

PEKING REVIEW

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January 20, 1961

China Backs Proposal for Enlarged Meeting of Geneva Conference

China's Premier and Foreign Minister endorse proposals of Prince Sihanouk and Prince Phouma on Laos (p. 5).

Albanian Government Economic Delegation in China

Distinction and Link-Up Between Two Stages in Chinese Revolution

How Chairman Mao creatively applies the Marxist-Leninist principle of unity of theories of revolutionary development by stages and of uninterrupted revolution (p. 10).

Peasant Wang Goes to College

His story reflects far-reaching changes in Chinese society and education (p. 19).

ARCHAEOLOGY: *Ancient Tang Palace Excavated*

北
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NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

1956 — 1967

The National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967) is of tremendous significance for the high-speed development of a socialist agriculture in China and the building of a new, socialist countryside. It provides for a big growth in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery within not too long a period of time and sets forth various concrete measures for reaching this goal as well as plans for the development of culture, education, public health and other fields of activity in the rural areas as production increases.

In addition to the programme, this booklet contains the full texts of the report delivered by Tan Chen-lin, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, entitled "Strive for the Fulfilment, Ahead of Schedule, of the National Programme for Agricultural Development," the resolution of the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and the *Renmin Ribao* editorial on the same subject. This material throws an illuminating light on the big leap forward in China's agriculture and the great changes that have taken place in the Chinese countryside.

62 pp.

THE WHOLE PARTY AND THE WHOLE PEOPLE GO IN FOR AGRICULTURE IN A BIG WAY

LIAO LU-YEN

This pamphlet was written by Liao Lu-yen, Minister of Agriculture of the People's Republic of China. In it he gives a systematic and comprehensive explanation of why, in developing her national economy, China must carry out the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor, and integrating priority for heavy industrial development with the speedy development of agriculture—a policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1959 on the basis of the experience already gained by China in socialist construction. The writer also deals with China's concrete policy and tasks connected with the speedy development of her agriculture in the future formulated in the light of the experience gained over the past two years and more as well as of the current political and economic situation. The reader of this pamphlet will get a clear understanding of the great guiding role played by the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor and integrating priority for heavy industrial development with the speedy development of agriculture, in the practice of China's socialist construction; and also of the great achievements made and rich experience gained in the course of the swift development of agriculture in China.

This pamphlet is published in Russian, English, French, Spanish, Japanese and Vietnamese.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 20, 1961 Vol. IV No. 3

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ROUND THE WEEK

When Social Scientists Meet

An important academic conference has just been concluded in Peking. Held under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the conference examined the past years' achievements and experiences in research in the fields of philosophy and the social sciences and defined the tasks ahead.

Over 100 noted philosophers, economists, historians, and specialists and researchers in other fields attended and over 60 spoke at this Third Enlarged Committee Session of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Academy. Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, addressed the session.

The conference noted that since its last meeting more than three years ago, Chinese research workers, led by the Communist Party and stimulated by the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes, have registered substantial achievements in the fields of philosophy and the social sciences. As a result of the anti-rightist and rectification campaigns, the criticism and refutation of bourgeois ideology and modern revisionism, participation in physical labour and on-the-spot investigation conducted in factories and countryside, a revolutionary change has taken place among social science workers. Marxism-Leninism has consolidated and expanded its positions. With working-class intellectuals as its core, a considerable body of social scientists and research workers has emerged. Large-scale economic surveys, historic as well as contemporary research on China's nationalities, linguistic studies, archaeological excavations, systematic collection and compilation of data and critical appraisals of past works in the fields of philosophy and the social sciences have yielded invaluable results. In nearly all provinces, autonomous regions and major cities, social science institutes have been established and, in many, philosophical and social sciences so-

cieties have been founded to conduct multi-faceted research.

The fundamental tasks of Chinese philosophers and social scientists as projected by the conference are: guided by the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, to sum up and study the rich experience and new problems of the Chinese revolution and construction; to study the new conditions and problems of the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples; to study China's cultural heritage; and thus combat bourgeois ideology and modern revisionism.

Attention was directed to the considerable development in scientific debates and criticism under the guidance of the Party's policy of "a hundred flowers blossoming, and a hundred schools of thought contending." These include lively discussions on such varied topics as high-speed and proportionate development of the national economy, commodity production and the theory of value under socialism, the oneness of consciousness and being, the struggle and unity of contradictions, the history of Chinese philosophy, formal logic, aesthetics, classification of the periods of Chinese social history, forms of Chinese feudal land ownership, peasant wars in Chinese history, the origins of capitalism in China, etc. Discussing the further implementation of this policy, the conference confirmed that within the general framework of serving socialism, different opinions in science should have broad and free public scope. Full and untrammelled discussion and debate on all scientific problems was advocated.

Efficient Tools, Efficient Work

Workers at the bench and in the pits have opened the year with a bang. Reports pour in of fulfilment and overfulfilment of quotas from Shanghai, Tientsin and Anshan—in fact from all parts of the country.

This fresh spurt on the industrial front is greatly facilitated by the mass movement launched since the New Year for overhauling equipment.

In Shanghai, where today's industrial accent is on a substantial rise in quality and variety as well as quantity, a thorough check-up and overhauling of machines and other equipment proceeds hand in hand with rolling production.

Good maintenance work is linked with technical improvements. Workers of the Huatong Switches Plant in Shanghai, while overhauling eight automatic machine tools introduced last year, devised further improvements which raised their efficiency. At the Shanghai No. 1 Machine Tool Plant the "overhaulers," on the other hand, took advantage of the opportunity to sharpen the precision of their machines.

Current stress on stepped up maintenance work in the engineering and other industries is significant. It meets the changing needs of a changing economy. During the very early days of liberation, China's engineering industry was largely limited to repair works. A radical change has taken place since the country moved into socialist construction, particularly during the years of the big leap forward. Today, production and use of modern machinery are widespread in industry, transport, construction and other branches of the national economy, and play an ever more decisive role. This naturally demands increased attention to guaranteeing that all machinery is in good working order — a most elementary, economical and effective measure of tapping latent productive forces.

As for most things, there is an old Chinese proverb for this too: "for good work, first sharpen your tools." That is exactly what the Chinese workers are doing.

More Machines, Better Crops

China's workers are also intensifying their efforts to back agriculture with farm machinery and other implements. From city, county and people's commune plants these reinforcements are being rushed for early delivery to meet spring ploughing and sowing schedules.

