world peace.

I am sure that the hearts of the builders of hydro-technical projects on the Yellow, Huai and other rivers are filled with the joy of creative labour and that this joy in freely working for the benefit of one's Motherland is equally felt by the workers building the new factories and houses, new clubs and kindergartens in every Chinese town and village.

We are peaceful people engaged in peaceful labour. We want to afforest deserts, link seas and rivers, gather record harvests in our fields and gardens. Although engrossed in peaceful work, we vigilantly watch the intrigues of the Anglo-American imperialists, who have invaded Korea and are threatening the security of our great countries, China and the Soviet Union. No matter how the new pretenders to world domination may rage, all their plans will come to nought. The heroic Korean people with the help of the courageous Chinese volunteers will clear their country of interventionists. The forces of peace are daily growing more numerous and stronger. Victory will be theirs.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Hail the great Chinese people, their heroic Communist Party and wise leader Mao Tse-tung! Long live the great leader of all the working people, the standard-bearer of peace, Stalin!

(Signed)

#### SEMYON PLEKHANOV,

Engineer and foreman on the big mobile excavator of the Volgadonstroy (Volga-Don project).

# First Fruits of New China's Policy On Nationalities

#### Tang Chen-tsung

Besides the Han people, who comprise 90 per cent of its 475 million citizens, nearly one hundred other nationalities—Mongols, Moslems, Tibetans, Uighurs, Miaos, Yis, Kazakhs and others—live within the borders of the Chinese People's Republic. Over many centuries, these nationalities bore the ruthless oppression of the reactionary regime, being subject to every variety of humiliating discrimination and economic exploitation. The collusion of reaction within China with foreign imperialism, particularly during the years of the Kuomintang regime, served to deepen and intensify their plight. As a result, the development of these nationalities was blocked and they were kept in a state of poverty, backwardness and disunity.

The founding of the People's Republic two years ago changed the situation entirely. In accordance with the policy on nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference, the people's governments of various levels and the People's Liberation Army have given great attention to the work of strengthening unity among the nationalities. These efforts have already produced notable results.

#### **Exchange of Delegations**

To strengthen its ties with the peoples of the various nationalities, the Central People's Government sent three special goodwill missions to visit the national minorities in the Northwest, Southwest and Central-South Administrative Areas.

Travelling over almost half of the entire Chinese mainland, these delegations came into contact with people of scores of nationalities. The delegations to the Northwest and Southwest travelled a distance of 40,000 kilometres reaching the most far-away border regions. The delegation to the Southwest, in particular, helped local people's governments in their work of establishing the local people's representative organs among the national minorities. The delegation to Central-South China is still touring the area. Local people's governments have also organised smaller-scale goodwill missions to tour national minority regions within their own jurisdiction.

The movement of delegations has not been one-sided. Assisted by the Central People's Government, the various nationalities have themselves sent delegations to the capital. In Peking these groups have been received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the leader of all nationalities in China and helmsman of our national construction. In the span of two years, 17 such missions, with 900 members from 40 nationalities, have visited the capital. Their membership included workers, peasants, nomads, Moslem and

Buddhist priests, princes, local gentry, generals who had revolted against the Kuomintang, journalists, literary and artistic workers, teachers, government workers and students. Last year's ceremonies in Peking celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of the Republic brought a great number of delegations. Representatives of national minorities will also attend the National Day ceremonies in Peking this year.

The exchange of delegations has led to greater mutual understanding than ever existed among the nationalities of China before. By this means the Central People's Government has informed itself in the greatest detail regarding the conditions and aspirations of the nationalities. At the same time, the minorities have gained fuller knowledge of the government's nationality policy.

#### Wiping Out Chauvinism

The Central People's Government has done its utmost to wipe out all causes of national disunity in China, the evil legacy of the past. Particularly, it has combatted Greater Han chauvinism (contempt by the Han majority for other nationalities). The various people's governments and the PLA havelong been praised by the minority peoples for their respect for national customs and religious beliefs. In May, 1951, for example, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government ordered the abolition of all titles and names of places, and the erasing of all monuments and inscriptions, which bore words of discrimination against and insult to the national minorities. This concrete and vivid action in the fight against Greater Han chauvinism had a deep effect on the minds of the people.

To remove hostility among the nationalities and barriers to their mutual unity, the Central People's Government has achieved the settlement of long standing disputes between and within various national groups, disputes which were induced by the national oppressions of the past. Local governments. and the PLA have reconciled nationalities which had not been on speaking terms for decades or centuries, because of rival claims to fields, pastures, or irrigation facilities. In some cases, inspired by the government's policy of unity, the national minorities have settled old quarrels on their own initiative. Thus antagonistic groups among the Yi people of the Great and Small Liang Mountains in Southwest China discarded traditional feuds and drank toasts of fraternity after their elected delegates had attended a local people's representative conference together.

The work of the people's governments and PLA has united the nationalities as never before. With the barriers of the past disappearing, once-hostile regions and tribes have begun to communicate with each other after a long estrangement. The appearance as equal and respected fellow-citizens of the previously oppressed Kolo tribe in Sining (provincial capital of Chinghai) is, for example, a vivid and unprecedented indication of the progress of unity among the nationalities.

Another major landmark in the unity of China's nationalities is the agreement signed by the Central People's Government and the local Tibetan Government on measures to effect the peaceful liberation of Tibet. Through this agreement, the Tibetan people, who had been subjected to the aggression and oppression of the imperialists during the past century, have once again joined the great family of the peoples of China. Enjoying full and equal national rights and aided by the other nationalities, the Tibetan people can now march forward politically, economically and culturally to a bright and happy future.

#### Representation and Self-Government

Before liberation the national minorities were barred from participation in the government and subjected to the oppression of the reactionaries. The Central People's Government, ever since its establishment, has included national minority representatives and insisted that they participate in all levels of government.

Today, the Government Administration Council includes four members of the national minorities. National minority representatives hold 33 seats in the four regional Military and Political Commissions and the Northeast People's Government Council. People's government councils on the provincial and city levels contain 134 minority delegates. In Sin-

kiang, minority peoples account for 21 out of a total of 31 members in the provincial government council. In municipalities, counties, and districts where various peoples live side by side, many representatives and cadres from various nationalities participate in the work of the government. The minorities are also widely representated in the People's Representative Conferences of All Nationalities and All Circles, many of which are already carrying out the functions of people's congresses.