In a massive drive to equip the countryside, small farm tools by the millions and tractors by the hundreds have been poured into the rural people's communes. Irrigation equipment is being sent to hilly areas, carts to

the plains and boats to canal and lake regions. Planning production, many farm implements plants have sent workers and technicians to rural areas to solicit the views of the peasants who will use their products.

While manufacture of farm implements and machines is growing by leaps and bounds, their maintenance and repair have become increasingly important too. This is particularly true with the enormous growth in the use of agricultural machinery. Compared with 1957, for example, China now operates 3.3 times as many tractors. To the 24,000 (15 horsepower per unit) in use at the end of 1957, 55,000 new ones have been added. During the same period, pumping machinery increased its capacity by 5.4 million horsepower, nearly 10 times the 560,000 horsepower recorded three years ago.

In pursuit of their object, city workers are leaving nothing to chance. Many factories have allocated experienced workers and technicians specially skilled in complex farm tool repairs. They are pledged to overhaul and put into good working order, before spring, at least 90 per cent of existing farm machinery and implements. While some urban plants are sending expert repairmen to the countryside, others have recently moved the whole plant, lock, stock and barrel, to serve the peasants on their home grounds. By providing machine tools and other equipment and training peasant technicians, still other city plants are helping the rural people's communes set up and expand their own repair shops.

TV Serves the People

With the completion of ten new stations in 1960, television in China can be said to have come of age.

Major cities like Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Harbin, Shenyang, Changchun and Canton now have TV stations. There are 16 others in the experimental stage and a number of relay centres.

Behind this rapid TV expansion is the high-speed development of the television equipment industry. China manufactured its first TV transmitter and receiving set in 1958. Now all new TV transmitters, relay vans, microwave relaying and other equip-

ment bear the "made in China" imprint.

Television in China consists not only of news and entertainment. It is fast becoming an important factor in mass education. Aside from featuring regular news, popular science, culture and the arts, sports and children's programmes, many stations offer a veritable "airborne" education. Peking, for instance, has a popular "TV University" with an enrolment of 8,800. Sponsored jointly by three Peking universities, its curriculum includes college mathematics, physics and chemistry as well as college preparatory courses. To meet the varying levels and needs of its diverse student body, TV University also supplies study materials by correspondence and provides tutors and organizes collective study to supplement individual efforts. For those in industry and government offices who have not had the opportunity for higher education, this is a welcome boon.

"Now, It Pedals Me!"

A common sight these days in the city of Shenyang is the electric tricycle. Powered by battery — with a seat for a customer or a flat back-carrier for goods, it has become a major means of short-distance urban transport.

Inexpensive to make and easy to run, the electric tricycle was first introduced in Shenyang early last year. It soon caught the imagination of the city's transport workers. In the course of a technical revolution and technical innovations drive, there began to be a mass conversion of pedicabs to tricycles. Compared with the former, the latter is much faster and has a greater loading capacity. But most important is the fact that it does away with the heavy labour required by the pedicab. As one proud tricycle driver put it, "I used to pedal the thing, now it pedals me."

Since June last year, Shenyang has turned over 5,000 pedicabs and other carts into electric tricycles. The city has also founded several plants to manufacture and repair this new type of vehicle. In every district there are service stations where the tricycle batteries can be recharged. In the parlance of transport statisticians, tricycles carried 750,000 tons of goods and did 3,520,000 ton-kilometres of work between August and November 1960.

China Favours Convening of an Enlarged Meeting of the Geneva Conference

Premier Chou En-lai's Reply Letter to Prince Sihanouk

Premier Chou En-lai on January 14 sent a reply letter to Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, expressing agreement to his proposal for convening an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference. Prince Sihanouk put forth this proposal in letters with the same content to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. Premier Chou's reply reads as follows. — Ed.

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi and I have received with honour Your Royal Highness' letter of January 1, 1961 and have studied it carefully.

Just as Your Royal Highness has pointed out in your letter, a civil war is raging in Laos and the situation is very dangerous. This serious situation is entirely the result of crude interference in the internal affairs of Laos by the Government of the United States of America. For several months, the U.S. Government, in disregard of the repeated protests of the legal government under Prince Phouma, has brazenly supported the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique with large amounts of weapons and military equipment, instigated and expanded the civil war in Laos, and openly carried on subversive activities against the legal government under Prince Phouma which stands for peace and neutrality. At the same time, the U.S. Government has actively organized the dispatch of troops of its follower the Thailand Government to take a direct part in the military operations of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique against Vientiane and other areas in Laos; and south Viet Nam troops as well as remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits entrenched in the Laos-Thailand border area also took part in these operations under the direction of the United States. Now, the U.S. Government has further stepped up its interventionist activities and has gone so far as to send rocket-carrying warplanes to help the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique in the war and order its armed forces entrenched in the West Pacific region to be on the alert and ready for direct aggression against Laos, thus making the Laotian situation even more dangerous. These interventionist and aggressive activities of the U.S. Government have trampled on the

independence and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Laos, thoroughly wrecked the 1954 Geneva agreements on Laos and seriously endangered the peace of Indo-China and Asia. This cannot but cause the grave concern of the Indo-Chinese states and all the peace-loving countries and people in Asia and the whole world.

As Your Royal Highness is aware, the Chinese Government has consistently shown concern for and upheld the Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China and is resolutely opposed to U.S. actions which violate the Geneva agreements and interfere in the internal affairs of Laos. The Chinese Government has consistently respected the Laotian people's aspirations for national independence, peace and neutrality, and has always held that the Laotian question should be settled by the Laotian people themselves and should not be interfered with by any foreign country.

In order to stop quickly the U.S. Government's intervention and aggression against Laos, the Chinese Government has proposed to reconvene a conference of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference, and called on all the countries and peoples concerned for peace in Indo-China immediately to take effective measures and make positive efforts for upholding the Geneva agreements and restoring peace in Laos.

The Chinese Government has noted with pleasure the concern Your Royal Highness has shown for the Laotian situation and the positive proposal put forward in your letter of January 1. The Chinese Government agrees to Your Royal Highness' proposal for convening an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference, and believes that such a conference, if it could be convened, will certainly help to seek ways to safeguard the Geneva agreements and restore peace in Laos. In order to promote the speedy convocation of such a conference, the Chinese Government is sending letters respectively to the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom, the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, requesting them to take positive measures on this proposal of Your Royal Highness.

Premier Chou En-lai's Telegram to Premier Pham Van Dong

Following is the text of Premier Chou En-lai's reply telegram dated January 14, 1961 to Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Pham Van Dong on the Laotian question. — Ed.

I HAVE received your telegram of January 4, 1961. The Chinese Government agrees to the views of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the situation in Laos and resolutely supports its positive efforts for settling the present Laotian question.

On January 1, 1961 Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, wrote to our Government and the governments of other countries concerned, proposing to convene an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference. With a view to stopping U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression against Laos and its wrecking of the Geneva agreements, the Chinese Government has sent a reply letter to Prince Sihanouk expressing agreement to his above-mentioned proposal. Comrade Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of our country, has also written today to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Con-

ference, requesting them to take positive measures to bring about the early convocation of such a conference.

Regarding the question of resuming the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, Comrade Chen Yi pointed out in his letter of December 28, 1960 to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference that the most urgent task of the Commission now is to adopt effective measures at once to stop the interference by the U.S. and Thailand Governments in the internal affairs of Laos and to effect the withdrawal from Laos of all the military personnel and equipment of the United States and Thailand. Comrade Chen Yi also pointed out that the Commission must and can only cooperate with the legal government of Laos headed by Prince Phouma in resuming its activities, and absolutely must not have any contact with the illegal Boun Oum-Nosavan government.

I am fully convinced that, with the support of all peace-loving countries and people, the Laotian people will certainly win final victory in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, achieve unity of their country and attain peace and neutrality.

Premier Chou En-lai Replies to Premier Phouma

PREMIER Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China sent a letter to the Premier of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, on January 14 in reply to his letter of December 30, 1960, in which the Laotian Premier proposed the convocation of an international conference to seek a settlement of the Laotian question.

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out in his reply that, in view of the present serious situation in Laos caused by U.S. intervention, the proposal put forward by Prince Phouma in his letter for the convocation of an international conference to seek a satisfactory settlement of the Laotian question was an opportune one. He also pointed out that "the Chinese Government has always welcomed and supported all initiatives aimed at stopping U.S. aggression in Laos and U.S. violation of the Geneva agreements." He further stated that the proposal put forward by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk on January 1 this year for convening an enlarged meeting of the Geneva conference to settle the Laotian question was in the same spirit as the proposal set forth by Prince Phouma in his letter. "Such a conference, if it could be convened," the Chinese Premier declared, "will certainly help to seek ways to safeguard the Geneva agreements, stop U.S. intervention and restore peace in Laos."

In his reply, Premier Chou En-lai stressed: "Our Government and the entire Chinese people have always had deep concern and sympathy for the Laotian people in their plight." Premier Chou En-lai said that the legal

Laotian Government headed by Prince Phouma had made incessant efforts for the peace, neutrality, national amity and state unity of Laos and these efforts were in conformity with the Laotian national aspirations and in the interest of peace in Indo-China. Therefore, it had won the extensive support of the peace-loving countries and people. But the Government of the United States of America, in order to continue to enslave the Laotian people and implement its policies of aggression and war, had ignored the Laotian national aspirations and the repeated charges of the Royal Laotian Government, openly supported the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique, instigated and expanded the civil war in Laos, carried out subversive and disruptive activities in various ways against the legal government led by Prince Phouma, thus preventing the smooth realization of the policy of peace, neutrality, national amity and state unity pursued by Prince Phouma. The facts showed most clearly that the present serious situation in Laos was entirely a result of the crude interference in the internal affairs of Laos by the U.S. Government and its vassal Thailand.

Premier Chou En-lai expressed admiration for the continuous persistence by Prince Phouma in this just stand despite his difficult situation abroad and for the stubborn fight carried on by the patriotic members of the legal government led by Prince Phouma.

In his letter Premier Chou En-lai finally pointed out that the Laotian people were peace-loving and that their just struggle for peace and neutrality and for safeguarding

state sovereignty and national independence could not be blocked by any force. The scheme of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique to subvert the legal Laotian Government by force with the support of the United States of America could never succeed, but would only further arouse the Laotian people to determined resistance. Premier Chou En-lai expressed the belief that the Laotian people, led by the legal Laotian Government headed by Prince Phouma and uniting all patriotic forces and persisting in

their struggle, would certainly be able to win final victory in their just cause.

As reported earlier, Prince Phouma sent a letter on December 30, 1960, in Phnom Penh to all diplomatic envoys in Cambodia. In this letter, Prince Phouma called for "a conference of all countries interested in peace and in political stability in Indo-China to find a satisfactory solution to the Laotian question."

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Letter to the Co-Chairmen Of the Geneva Conference

In his second letter dated January 14, 1961 to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and British Foreign Secretary Lord Home (the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom being the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference), Foreign Minister Chen Yi drew their attention to the grave situation in Laos and suggested that they give favourable consideration to Prince Sihanouk's proposal to convene an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference and take appropriate steps to bring about the convocation of such a conference at an early date. Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter reads as follows. — Ed.

SINCE I wrote to you on December 28, 1960, the situation in Laos has grown more and more serious. The Government of the United States of America is actively supporting the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique to expand the civil war in Laos. It has continued to introduce into Laos large amounts of military equipment, including rocket-carrying warplanes, and ordered its armed forces in the West Pacific region to be on the alert and ready for direct aggression against Laos. At the same time, the U.S. Government has actively organized the dispatch of troops of its follower, the Government of Thailand, to take a direct part in the military operations of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique against Vientiane and other areas in Laos; and south Viet Nam troops as well as remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits entrenched in the Laos-Thailand border area also took part in these operations under the direction of the United States. These interventionist and aggressive actions of the U.S. Government have not only trampled upon the independence and sovereignty of Laos, thoroughly wrecked the 1954 Geneva agreements on Laos, seriously endangered the peace in Indo-China, but also subjected the security of China, a close neighbour of Laos, to an increasingly great threat.

With regard to the grave situation in Laos caused by the U.S. Government, China, as one of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements, has repeatedly made clear its position. In my letter dated December 28, 1960, I have requested the Co-Chairmen to promptly convene a conference of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference so as jointly to seek effective measures to stop the actions of the U.S. Government in wrecking the Geneva agreements and intervening and committing aggression against Laos.