The establishment of regional autonomy in areas where the respective national minorities are concentrated, and of democratic, united governments in areas where different nationalities live together, testifies further to their political equality today. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established in 1947. During the past two

years, the Central People's Government has already set up 31 national autonomous districts and 42 democratic, united governments of nationalities of various levels. Most of these were organised through the election of People's Representative Conferences of All Nationalities and All Circles.

The composition of councils of democratic, united governments is determined according to the ratio of nationalities inhabiting each area. When necessary, the principle of proportional representation is, however, modified in favour of minorities which have very small populations, so that they too are not left unrepresented. Through such governments, the minorities administer their own affairs through the forms they prefer—in conformity with the will of the majority of their nationals, the principles of the Common Programme and the unified leadership of the Central People's Government. This is how the content of the New Democracy is infused into many national forms.

#### Assistance and Training

One of the main obstacles to carrying out regional autonomy and other essential work under the nationality policy is the extreme scarcity of cadres from the ranks of the national minorities themselves. During the past two years, the people's governments of various levels have devoted great effort to the training of such personnel in the people's revolutionary universities, public schools and special classes. These cadres have played a significant role in strengthening the ties between the Central People's Government and the nationalities as well as among the nationalities themselves.

To promote the systematic cultivation of national cadres, the Central People's Government in 1950 issued provisional plans for their training. A Central College of Nationalities has been established in Peking. Colleges for nationalities have also been set up in the Northwest and Southwest Administra-



National minorities, experiencing the joy of newly won freedom, express their whole-hearted devotion to Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Drawing by Kang Tung

tive Areas as well as in the provinces of Sinkiang, Kweichow and Yunnan.

#### Economic Aid Replaces Exploitation

The Central People's Government has also scored many successes in the development of the economic and cultural life of the nationalities. Adjustment of trade relations has solved many difficulties of supply and demand faced by the national minorities and helped to stimulate prosperity in the national minority regions. Their age-old exploitation by unscrupulous Chinese merchants, hand in glove with feudal warlords and bureaucratic capitalists, has now come to an end. Guided by the policy of fair and reasonable exchange of goods adopted by the state trading concerns, the prices of commodities produced locally in minority-populated regions have been raised.

The prices of daily necessities imported from other parts of the country on the other hand, have dropped tremendously. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, for example, a ton of kaoliang (sorghum) bought only half a bolt* of cloth in 1947, but two and half bolts in 1950! The prices of livestock rose three times compared with 1947. In Chinghai Province, where 50 kilogrammes of wool could only buy one and a half tea bricks before liberation, the same amount could buy 12 tea bricks in 1950. In Kweichow Province in Southwest China, the Miao people can now buy 80 kilogrammes of edible salt for 50 kilogrammes of the tung oil they produce. In the past they received only 11 and a half kilogrammes for the same amount of oil.

Water conservancy work in Kansu, Ningsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang provinces has also brought great benefit to national minorities domiciled there. Irrigation projects capable of watering over 240,000 hectares of land have been built or repaired in these areas.

Health and public sanitation work among the nationalities has grown considerably in the past two years. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the bubonic plague which once threatened to wipe out the local populations has been almost completely eliminated. While more than 13,000 people died of plague there in 1947, there were only 19 deaths last year. The people's government and the PLA have organised medical teams to give free treatment and inoculations against epidemic diseases in the minority areas. This has won them the gratitude and the love of the nationalities.

#### Developing National Culture

In regions where one national minority predominates, instruction in the schools is conducted in the language of the nationality concerned. To aid the development of these languages the Central People's Government is publishing books, magazines and newspapers and disseminating radio broadcasts in Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur, Kazakh and other languages.

The Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government has also established a committee to direct and organise the study of

* A bolt of cloth is 110 feet in length.

national languages and dialects. It is helping nationalities which do not have any written language to devise phonetic scripts and assisting those which have incomplete written languages to develop them. As one example, the delegation from the Central People's Government to Southwest China helped to plan a new phonetic written language for the Yi people of Sikang Province. The initial experiment proved successful and this script is now being widely introduced.

The ministries of trade, health and education, acting under instructions from the Government Administration Council, have held several national minority policy conferences participated in by representatives of all the nationalities. These conferences should have a profound effect on the systematic development of trade, health and cultural work in the national minority regions.

#### Patriotic Movement

Thus, the national minorities of China have come to know, through their own experience, the Central People's Government's policy on nationalities and the people's state power. Their love for the common homeland has grown correspondingly. Since the American imperialists began their aggressive war in Korea, occupied China's Taiwan, plotted for the conclusion of the unilateral peace treaty with Japan and actively rearmed her, the Chinese people of all nationalities have launched a widespread patriotic movement to resist American aggression, aid Korea, protect their homes and defend their Motherland.

Members of the national minorities also stand in the front ranks of the peace movement. Some of them, who represented China at the great international people's conferences in Warsaw, Berlin and Prague, were the first persons of their nationalities ever to represent China abroad. Young men and women from the national minorities throughout China have volunteered to fight in Korea.

The nationalities have responded warmly to the call of the China Peace Committee to support the Chinese volunteers in Korea. From their distant borderland, the Tibetans have contributed treasured local products—deer horns, musk and many rare herbs. The Uighurs and Kazakhs of Sinkiang have sent Hami melons, dried grapes, skins and hides. In the campaign to buy heavy equipment for the volunteers, the national minorities have pledged over 300 aeroplanes.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, the various nationalities of China have united closely on a basis of equality and mutual respect. They stand together against imperialism and the enemies of the people within each nationality. They combat both Greater Han chauvinism and narrow nationalism among the minority peoples. All acts of discrimination and oppression, all acts detrimental to the unity of the nationalities are now forbidden. The Central People's Government has assisted and will continue to assist the masses of every nationality to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational life, making the People's Republic a brotherly and cooperative family for all the peoples inhabiting it.