The Chinese Government has now received a letter from His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head

of State of Cambodia, dated January 1, 1961, in which he proposed to convene an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference. The Chinese Government agrees to this positive proposal of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and believes that such a conference, if it could be convened, will certainly help to seek ways to safeguard the Geneva agreements and restore peace in Laos. The Chinese Government, moreover, fully agrees to the view expressed by N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., in his reply letter to His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, that it should be the aim of this conference to help the Laotian people safeguard the peace, unity and neutrality of Laos on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government suggests that the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom, as the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, give favourable consideration to this positive proposal of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and take appropriate steps to bring about the early convocation of such a conference.

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Albanian Government Economic Delegation in China

FURTHER reinforcing brotherly mutual assistance and co-operation between China and Albania, a Government Economic Delegation from that heroic country, the socialist camp's southwestern outpost, is now in China on a friendly visit. The mission is led by Spiro Koleka, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and First Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers.

While visiting in Peking, Vice-Chairman Koleka held friendly and cordial talks with China's Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on further developing Sino-Albanian economic co-operation during 1961-65.

Frequent exchange of visits between Party and government leaders, people's delegations and missions from economic, cultural and other fields is welding ever stronger friendly ties between China and Albania. In the previous year, Albanian visitors to China included such distinguished figures as Chairman Haxhi Lleshi of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Delegation of the Albania-China Friendship Association headed by its President A. Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers. China, for its part, sent a military delegation and numerous other friendly missions to Albania.

Premier Chou Greets Albanian Guests

On January 17, Premier Chou En-lai received Vice-Chairman Koleka and had a cordial talk with him. On the same evening, the Premier gave a banquet to welcome the Albanian mission. Speaking at the banquet, Premier Chou En-lai warmly hailed the heroic Albanian people for their important contributions to world peace and their tremendous achievements in socialist construction. The Premier pointed out that the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, always loyal to proletarian internationalist principles, has unswervingly worked for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and waged a tenacious and thoroughly uncompromising struggle against Yugoslav modern revisionism. The Chinese people, he said, express heartfelt respect for the valiant people and the staunch Party of Labour of Albania.

The Chinese and Albanian peoples, Premier Chou En-lai stated, are always close brothers and have always maintained close co-operation. They will surely share each other's weal and woe. The Chinese people, Premier Chou En-lai continued, will for ever bear aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, undertake mutual support

and mutual assistance with the peoples of the other socialist countries and wage to the end the common struggle for strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, opposing imperialist aggression and winning lasting world peace.

In his speech, Vice-Chairman Koleka enthusiastically lauded China for its three red banners—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, for its foreign policy of peace and its struggle against imperialism and revisionism, particularly Yugoslav revisionism. The Vice-Chairman also pointed out that the friendship between the Albanian and Chinese peoples is being constantly reinforced on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien Gives Banquet

On January 12, the day after its arrival, the Albanian Government Economic Delegation was honoured at a banquet in Peking tendered by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien. Both the Vice-Premier and Vice-Chairman Koleka spoke on that occasion.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said that in the past year, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have scored great successes in building socialism. He expressed the firm belief that the Albanian people would achieve fresh and even more brilliant victories in implementing their Third Five-Year Plan.

The Chinese people deeply understand from their own experience that the building of socialism is a glorious and great cause, but at the same time a stupendous and complex task, the Vice-Premier said. That no hurdle or difficulty should stand in the way of our march forward is inconceivable, he added. However, he continued, we are also keenly aware that we shall definitely be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win great success in building socialism, given the correct leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the fully developed revolutionary ardour of the broad masses, the unity and solidarity of the whole Party and whole people and their hard struggle.

It is well known, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said, that Albania is surrounded by capitalist countries and that imperialism and the Tito clique of Yugoslavia have never for a single day ceased their subversive and disruptive activities against her. But the Albanian people, he continued, have never knuckled under to enemy pressure or bowed before any difficulty.

The heroic revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people—fearless before power and violence, firm and

undeviating in their convictions—have won the praise and respect of the Chinese people and of progressive mankind throughout the world, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said.

The Vice-Premier also paid tribute to the Albanian Government and people for their consistent adherence to a peaceful foreign policy. He emphatically pointed out that the glorious Albanian Party of Labour has always held aloft the brilliant banner of Marxism-Leninism. It has always been faithful to proletarian internationalist principles and steadfastly worked to strengthen the great unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It has been carrying on a thoroughly uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and firmly defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien stated, is proud to have such a staunch comrade-in-arms as infinitely faithful to Marxism-Leninism as the Albanian Party of Labour.

The Vice-Premier expressed deep gratitude to the Albanian people for the support they have extended the Chinese people in their struggles.

China and Albania, he said, are fraternal states within the big family of the socialist camp. The powerful socialist camp is an indivisible entity. Aggression and provocation against any state in the socialist camp is aggression and provocation against the whole socialist camp.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien further noted that the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Statement it unanimously adopted are of tremendous historic importance. This is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism and the international communist

movement; it is, at the same time, also the beginning of our new, common struggle, he said.

Vice-Chairman Koleka Speaks

In his address, Vice-Chairman Koleka conveyed warmest greetings from the people, the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania and from Comrade Enver Hoxha to the people, the Party and Government of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The Vice-Chairman praised the tremendous victories won in various fields by the Chinese people. These victories, he said, testify to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party. Vice-Chairman Koleka pointed out that the People's Republic of China has become a great factor in the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism, without whose participation no major international issue can be settled.

The Albanian speaker noted that resolute, principled and thoroughly uncompromising struggles have been waged by the glorious Chinese Communist Party against all deviations, against modern revisionism and particularly the Belgrade clique which serves as an imperialist agent. Our Party, he said, highly values the contributions made by the Chinese Communist Party in such past and present struggles to the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to the enriching and developing of Marxism-Leninism.

Like the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman Koleka said, the Albanian Party of Labour will resolutely and thoroughly implement the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

On January 14, the China-Albania Friendship Association held a reception in Peking to welcome the Albanian mission. As we go to press, the mission is continuing its visit in China.

The Distinction and Link-Up Between the Two Stages of the Chinese Revolution

by SHIH TUNG-HSIANG

Following is a translation of an article published in the January 1 issue of "Hongqi," fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.—Ed.