# U.S. Sabotage Continues at Kaisung

#### Chen Ling-ho

Following the letter of September 19 from Generals Kim Il Sung and Peng Teh-huai to General Ridgway in which they proposed that the Kaisung cease-fire talks should be resumed, the liaison officers of both sides met on September 24. This meeting breaks the month-old deadlock following the suspension of the talks on August 23, the day after a U.N. plane had dropped a bomb almost on the quarters of the Korean-Chinese delegation.

Since July 10 when the first Kaisung meeting took place, the U.N. delegation has tried to obstruct the progress of the negotiations by every trick they could think of. The whole world knows of their brazen attempt to push the demarcation line north to swallow up 12,000 square kilometres of North Korean territory; of their ruthless provocations to wreck the talks; of their murder of Chinese patrolmen and the outrageous bombing incident of August 22.

Instead of assuming responsibility for these incidents, the U.S. delegates brushed aside requests of the Korean-Chinese delegation for investigation. Indeed they continued their land and air violations of the neutral zone and even dropped a bomb near the quarters of General Nam II, the delegation leader, on September 1. They even made the ridiculous assertion that it was the Korean-Chinese forces who manufactured these incidents.

The U.N. command admission of the September 10 incident, when civilian houses in the zone were strafed by a U.N. plane, was clearly a sop to growing world resentment against General Ridgway's violent sabotage. U.S. dishonesty was shown in the continuance of violations following this admission. For instance, four men of the U.N. forces were captured violating the zone on September 18 and, to the embarrassment of the American spokesmen, were actually handed over to the U.N. liaison officers who had to sign a receipt for them.

#### Ridgway Admits Guilt

On September 19 following General Ridgway's apology for the murderous strafing on the 10th, Generals Kim II Sung and Peng Teh-huai proposed that the negotiations be resumed since the U.N. delegation had "expressed regret concerning the latest incident . . . and willingness to take a responsible attitude regarding violations of the Kaisung neutrality agreement." The Korean-Chinese delegation said generously that they would "not let the question of the settlement of the incidents (prior to September 10) continue to obstruct the progress of the negotiations" and proposed that appropriate machinery be set up to deal with these incidents.

In replying on September 23 to this characteristically patient and reasonable letter, General Ridgway brushed aside the pre-September 10 incidents and played a new trick saying that his liaison officers

would meet the Korean-Chinese liaison officers the next day, not to discuss the date and time for the resumption of talks but "to discuss conditions mutually satisfactory for the resumption of armistice talks." To this the people's Generals replied (September 24) repeating the necessity for responsible investigation of previous incidents and also stating that they had instructed their liaison officers to meet his liaison officers to discuss the date and time for the resumption of talks.

Therefore, when the officers met on September 24, the Korean-Chinese side urged that the date and time for the resumption of the talks at Kaisung be fixed and that they be resumed right away without further delays, leaving the fully empowered delegates to deal with the whole question of neutrality and violations, past and future.

#### U.S. Rejects Immediate Resumption

The U.N. officers however rejected this straightforward proposal and insisted on discussing conditions for resuming the talks.

As reported by Alan Winnington, correspondent of the London Daily Worker, the U.N. officers made a change of conference site one of the conditions for the resumption of the talks, although it will be remembered when Ridgway first made this suggestion in September 6, the people's Generals rejected it, replying that what was wanted was a change in the U.N. attitude and not of the conference site.

Nevertheless, to support their proposal, the U.N. liaison officers presented a memorandum which while denying violations, implicitly admitted them, and used them to demand a change of site. While refuting charges of air violations, for instance,—although U.S. jets were at that moment flying across the zone—the memo explained them by the fact that Kaisung lies so near their bomber routes. In other words they admitted a firm order from Ridgway could immediately end such violations.

The liaison officers met again on September 2b but no progress has so far been made as the U.N. delegation continued to insist on discussing more conditions before resuming the talks. These exchanges showed plainly who wants the talks to get ahead, and who is stalling.

The latest example of U.S. sabotage tactics makes it more than doubtful whether the Americans have in fact changed their attitude. People all over the world are critically watching the American negotiators at Kaisung, more fully aware than ever of the dark record of the U.S. generals. If the U.N. forces continue to violate all sense of decency and justice and continue their provocations thus frustrating the hopes of the world for peace, then they will, as the people's Generals in their letter of September 11 warned, "bear the entire responsibility for the delays and obstructions in the progress of the negotiations and their consequences." (September 26)

# Two Years of Advance in People's Education

#### Liu Shih

Head of the Supervisory Department of the Ministry of Education

October 1, 1951 is the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the past two years our country and our people have won great victories and made rapid progress. With the victory of the Chinese revolution and the ensuing basic changes in political and economic life, there have been notable advances in the field of people's education. China is, in fact, today experiencing a great educational revolution, embracing over 475,-000,000 people.

The imperialists called the old China a backward country without culture. For over a century the working people of China, oppressed by imperialism and feudalism, were deprived not only of the right to culture and education, but even their right to live was challenged. The old educational system, built on semi-feudal and semi-colonial lines, had nothing to do with the working people. It served only the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Others who were kept outside the school gates regarded the schools with hostility and disdain, sarcastically labelling them "foreign halls of learning."

The term "foreign halls of learning" exposes clearly the semi-colonial nature of this type of educational institution. As the political and economic life of our country was semi-colonial in nature, the national industries of China, of course, had no chance to develop. All a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country needs is a few agents to control and rule the people. There is no place or need for a large number of people with scientific training and constructive talent. Indeed, the reactionary regime regarded the raising of the cultural standard of the people as a burden and a threat to its existence.

#### In Old China: 85 per cent Illiterate

Consequently, though the old China had talked about public education for over 50 years, statistics on the eve of liberation showed that more than 85 per cent of the people were illiterate, and less than 40 per cent of the school-age children were at school. Secondary schools and universities, even more than the lower schools, existed for the benefit of the few. In the semi-colonial society of the old China the colleges and universities actually became mere preparatory schools for students planning to study abroad in Britain, America or elsewhere. The imperialists, moreover, established their own schools in our country—colleges, secondary schools and even primary schools—the more effectively to carry out their cultural aggression against China.

Sons and daughters of many wealthy families went abroad to study after graduating from college in China. When they returned home, what little scientific training they had acquired was of very little use to the people. It qualified them only to

become officials. Educational institutions above secondary school level were very few; but even so, graduates faced unemployment. As to the nature of education provided by the reactionary Kuomintang in pre-liberation days, it was feudal and fascist. The children and youth of China had no freedom in these schools.

The roots of education for the people, however, go back to the period of the revolution of 1927. The peasants established their own schools. From 1927 until liberation, there were in fact two Chinas. One was ruled by the Kuomintang and the other was the people's China (the various revolutionary bases during the different revolutionary periods). Thus there were also two types of education; one was semi-feudal and semi-colonial, and the other was for the people.

During more than 20 years in the Chinese people's revolutionary bases, a great deal was accomplished. Archaic traditions and the out-moded system of oldstyle Chinese education were eliminated and an independent and new type of education geared to war-time conditions and serving the revolution was introduced. The chief characteristic of this new type of education was that it belonged to the working people and served their interests. It was the system of education which Comrade Mao Tse-tung describes in his New Democracy as "national, scientific and It gradually grew in strength over the popular." more than 20 years when the flames of war swept our country. It produced tens of thousands of cadres for revolutionary work. Raising the political consciousness of millions of people, it accumulated rich experiences in its own field and stood in shining contrast to the old, decadent education in KMT areas which worked against the interests of the people.

Only with the liberation of the entire mainland was it possible to carry out an educational revolution on a nation-wide scale. Schools in both the countryside and cities, liberated from Kuomintang control, required a thorough house-cleaning and reorientation. The schools in the revolutionary bases (known as the old liberated areas) also required changes; war-time education had to be transformed into normal education based on a regular system. New China has an urgent need for millions of people with constructive talents. The working people themselves, politically and economically liberated, called for educational facilities, and so did their sons and daughters. The old type of intellectuals wanted to be re-educated. The People's Republic of China called for a thorough revolution in education. With the founding of the People's Republic, this great and difficult task in the field of culture and education was entrusted to the Ministry of Education.

In the past two years, with Mao Tse-tung's teachings as a guide, and in accordance with the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the initial stages in the programme for developing a people's educational system have been completed. This work is very complicated. But, with the educational path mapped out by Mao Tse-tung, with more than 20 years of experience in education in the revolutionary bases, and with the aid of the Soviet Union's advanced educational experiences and the help of Soviet educators, we are going forward with great strides.

In December 1949, less than two months after the Ministry of Education was set up, the first national educational conference was convened. Policy for education on a national scale was formulated. Emphasis was laid on the requirement that education must serve the construction needs of China, and that schools should be open to workers and peasants. New directions were set for education which had formerly been divorced from national construction and been basically against the interests of the people. This change was of fundamental importance. This conference also outlined a policy for the reformation of the old educational system and the various steps which must be taken.

During the past two years the Ministry of Education of the Central People's Government has convened many other important conferences such as the national conference on higher education, the national conference on workers' and peasants' education, the national conference on secondary education, the national conference on primary and normal education.

tion, the national conference on education of national minorities, etc.

In line with the general direction of our national education, resolutions were passed detailing directions and systems for the various levels and types of education, so that all schools could proceed step by step along the new path of reorientation and development. At these conferences, the Ministry of Education called together specialists on various subjects from all over the country. Experts and educators actively participated in the discussion and resolutions were passed on many important and complicated problems. At present more than a million educational workers of various levels are working wholeheartedly to carry out the Ministry's directives.

On October 1 this year, the Ministry of Education celebrates our great Motherland's birthday with the following achievements to its credit: There are more than 440,000 primary schools with over 37,000,000 students. This represents an increase of 45 per cent over the number of primary school students in 1946, the peak number during 20 years under Kuomintang rule.

As for education for workers and peasants, it simply did not exist in the old China. But what is the situation now? The number of workers studying in spare-time schools for employed workers was: 1,500,000 during the first term of 1951.

#### Today: Tens of Millions Study

The number of peasants who joined the short-term winter study programme last winter was over 25,000,000. The number of peasants throughout the country studying at regular schools numbered over 10,000,000 during the first term of 1951.

The number of worker and peasant cadres whoduring the first half of 1951 joined regular cultural study classes in special schools to make up for their lack of formal training was over 135,000.

There are 37 short-term secondary schools for intellectuals of the working class and the peasantry. The enrolment in these schools was around 7,000. The Chinese People's University founded along the new lines enrols large numbers of worker and peasant cadres and provides educational facilities for intellectuals of working class or peasant origin.

To re-educate the old type of intellectuals, fivelarge revolutionary colleges have been established. Several hundreds of thousands have already received political education in these colleges.

The 5,100 secondary schools throughout China had an enrolment of over 1,570,000 by the first term of 1951. There were 201 institutions of higher, learning (universities, colleges and special training schools) with over 128,000 students in the first half of 1951. These institutions of higher learning and secondary schools are all operating with enrolments above pre-war level.

To these accomplishments should be added the fact that intellectuals throughout the country are studying enthusiastically and remoulding their ideology. During the first year after liberation-among educational workers alone-more than 400,000 persons participated in the study of The History of Social Development, Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy, and other important. works on the Chinese revolution. At present, educational cadres all over the country, like cadres of the Communist Party, in the government, in



Workers and peasants prepare for a leading role in national construction through study at the People's University, Peking

the army, and in people's organisations, study for two hours each day. Subjects include government policies, political theory and vocational studies. The Chinese intellectuals throughout the nation are today studying Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. The teachers of China have set a glorious goal for themselves: "The people's teachers should be good Marxists as well as good teachers."

Workers in the field of people's education have joined the Educational Workers' Trade Union of China, which today has a membership of a million.

#### **Employment for Every Graduate**

The educational workers of China take pride in their accomplishments in the service of the people. In the past 50 years no one ever dreamed that these accomplishments were possible. Today they see with their own eyes that education, once it unites with the revolution and with national construction, plays a tremendous role in the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship. In two brief years the prospect of unemployment after graduation from college and secondary school has been swept away. Graduates happily accept government assignments that provide for their most useful employment in national construction. Indeed, in the admission of new students, the colleges now face the problem of insufficient candidates, for the demand for secondary school graduates is great.