I

THE Third Revolutionary Civil War was the final period in the stage of the democratic revolution in China. During this period the fundamental issue confronting the whole Chinese Communist Party and the people of the entire country was to carry out thoroughly the tasks of the democratic revolution and at the same time fully prepare conditions for the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

In leading the whole Party and all the people of the country to tackle this issue, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the one hand, firmly held to the principle that "socialism can be attained only through democracy,"* thus making a strict distinction between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and opposing the idea that the democratic "task can be merged and carried out simultaneously with . . . the socialist task."** He told the whole Party and all the people of the country that

*Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 49.

**Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 39.

the democratic revolution should be spearheaded squarely against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and not against capitalism and capitalist private property in general. According to Lenin's thesis, the democratic revolution "will not be able . . . to affect the foundations of capitalism" and "a bourgeois revolution is a revolution which does not go beyond the limits of the bourgeois, i.e., capitalist, social and economic system."* On the other hand, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also held firmly to the principle that "the democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable trend of the democratic revolution,"** thus linking up the democratic revolution with the socialist revolution and not allowing an intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship between these two revolutionary stages. He told the whole Party and the entire people to carry the democratic revolution through to the end and "when all the requisite conditions are present, to transform it into a socialist revolution."† According to Lenin's thesis, the proletariat "will leave its proletarian or rather proletarian-peasant imprint"‡ on the entire democratic revolution. "We shall put every effort into assisting the entire peasantry to make the democratic revolution, *in order thereby to make it easier* for us, the Party of the proletariat, to pass on, as quickly as possible, to the new and higher task — the socialist revolution."‡‡‡

IN studying the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, we should endeavour to gain a profound understanding of how Comrade Mao Tse-tung held firmly to and developed in revolutionary practice the theory of the distinction and link-up between the two stages of the Chinese revolution. And particularly we should get a thorough grasp of how Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the light of the changes taking place in the actual struggle, applied this theory to formulate a comprehensive policy of both distinguishing between and linking up these two revolutionary stages. Only this complete integration of theoretical study with the study of policies can guide us, not only in theoretical understanding but in actual work, to truly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist principle of the unity of the theories of the development of the revolution by stages and of uninterrupted revolution, and so avoid falling into either the "left" deviation of repudiating the theory of revolutionary development by stages or the right deviation of repudiating the theory of uninterrupted revolution.

* V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Volume I, Part 2, pp. 56, 47.

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 50.

† *ibid.*, p. 50.

‡ V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 60.

‡‡ V.I. Lenin, "The Attitude of Social-Democracy Towards the Peasant Movement," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 160.

During the stage of the democratic revolution, the question we had to solve by applying the principle of unity of the theories of the development of the revolution by stages and of uninterrupted revolution was that of the theory and policy of how to distinguish between and link up the two stages — the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. What we have to solve today by applying the same principle is the question of the theory and policy of how to distinguish between and link up the two stages — socialism and communism. It is certain that a serious study of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* is of great practical significance in helping us to arrive at a correct understanding and solution of this question.

II

Society in old China was semi-colonial and semi-feudal in nature. Therefore, besides the necessity of abolishing imperialist privileges in the country, the domestic task in the stage of democratic revolution in China could only be and had to be the elimination of feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the wiping out of the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie), changing the comprador-feudal relations of production and liberating the fettered productive forces; it was not the abolition of capitalist relations of production in general and the elimination of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The main enemies of the revolution were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the main forces fighting against these enemies were all the people engaged in physical and mental labour, constituting 90 per cent of the population of the country. From all this "it follows that our revolution at the present stage is a people's democratic revolution of a new-democratic character and is different from a socialist revolution such as the October Revolution."*

PROCEEDING from the foregoing scientific analysis of the character of Chinese society and of the tasks of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated our Party's general line and general policy during the stage of the new-democratic revolution and our Party's specific lines and policies for all kinds of work. He called on every Party member to grasp firmly the Party's general line and general policy and not to remember only the specific and individual lines and policies of our Party in our work while forgetting the general line and general policy of our Party. At the same time, he called upon every Party member, in implementing the general line and general policy and the various specific policies, to make a strict distinction "between the permissible and the impermissible"*** at a given stage and resolutely carry out "the permissible" in a satisfactory way while strictly refraining from doing "the impermissible."

At that time, we had to confiscate the land of the feudal classes and give it to the peasants, and eliminate

* Mao Tse-tung, "The Problems of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry."

** Mao Tse-tung, "Land Reform and Party Re-education and Consolidation in 1948."

the systems of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation practised by the landlord class and the old-type rich peasants; but the industrial and commercial enterprises of the landlords and rich peasants should in general be protected, the capital which we encouraged the landlords and rich peasants to divert to industrial and commercial enterprises during the period of reducing rent and interest should not be regarded as a "disguise" and should not be confiscated and distributed. First consideration had to be given to meeting the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers and bringing their forward role into play, but we could not violate the policy of uniting firmly with the middle peasants, impair their interests and thus isolate the poor peasants and farm labourers. In determining class status, care must be taken to avoid the mistake of classifying middle peasants as rich peasants. We supported the equal distribution of land on a per-capita basis, the most thoroughgoing method of wiping out the feudal system, but under no circumstances could we advocate absolute equalitarianism. To fully implement the policy of uniting firmly with the middle peasants, we had to permit a section of the middle peasants to hold a larger amount of land than the average acquired by the poor peasants in general.

AT that time, we had to confiscate the monopoly capital, headed by the four big families, and turn it over to the new-democratic state, but we had to adopt in principle the policy of according general protection to the economic position of the national bourgeoisie. A clear line also needed to be drawn in defining bureaucrat capital; we could not call all industrial and commercial enterprises run by the Kuomintangites bureaucrat-capital and confiscate them. We needed to confiscate and let the democratic government take over and carry on all those industrial and commercial enterprises that, as clearly confirmed by investigation, were really run by the Kuomintang central, provincial, county or city governments, in other words, completely run by the government authorities as well as those enterprises run by the big, well-known officials of the Kuomintang. As for industrial and commercial enterprises run by the small officials, they were not included in the category of those to be confiscated. As for the right-wing elements of the national bourgeoisie, we needed to combat their political influence among the masses, but political blows and economic elimination were two different things which should not be mixed up; we could not adopt the policy of eliminating them economically because we wanted to deliver blows at them politically.

At that time, the guiding principle of the new-democratic national economy had to be to follow closely the general goal of developing production, creating a prosperous economy, taking both public and private interests into consideration and benefiting both labour and capital; we could not depart from this general goal and carry out the wrong policy of so-called "promoting the workers' welfare," which was one-sided and narrow-minded and actually damaged industry and commerce and harmed the people's revolutionary cause; we could not adopt wrong ultra-left policies towards the upper petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois sectors in the econ-

omy (such as setting unduly high standards for labour conditions and excessive income tax rates).

As to the question of state power, Comrade Mao Tse-tung then pointed out: "The new-democratic state power is state power under the leadership of the working class, state power of the masses of the people, state power against imperialism and feudalism. Here, the masses of the people include the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who are oppressed and injured by imperialism and by the reactionary Kuomintang regime and the classes it represents, namely, the bureaucrat-capitalists (the big bourgeoisie) and the landlords. The main body of the masses consists of the workers, peasants (soldiers are chiefly peasants in uniform) and the other working people."* Therefore, "in the villages, it is the farm labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants and other working people, united together under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, who conquer the country and should rule the country, and it is not the poor peasants and farm labourers alone who conquer the country and should rule the country. In the country as a whole, it is the workers, peasants (including the new rich peasants), small independent craftsmen and traders, middle and small capitalists oppressed and injured by the reactionary forces, students, teachers, professors and intellectuals in general, professionals, enlightened gentry, ordinary government employees, oppressed national minorities and overseas Chinese, all united together under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) who conquer the country and should rule the country, and it is not merely a section of the people who conquer the country and should rule the country."**

IN the course of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung overcame in time the ultra-left deviation which went against the general line and general policy and the various specific policies of the Party in the stage of the democratic revolution and which in certain areas a section of the comrades were guilty of because in their actual work they had not drawn a strict distinction between the democratic and the socialist revolutions. He warned all comrades in our Party that we should draw experience from these mistakes and learn a lesson, that we must avoid adopting any adventurist policy towards the middle peasants, that we must make a distinction between the new rich peasants and the old rich peasants, that we must avoid adopting any adventurist policy towards the middle and small industrialists and business men, that we must avoid adopting any adventurist policy towards the intellectuals, and that we must avoid wrongly applying in the cities methods used in the rural areas in struggling against the landlords and rich peasants and eliminating the feudal forces to struggle against the national capitalists and try to eliminate capitalism in general. He said: "All comrades in our Party should know that the enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation is not tantamount to our victory. We still cannot win victory if we make mistakes in policy. To put it concretely, if we make mistakes

* "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy."

***ibid.*

involving principle with regard to any of the five policies — our policies for the war, the re-education of the Party, land reform, industry and trade, and the suppression of counter-revolution — and do not correct them, we shall court failure.”* He demanded of Party committees at all levels that “before any action is taken, we must explain to Party members and the masses the policy we have laid down in the light of the given circumstances. Otherwise, Party members and the masses will depart from the guidance of our policy, act blindly and carry out a wrong policy.”**

SOME comrades confused the democratic revolution with the socialist revolution, sought to realize the tasks of the socialist revolution during the stage of democratic revolution, denied the Marxist-Leninist principle concerning the theory of revolutionary development by stages and carried out certain “left” adventurist policies. This was because they failed to understand the social and economic conditions existing during the stage of the democratic revolution in China, that the objective demand of the democratic revolution was to clear the way for capitalist development and that “it would be sheer illusion to try to build socialism on the ruins of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal order . . . without pushing to its end the democratic revolution which is bourgeois in character, a democratic revolution of a new type led by the Communist Party.”*** Lenin said that “in countries like Russia, the working class suffers not so much from capitalism as from the insufficient development of capitalism.”† “Whoever wants to reach Socialism by a different road, other than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary both in the economic and political sense.”†† In the light of China’s actual conditions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung well expounded the above-mentioned Marxist-Leninist principle; he said: “Some people fail to understand why the Communists should advocate the development of capitalism under certain conditions instead of fearing it. Our answer is simple: to replace the oppression of foreign imperialism and native feudalism with capitalism developed to a certain degree is not only an advance but also an unavoidable process. Such development is beneficial both to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat, perhaps even more so to the proletariat. Foreign imperialism and native feudalism are not what China needs today but native capitalism is needed.”††† “. . . Given the conditions existing in China and given a new-democratic state system, the further progress of society can be facilitated only when, alongside the enterprises of the state and the individual and collective enterprises of

the working people, private capitalist enterprises are given the opportunity to develop without being allowed to ‘control the livelihood of the people.’”*

NATURALLY China’s democratic revolution could gain victory only under the guidance of communist ideology. However, we must distinguish between communist ideology and the communist social system, between the popularization of the guidance of communist ideology and the implementation of the programme of the new-democratic revolutionary stage. We must map out our new-democratic revolutionary programme under the guidance of communist ideology; but under no circumstances could we overstep the limits of the capitalist social and economic system and wipe out capitalist economy in general during the stage of democratic revolution, nor, during the stage of democratic revolution, could we carry out the tasks to be realized in the stage of socialist revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: “There is no doubt that now is the time for us to popularize more widely communist ideology and to intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise we shall be unable to lead the Chinese revolution to the future stage of socialism or even guide the present democratic revolution to victory. However, we must distinguish our propaganda for communist ideology and the communist social system from the implementation of the new-democratic programme and also distinguish the communist theory and method of tackling problems, of pursuing studies, of carrying out work and of training cadres from the new-democratic line laid down for the national culture as a whole. It is certainly wrong to confuse the two.”** Within our Party we must seriously and resolutely preserve the purity of communism and oppose the ideological influences of the bourgeoisie. If some members of the Party are corrupted by bourgeois ideas or if capitalist ideas appear among certain members of the Party, we should naturally struggle against these corrupting ideas within our Party. However, during the stage of democratic revolution we could not mistakenly shift these struggles against bourgeois influences and capitalist ideas within the Party to the sphere of the social and economic system, thereby opposing the capitalist sector in the economy. During the stage of democratic revolution, it was, of course, equally wrong to confuse opposing bourgeois ideas within the Party with opposing capitalism in the sphere of the social and economic system.

III

Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly held that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages; at the same time he firmly held that the two stages must be linked up. Lenin said: “We cannot jump out of the bourgeois-democratic boundaries of the Russian revolution, but we can vastly extend these boundaries, and within these boundaries we can and must fight for the interests of the proletariat, for its immediate needs and for the conditions that will make it possible to prepare its forces for the

*“On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade.”