After land distribution, peasant parents, their eyes shining proudly, lead their children to schools and demand admission for the youngsters. Many primary schools are packed and cannot admit all the applicants. Emancipated peasants on their own initiative organise new schools in large numbers. This thirst of the people for education inspires the teachers and makes them realise both the bright future ahead in the field of people's education and the glory attached to being people's teachers.

Drastic changes are taking place right now in every sphere of Chinese society as the struggle between the old and the new permeates every phase of our life. The success of the three great movements—the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the agrarian reform and the movement to suppress the counter-revolutionaries—is an education to all the people. The spirit of patriotism alongside the idea of internationalism is growing among the 475,000,000 people of China. History forbids anyone to stand still while others advance. Influenced by the deep social changes now taking place in China, education, too, is naturally undergoing reform and is advancing to a higher stage of development.

A campaign recently sprang up to discuss and criticise the old ideas of "reformism" in education that blocked the progress of the revolutionary movement. All the educational workers participated and the struggle against the influence of the old ideology was intensified. Serious discussions such as these have provided the necessary mental stimulus for educational reforms of various types, especially reforms in

curricula and courses of study, the central step in the educational revolution. This involves the struggle between two different concepts of the universe —the struggle between idealism and materialism. Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tsetung are directing the educational workers of China in their task of remoulding their ideology.

With the gradual completion of the agrarian reform programme throughout China, the rehabilitation and development of industry and agriculture, the raising of the standard of living of the people and the undertaking of large-scale national construction projects, the system of people's education must take up the difficult task of training large numbers of people for national construction as well as gratifying the demand of the children of working people for education. The accomplishments of the past two years, compared with the new tasks ahead, are, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung once said, merely "the first step of a ten-thousand li march."

To meet the demands of these new conditions, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on August 10, 1951 passed resolutions on the reform of the school system and set in motion the new school system for the first stage of the People's Republic of China. This new system will guarantee that all working people and their children have the opportunity to enjoy educational facilities, thus enabling the country to cultivate more effectively every type of constructive talent from among the people.

#### 1,000,000 More Teachers in Training

The people's educational workers of China, putting their high revolutionary spirit to good use, are overcoming all temporary difficulties and shortages with revolutionary methods. In the next few years they must develop 120,000 to 150,000 highly trained cadres for national construction and 500,000 average cadres. They must work to provide elementary cultural education for worker and peasant cadres all over China. They must provide political education for all workers now employed in industry and completely wipe out illiteracy among them. Political education must be extended to all peasants, and the majority of young peasants will be taught to read and write. The provision of educational facilities for more than 80 per cent of all school-age children in this country is another immediate aim and there must be adequate educational facilities for all the very young children of the country. To fulfil these tasks, 1,000,000 new people's teachers are being recruited and trained so that eventually the cultural army of people's teachers will be over two million strong.

The Ministry of Education is striving to complete its glorious tasks. The first steps have been taken. The fundamental guarantee that our struggle will be successful is the leadership given to us by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party.



### Mao Tse-tung's Writings for the People

It meant death to be caught with a copy of his books in your pocket. Yet the people read them, and the threateners of death were conquercensored ed. The Kuomintang them, burned them-these books packed with liberating thought. But in vain. Progressive publishers outwitted the police spies. Mao Tse-tung's works were published, secretly and sold "under the counter." The epoch making New Democracy was disguised as innocent Analytical Studies of Classical Literature. Underground revolutionaries copied them laboriously by hand. A worker Chao Jen recalls: "I walked into the factory dining room with nine copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy in my pocket. A few minutes later; my pockets were empty. Everyone knew if we were caught we would be shot. But there was no need to offer a copy twice!"

Meanwhile inthe liberated areas, Chairman Mao's works were in enormous demand among the revolutionary cadres, intellectuals who made their way in through the KMT blockade. They were precious possessions. Combat hero Liu Kai-hsu still treasures his worn mimeographed copy of The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party on rough paper made of reeds. "When we guerillas had neither food nor drink. Chairman Mao's work sustained us. With such a revolutionary theory we knew the people's revolution was bound to win!"

1949 brought the victory of the revolution. And the teachings of Mao Tse-tung are flowing out to the people of the whole country. Articles and excerpts from his bigger works have been published widely in periodicals. Hsinhua Bookstores alone have published a total of 2,388,000 copies in the last two years. But the demand still far outstrips the supply.

The liberated people want the knowledge to complete the work of liberation, to see into the future with a keen scientific insight. They

want to study the most incisive writing in modern Chinese political and philosophic thought, an outstanding instrument of revolutionary transformation of self and society. This is why, with the liberation, a nation-wide study movement has developed around the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung which have brought those theories into union with the practical dayto-day tasks of the Chinese revolution. Study groups have been formed in every factory, army unit, state institution and in many private organisations, in neighbourhood groups in town and country. In these, the writings of Chairman Mao-The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, New Democracy, On Coalition Government, On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, On Practice are the most widely read-form an essential part of their reading.

There is a direct message for each stratum and group of the population in these works covering the key periods, aims and methods of the revolution. They are written in a clear and popular style, bringing, as in *On Practice*, some of the most complex problems of philosophy and revolutionary theory into a living and easily comprehensible relation with daily life. This is the source of their power.

Chairman Mao's writings now required reading for all Communist Party members alongside the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Stalin. The other democratic parties have also called on their members to study the works on the list selected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to learn how better to play their part in building the new China. Chairman Mao's famous article Oppose Liberalism has become a standard against which all serious political workers test their thought and writing.

In August this year, the local trade unions sent their current study plans to the Educational Department of the All-China Federation of Labour. They naturally vary in detail, but all devote six weeks or more to a study of Chairman Mao's The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, which lays special emphasis on the leading role of the working class: and its Party in the revolution. All government cadres spend at least six hours weekly on political studies that naturally include Chairman Mao's works. The people's armymen's particular interests are Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary Wars and The Present Situation and Our Tasks where the famous 10 principles of the revolutionary war are formulated.