** *ibid.*

***Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 49.

†V.I. Lenin, “Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,” *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 48.

††*ibid.*, p. 25.

†††Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 50.

**ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

**Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 74.

future complete victory.”* The more fully and the more thoroughly the democratic revolution is carried out, the more rapidly, widely and resolutely will the struggle for the socialist future be developed. And the question of leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution is a question of key importance in ensuring thoroughness in the democratic revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution.

Drawing on the entire historical experience of the Chinese revolution Comrade Mao Tse-tung came to the following conclusion: “Leadership in this revolution can and must be assumed by no class and party other than the proletariat and the Communist Party of China.”** “Without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China’s petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed.”†

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung, in his article “The Present Situation and Our Tasks,” asked all Party members to bear historical lessons in mind. He said: “When the Northern Expedition reached its climax in 1927, the capitulationists in our Party’s leading body voluntarily gave up the Party’s leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party’s leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution. During the War of Resistance, our Party combated ideas similar to those of the capitulationists, that is, making concessions to the Kuomintang’s anti-popular policies, having more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the masses, not daring to arouse and give full rein to mass struggles, not daring to expand the Liberated Areas and the people’s armies in the Japanese-occupied areas, and handing over the leadership in the War of Resistance to the Kuomintang. Our Party waged a resolute struggle against such impotent and degenerate ideas, which run counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely carried out its political line of ‘developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces’ and resolutely expanded the Liberated Areas and the People’s Liberation Army. This ensured not only that our Party could defeat Japanese imperialism in the period of its aggression, but also that, in the period after the Japanese surrender when Chiang Kai-shek launched his counter-revolutionary war, our Party could switch to the course of opposing Chiang Kai-shek’s counter-revolutionary war with a people’s revolutionary war smoothly and without loss and could win great victories in a short time. All Party comrades must keep these lessons of history firmly in mind.”

*V.I. Lenin, “Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,” *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 51.

** “Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.”

† Mao Tse-tung, “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship.”

The most essential aspect of the question of proletarian leadership in the Chinese revolution is the question of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership of the peasants. The main content of China’s new-democratic revolution was to change the land system. Only when the proletariat resolutely led the peasants in revolution, satisfied their need for land and formed a solid alliance with them, was it possible to solve the question of the victory of the revolution and its transformation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: “These two classes [the proletariat and the peasantry] are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.”* “If we can solve the land problem universally and completely, we shall have obtained the most fundamental condition for the defeat of all our enemies.”** After the Japanese surrender, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a timely decision to change the policy of reducing rent and interest into one of confiscating the land of the landlord class. In order to satisfy the peasants’ demands for land, the “Outline Land Law of China” drawn up at the National Land Conference convened by our Party in 1947 provided for equal distribution of land on a per-capita basis. This was a way to abolish the feudal system most thoroughly. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the right tendencies then manifested for a time among some people who were afraid to abolish the feudal system, dared not go in for equal distribution of the land of the landlords and dared not wage a resolute struggle against the feudal forces. After the Land Conference, under the leadership of the Party’s Central Committee, Party organizations in the various Liberated Areas, by adopting the method of criticism and self-criticism, solved the question of the existence of impurity in the class composition and style of work in the Party, and re-educated and reorganized and consolidated the Party ranks so as to enable the Party to stand completely on the side of the broadest masses of the labouring people and lead them forward. To ensure thoroughness in the land reform, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stressed that during its progress it was necessary to carry out the proletarian class line unswervingly, that is, resolute reliance on the poor peasants and farm labourers and unity with the broad mass of middle peasants. The basic force which the land reform relied on could only be and had to be the poor peasants. The poor peasants and farm labourers altogether constituted about 70 per cent of the rural population; their economic status determined that they could wage the most resolute struggle against the landlords. The most fundamental task in the land reform was to satisfy the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers. Our Party had to launch the land reform through the poor peasants and farm labourers, and, through them, unite with the middle peasants and the more than 90 per cent of the rural population who supported the land reform to form an anti-feudal united front. To ensure thoroughness in the land reform, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also stressed that while it was in progress it was essential to implement the policy of the

* “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship.”

** Mao Tse-tung, “The Present Situation and Our Tasks.”

mass line unwaveringly, that is, to rely on the political consciousness and organized strength of the peasants, rouse the peasants to emancipate themselves, to overthrow the landlords, and obtain and defend the land themselves; he opposed the adoption of the contrary, bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants. In the land reform, in all those areas where the feudal forces had not been completely destroyed or where confiscation of the land of the landlords and its distribution had not been done thoroughly, it was necessary to make a re-check and mobilize the masses again to rectify this shortcoming of a lack of thoroughness; it had to be made sure that all the peasants who had little or no land got it and that the dominance of the poor peasants and farm labourers in the leadership was established in the rural areas.

It was precisely because the Chinese Communist Party carried through such a firm and thoroughgoing land reform policy that at the stage of the democratic revolution a solid worker-peasant alliance could be truly established, that the leadership of the proletariat over the peasants could be realized and all those political parties and groups who competed with us for leadership could be politically isolated. And it was on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance that we united all the social forces that could be united with and established the broadest people's democratic united front against Chiang Kai-shek and U.S. imperialism.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung held that the Chinese proletariat (through the Communist Party) must lead not only the broad masses of peasants but also the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie had an economic importance at that current stage, and at the same time it could join us in opposing U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek or maintain neutrality in that struggle. For this reason it was necessary and possible for us to unite with it. But, politically, the national bourgeoisie was also an extremely weak and vacillating class. They constituted a section of the masses of people but they were not the main body of the masses of people, nor were they the force that decided the nature of the revolution. The middle of the roaders who constituted the majority of this class adopted a hesitant and wait-and-see attitude, standing between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party; they were sceptical about the strength of the people and harboured certain illusions about U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique; some right-wing elements who were few in number had reactionary political tendencies and opposed the people's democratic revolution. Therefore, the proletariat needed to adopt a policy of unity combined with struggle towards the national bourgeoisie, otherwise there could be no leadership of the proletariat. At this time, the struggle against the right-wing national bourgeoisie found its concentrated expression in the struggle against the so-called "middle road" or "third road." Some bourgeois democrats harboured the illusion that they could find another road, the so-called "third road," apart from the Kuomintang dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and the people's democratic dictatorship led by the Chinese Communist Party; this was in effect the road of the British-American type of bourgeois dictatorship. When

the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party held peace talks, the right-wing elements of the national bourgeoisie who advocated the "third road" asked the Communist Party to make concessions which would damage the fundamental interests of the people, and when the main armed forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries had been destroyed, they furthermore advised the Chinese people to have pity on the reactionaries and not to overthrow the rule of the reactionaries completely, in an attempt to make the revolution stop halfway. This was a dangerous tendency. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the task of the Chinese people was to carry the revolution through to the end and it was absolutely impermissible to stop halfway. As history has testified, the struggle against that "third road" advocated by the right-wing national bourgeoisie was a crucial moment in Chinese history; it was an extremely important struggle waged to realize the leadership of the proletariat, expand and consolidate the people's democratic united front, completely isolate the reactionaries and achieve complete victory for the democratic revolution and a socialist future.