University and secondary school students besides their regular political science classes set aside 12 to 15 hours monthly to study Chairman Mao's New Democracy and other writings. Nearly a quarter of a million college students who studied them between April 1949 and July 1950 took this knowledge in their vacations to the countryside, where they passed on to the peasant masses the lucid directives of Chairman Mao for the carrying out of the epoch-making land reform and the New Democratic transformation of the rural areas,

In early 1950 the Committee for National Minorities Affairs translated into Uighur five of Chairman Mao's works. The edition of 25,000 copies was sold out immediately, as were the 10,000 copies in Tibetan of On the People's Democratic Dictatorship. By the end of last year this work and New Democracy came out in Mongolian editions of 10,000 copies. The presses are working overtime to fulfil orders for tens of thousands more.

A reader of Peking's People's Daily writes: "After reading these works I recognised indeed what is meant in saying Marxism and Leninism are not dogmas but guides to action." To satisfy more fully this tremendous demand for enlightenment, a special committee has devoted the past 18 months to editing the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in four volumes, the first of which will appear this October.

#### National Day Celebrations

Spirited country-wide preparations to commemorate the second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic are underway.

Everywhere the people, stirred by their heightened love for the Motherland, are exerting strenuous efforts in the fields of national construction and defence, and they are reporting their achievements to Chairman Mao in many letters.

Huge people's processions and military parades will highlight this year's celebrations in the main cities. In Peking the National Day celebration ceremonies will be attended by many foreign delegations, representatives of national minorities and overseas Chinese. Model workers, combat heroes from among the PLA and the Chinese volunteers in Korea as well as representatives from old revolutionary bases will also attend.

#### PLA Welcomed in Lhasa

An advance unit of the People's Liberation Army entered Lhasa, capital of Tibet, on Sept. 9. They received a rousing welcome from officials, leading lamas, and 30,000 citizens, who had prepared living quarters and food supplies for them.

#### Heavy Industry Advances

Output of the main heavy industries during the past six months showed an increase of 44% compared with the corresponding period last year. In 1950, the total value of the main categories of heavy industrial production was two and a quarter times that of 1949. This included a production increase in the following industries:

	Increased
Industry	production
.Steel	 294%
Non-ferrous metals	 190%
Chemicals	 90%
Electricity	 289%
Machine tools	 241%

To meet the needs of expanding construction work in the country, chemicals, textile machines, rails, locomotives, steel sluice gates (for river control 'projects), farming machines and many other products are being produced in China for the first time in history.

#### Delegation to India And Burma

The first official cultural delegation to visit India and Burma on the invitations of these two governments left Peking on Sept. 20. Among the fifteen delegates were: physicist Ting Hsieh-lin, Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs, who heads the delegation; economist Li I-mang; professor Chen Han-seng; literary critic and novelist Cheng Chen-to; novelist Liu Pai-yu; professor Feng Yu-lan and mathematician Chien Weichang. The delegation has taken with it a large collection of photographs depicting life and construction in China, examples of art and handicraft work, and seven motion pictures.

#### NE Workers Boost Output

Factory workers in the Northeast predict the over-fulfilment of 1951 targets, in terms of value, by the equivalent of 10 million tons of grain. This is being achieved by means of annual savings in costs as well as increased production.

Living conditions of the workers are also being improved. In one state-owned smelting factory, a part of the extra production was used to construct 250 new dwellings, a sanatorium for the workers, and a nursery for their children.

#### First Tientsin Jeeps

Workers of the Tientsin Motor Works will present to Chairman Mao on National Day with the first two jeeps, every part of which has been manufactured in this country. The jeeps are equipped with four-cylinder engines and run 24 kilometres on a gallon of petrol.

Experiments in the manufacture of machines have also resulted in the successful construction of a 100 horse-power portable high-speed diesel engine and air compressor.

#### Harvest Prospects

While the full harvest has not yet been gathered, it is predicted that the yield will exceed last year's despite losses from drought and locusts. Of particular importance is a bumper harvest in the vast Huai river valley, the first of its kind in the past eight years, as a result of the work on the flood control project there. The cotton harvest this year will be the greatest in China's history, exceeding the previous record year-1936. The 1951 yield is expected to exceed last year's by 36.9 per cent.

#### More Grain to India

By September 18 this year, 66,000 tons of rice and 251,000 tons of kaoliang (sorghum) had been exported to India in accordance with the terms of the Sino-Indian trade agreement signed last May. Another shipment of 27,180 tons of kaoliang will arrive in India before the end of this month.

#### 1952 Huai River Plan

The People's Government has drawn up concrete plans for the 1952 Huai River project. Not only will the danger of flood disasters be more effectively eliminated, but large-scale irrigation will be developed in the region. Full-scale work on the middle reaches of the river, involving the shifting of 300,000,000 cubic metres of earth, will begin this October.

#### **Business Flourishes**

Latest revenue returns indicate that there was a business boom throughout China during the first six months of this year. Business taxes yielded one and a half times more revenue than for the corresponding period last year. Over 40,000 private mills and enterprises opened in 15 big cities in the same period which covered the usually slack second quarter of the year.

The number of fully employed workers increased by 120,000 during this same period. In the Northeast, the number of industrial workers in state enterprises rose by 12.7 per cent compared with last December.

#### SSFA Membership Grows

Membership in the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association had reached 15,031,377 by September, four times that of last year. This and the rapidly growing number of branches throughout the country are a testimony of the deep friendship between the two peoples.

#### Donation by Mme. Sun

Soong Ching Ling, Chairman of the People's Relief Administration of China, has donated the 100,000 ruble cash award she received for the International Stalin Peace Prize (see Supplement) to welfare work for women and children.

#### **NE** Minorities Education

National minorities in the Northeast have made rapid progress in education since liberation. Olunchun children, who come from the mountain regions, are studying for the first time in their own language, a written script of which was recently developed with government assistance. Over 200,000 Korean children, 92 per cent of the Korean school-age children in the Northeast, are attending primary school.

#### Broadcasts for the People

For the first time in China's history, broadcasts have become part of the life of the masses. Since liberation, over 15,000 listening groups have been organised and over 2,000 large relay stations set up. On Sept. 12, a directive calling for the establishment of broadcasting facilities in all factories and mines was issued jointly by the All-China Federation of Labour and the Press Administration.

#### Schools for Overseas Chinese

Two new schools for the children of overseas Chinese were opened in Canton early in September. About 2,500 overseas Chinese have arrived in Canton to attend schools there since April, 1950. They are given priority in enrolment.

#### Visits Abroad

A People's Liberation Army delegation of combat heroes and athletes left Peking for Prague on September 16 to participate in the Czechoslovak Army Day celebration.

A Chinese Student Delegation left Peking for Moscow on Sept. 21 to spend one and a half months touring the Soviet Union.

#### Korean Truce Talks

Following the American admission that a UN plane had strafed the neutral zone on Sept. 10, Generals Kim II Sung and Peng Tehhuai on Sept. 19 sent a message to Gen. Ridgway calling for the resumption of the talks. Consequently, the liaison officers of both sides met on Sept. 24 and 25. Because of the UN insistance to discuss "conditions" instead of date

and time for resumption of the talks, the talks have not yet resumed. (See page 31)

#### Press Comment on War Pacts

The Chinese press unanimously condemned both the "Peace Treaty with Japan" and the "U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact" signed in San Francisco. It warned the signatory nations of the serious consequences of their action.

### Better Health for the People

Immediately after its establishment in 1949, the People's Government launched a campaign to improve the nation's health. Tremendous progress has been made since then.

Epidemic Prevention Work: Thanks to the nation-wide epidemic prevention programme of the People's Government, there have been no major epidemics in any part of China. Some 240 epidemic-prevention teams and stations were set up throughout the country. From the spring of 1950 to the present time 180,000,000 people have been vaccinated against smallpox. In these two years, no smallpox cases have occurred in Peking, Port Arthur, Dairen, Amoy, Canton and many other cities. About 850,000 children in 82 cities have already had anti-TB inoculations.

Urban Health Work: Projects in the field of sanitation have extended the supply of piped water to millions of people. Changsha, Sian and Lanchow are among the cities constructing modern water supply systems. In two years, the Peking Municipal Government built new sewage systems totalling 105 kilometres in length. Tientsin and other cities have also constructed and repaired sewage systems, the total length being longer than the total built in the last 11 years. In the big cities over half a million people were organised to eliminate mosquito larvae and clear away garbage, some of which had been piled up by the KMT regime for decades.

Rural Health Work: The country now has 1,841 county health centres and departments. There is now almost one for every county. Most of these have either been newly established or re-opened since liberation. Reports from the hospitals under these health centres show an average 127 per cent increase in the number of beds and a 46 per cent increase in personnel over pre-liberation days. Health teams, maternity wards and nurseries have been and are being set up in the countryside. Mass health organisations are carrying popular hygiene education direct to the peasants.

Industrial Hygiene Work: Remarkable progress, too, has been made in industrial hygiene, regulations concerning which have been issued by the People's Government. Throughout the country industrial hygiene centres have been widely set up in large factories and mines. In the Northeast alone, hundreds of health centres, sanatoria, maternity wards and nurseries have already been established and are in full operation.

More Medical Workers: More doctors are now serving the workers and the miners. In the Northeast, for example, in 1949 one doctor served 122 workers and miners on the average. In 1950 there was one doctor for every 84 workers and miners. Improved temperature, ventilation and humidity conditions have been introduced in textile mills and other factories.

### Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's Statement on San Francisco Peace Treaty

Chou En-lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on September 18, issued a statement on the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan by the United States and its satellite countries. The following is an unofficial translation of the statement.

Twenty years ago today on September 18, 1931 the Mukden Incident took place. On that day Japanese imperialism launched its armed aggression against China. From that day, the people of China began their armed struggle against Japan. Then on July 7, 1937, Japanese imperialism took a further step by creating the Lukuochiao (Marco Polo Bridge -Editor) Incident with the aim of conquering the whole of China. The armed struggle against Japan thus developed into a nation-wide war of resistance against Japan. The people of China fought heroically in this war for eight long years until Japanese imperialism was defeated and forced to surrender. Hard facts testify that the people of China fought the longest, sustained the greatest losses and made the biggest contribution during the great war which defeated Japanese imperialism. Yet the United States Government in open violation of all international agreements excluded the People's Republic of China when it called the San Francisco Conference on September 4, 1951. At this conference the U.S. Government monopolised and signed a separate peace treaty with Japan on September 8. All the Chinese people express their indignation at this action and their opposition to it. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers it necessary to announce that the statement of August 15, 1951, which I was authorised to make on the United States-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan and the San Francisco Conference, remains valid. At the same time the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China authorises me to make the following additional statement on this question:

1. The separate peace treaty with Japan which was concluded under U.S. Government's coercion and without the participation of the People's Republic of China at the San Francisco Conference is not only not an over-all peace treaty but is in no way a genuine treaty. It is only a treaty for reviving Japanese militarism, a treaty of hostility towards China and the Soviet Union, a menace to Asia and a preparation for a new war of aggression. A few hours after the conclusion of the so-called peace treaty, the U.S. Government concluded a U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact with the Yoshida government of Japan which aims at clearing the road for the rearmament of Japan and turning it completely into an American military base. This Pact is unmistakable evidence that the U.S. Government is preparing for another war of aggression in Asia and the Far East on an even bigger scale. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the San Francisco Peace Treaty with

Japan and the U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact made under U.S. Government's coercion constitute a serious threat to the security of the People's Republic of China and of many other countries of Asia. The Chinese people will certainly firmly oppose to the very end the vicious scheming of the U.S. Government to use the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan and the so-called U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact to intensify its preparations for a new war of aggression.

2. The San Francisco Conference and the separate peace treaty with Japan signed at this conference not only do not represent the views of the people of China, the Soviet Union, the people of Asia and the world, but are actually in opposition to these views. This is because the American Government dictatorially and stubbornly rejected the suggestions put forward by the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak delegates at the San Francisco Conference to invite the People's Republic of China to the conference, and also rejected the various basic proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the signing of the peace treaty with Japan which were made in the spirit of the international agreements. This is because the American Government ignored the will and hopes of the Asian countries and rejected the proposals of India and Burma.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan and the U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact, which were manufactured by the American Government, can never bring peace to Asia and the world. They can only aggravate the present tension in Asia and the rest of the world. There is no doubt that this action in preparation for war taken by the American Government, which has created tension in Asia and the rest of the world, just as the armed intervention which it is now pursuing in Korea, cannot but arouse firm opposition among the people of the world, above all, among the people of Asia.

To safeguard peace in Asia and the rest of the world, the Chinese people are ready to work with all people in the world, with all the people of Asia, and the government of every country, especially every Asian country, which disapproves of the San-Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan. They will dothis to check the danger of war expansion in the Far East created by the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan and the U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact.

3. The San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan, and the U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact areby no means lenient or beneficial to Japan, butare war treaties that attempt to drag Japan into an new aggressive war and to plunge the Japanese nation into ruin. In their wild effort to revive Japanese militarism, the reactionary clique in the service of American imperialism within the ruling class of Japan did not even hesitate to sell out her national independence and sovereignty, and signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.-Japan Bilateral Security Pact. As a result the whole of Japan is confronted with a national crisis such as she has never before experienced. This cannot but impel the Japanese people to struggle further against the aggressive policy of American imperialism and the Japanese traitorous clique.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China wants to see the Japanese people gain democracy and independence, peace and progress. The Chinese people want to live in peace with the Japanese people, and to unite with them in friendship in order to safeguard peace in the Far

#### OCT. 1 AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE

(Continued from page 15)

in the struggle for peace and democracy, and thus defending their own Motherland. Premier Otto Grotewohl of the German Democratic Republic has described this solidarity as follows:

"We solemnly protest against interference into the domestic affairs of the Korean people, against this violation of international law, against the aggressive aims of American imperialism and against its inhuman methods of waging a war . . . This imperialism is the one that has invaded the Chinese People's Republic and now threatens China's security . . . In the struggle against the menace of a new imperialist aggression the German Democratic Republic is closely tied with all peace-loving peoples. The Government of the German Democratic Republic stands for full and unlimited support of all the forces of the world that defend peace, equality and friendship among nations."

#### Common Interests, Joint Struggle

The community of interests between the German and Chinese peoples and the common nature of the struggle which the German people wage in the West and the Chinese people in the Far East results particularly from the fact that American imperialists accord to Japan in the Far East and Western Germany in Europe the same roles in the carrying out of their plans of war and world domination. Under the provisions of the military pact between the U.S. imperialists and Japanese monopolists and proponents of a war of revenge, concluded under the camouflage of the "peace treaty with Japan," Japan is to become a supplier of cannon fodder, a war arsenal and a springboard from which Washington intends to carry out its adventurous plans in the Far East against the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. Similarly, the decisions of the Washington conference of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France constitute a war pact between the ruling circles of the United States and the revanchistes, Hitlerite generals and monopolists of Western Germany. By means of this war pact Western Germany is to be forced to carry out in Europe the same task that has been assigned to Japan in the Far East, namely, to become a supplier of cannon fodder, a war arsenal and a springboard for the planned American war against the Soviet Union,

East. Therefore, we Chinese people express our unbounded welcome and sympathy for the struggle of patriotic people of all sections of Japanese society—for their struggle against the traitorous San Francisco Treaty and their efforts to gain an early end to the state of war between China and Japan and to ensure peaceful co-existence. We are convinced that the Japanese people's struggle will certainly win the enthusiastic welcome and support of peaceloving people all over the world and that they will certainly win final victory.

4. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China states once again that because the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan was prepared, drafted and signed without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the Central People's Government considers it illegal and invalid and thus cannot recognise it in any way.

the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.

These facts tie closely, one to another, the struggles which the peoples of Germany and China are waging, with the support of the great world peace camp, against these criminal plans. The German people realise that the heroic struggle of the Chinese people against the U.S. policy of aggression helps them tremendously in their own fight. There can be no doubt that the just cause of the peoples fighting for peace, democracy and progress will eventually result in a victory over the forces of war and reaction.

The friendship between the Chinese and German peoples has opened a new chapter in the history of relations between our two countries. Shen Chun-ju, leader of the Chinese delegation which visited Germany during the German-Chinese Friendship Month last June and met more than 300,000 Germans from Eastern and Western Germany, declared that never in the history of our two countries have there been such close ties between them, and that no imperialist clique, no imperialist vermin will ever succeed in weakening or breaking this friendship.

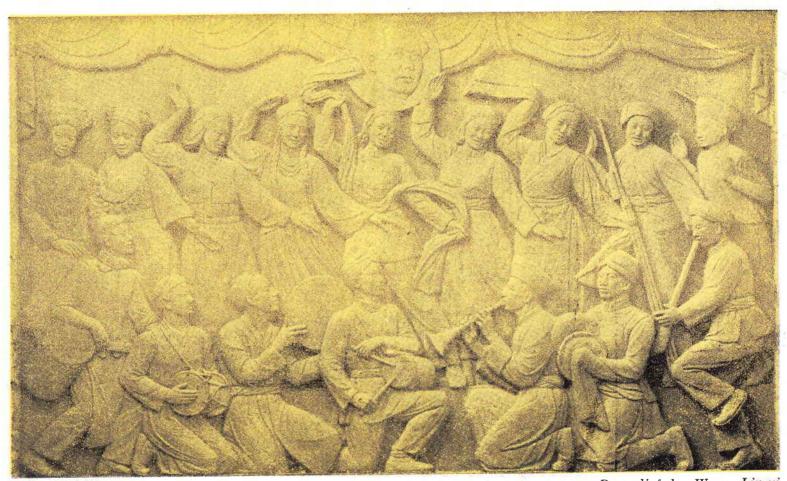
The best gift that the German people can present to the Chinese people on the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic is their friendship, their struggle for democratic national unification and for peace, their readiness to study the experience of the victorious Chinese liberation war and to adapt it to the concrete conditions of their own struggle.

All Germans, whose efforts are directed towards the struggle against American imperialism and against the revival of German imperialism, towards the building of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany and the maintenance of peace, whole-heartedly wish their Chinese brothers further brilliant successes in the construction of New China and in the struggle against our common enemy.

Long live October 1, the day of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic!

Long live the Chinese People's Republic and its great leader Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the victorious struggle of the world peace camp headed by the great Stalin!



The Fraternal Unity of the Nationalities of China

Bas-relief by Wang Lin-yi