DURING the entire period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung consistently educated us in the spirit of both daring to seize victory and of carrying the revolution through to the end. Time and again he emphatically pointed out that we must take the enemy lightly from the strategic point of view. He said: "If from the standpoint of the whole, we overestimate the strength of our enemy and hence do not dare to overthrow him and do not dare to win victory, we shall be committing a Right opportunist error." He also said: "While we correctly point out that we should take the enemy lightly from the standpoint of the whole, of strategy, we must never take the enemy lightly in any part, in any specific struggle."* When the Kuomintang reactionaries launched the countrywide counter-revolutionary civil war against the people throughout the country, "if we had shown weakness or given ground and not dared rise resolutely to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, China would have become a world of darkness and the future of our nation would have been forfeited."** The Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese People's Liberation Army in resolutely waging a patriotic, just revolutionary war to oppose the attack launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and adopted the policy of eliminating all the reactionary forces resolutely, thoroughly, unreservedly and completely, to carry this revolutionary war through to the end and destroy the whole state machine of the reactionaries as well as all their reactionary armed forces. At the same time, during the long period of construction in the base areas, our Party accumulated abundant experience as regards the work of building state power and trained large numbers of cadres in administering state affairs. Precisely because of this, it was possible for us swiftly and thoroughly to destroy the reactionary state machine on a nationwide scale and rapidly establish a new state machine to take its place, thus ensuring that we were able to clean out in the quickest possible way all vestiges of

*"On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy."

**"The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

the counter-revolution and counter-revolutionary political influences, and guarantee real thoroughness in the revolution.

IN discussing the outcome of the victory of the democratic revolution in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "It is an inevitable result of the victory of the democratic revolution in economically backward China that capitalism will develop to a certain extent. However, this will be only part of the result [of the Chinese revolution], not the whole outcome. The whole outcome will be the development of both the capitalist factors and the socialist factors."* What are the socialist factors? They are mainly the firm leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party established during the democratic revolution as well as the state economy of the democratic republic and the co-operative economy of the labouring people.

To guide the democratic revolution by communist ideology, on the one hand, we had to oppose, as mentioned above, the "left" adventurism which repudiated the theory of the development of the revolution by stages. This tendency was a reflection of petty-bourgeois rashness in the ranks of the proletariat. On the other hand, we had to oppose the right opportunism which repudiated the theory of uninterrupted revolution. Those who committed this kind of mistake opposed linking up the two revolutionary stages and did not strive for the future in which the democratic revolution would be transformed into the socialist revolution, trying to build a Great Wall between the democratic and socialist revolutions. This tendency was a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the proletariat.

Lenin said that during the democratic revolution it was to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if this revolution did not resolutely sweep away all the remnants of the old system, if it was not fully consistent, if it was not complete, determined and relentless, if all the democratic reforms took place more slowly, more gradually and more cautiously, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution and if these reforms did not develop the independent revolutionary activity, initiative and energy of the peasants, and especially of the workers, lest the workers and peasants should turn against the bourgeoisie the liberty the democratic revolution gave them and the democratic institutions which sprang up on the ground cleared of serfdom. Contrary to this, the Communist Parties tell the proletariat that it should not only take an active part in the democratic revolution but also strive to lead the democratic revolution. "You must not confine yourselves to narrowly conceived limits of the class struggle, meaning mainly the trade union movement, but, on the contrary, you must strive to widen the limits and the content of your class struggle to include not only all the aims of the present, democratic, Russian revolution of the whole of the people, but the aims of the subsequent socialist revolution as well. Therefore, while not ignoring the trade union movement, while not refusing to take advantage of even the slightest legal possibilities, you

**The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 48-49.

must, in a revolutionary period, put in the forefront the tasks of armed insurrection and the formation of a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government as being the only way to the complete victory of the people over tsarism, to the winning of a democratic republic and real political liberty."*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, has creatively solved the theoretical question and the question of policy concerning the distinction between the two stages of the Chinese revolution and their interconnection, and creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory and policy concerning the unity of the theory of the development of the revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution, thereby ensuring both the complete victory of the democratic revolution in our country and the smooth transformation of that revolution into the socialist revolution.

IV

The victory of the Third Revolutionary Civil War thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and the bureaucratic and military apparatus which it used to oppress the people; it brought into being the great People's Republic of China. The founding of the People's Republic marked the basic conclusion of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China.

THE fundamental question of any revolution is that of state power. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese revolution, in the light of conditions in China, overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and established the people's revolutionary state power first in one place and then in another, area by area, and went on finally to overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang rule throughout the country. Before the reactionary Kuomintang rule was overthrown on a country-wide scale, the nature of the people's state power was that of a joint dictatorship of revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat, which shouldered the tasks of the democratic revolution. At that time, it was wrong to think that "the moment the democratic revolution began to triumph in key provinces, a transition in the revolution would begin" as did some of our comrades who committed "left" mistakes. Since the reactionary Kuomintang rule was overthrown throughout the country and the People's Republic was founded, the nationwide people's state power has been, in essence, a proletarian dictatorship, which shoulders the tasks of the proletarian socialist revolution. The reason for this is that the basic contradiction of society in old China, that is, the contradiction between the Chinese people, on the one hand, and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, on the other, was basically resolved at that time, and the contradiction between socialism and capitalism has gradually become the main contradiction at home. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, after winning nation-

* V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 130.

wide state power, we should use it as a condition to enable China to pass "from a new-democratic into a socialist and communist society" and "abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony."* At such a time, it would, of course, have been utterly wrong to think that the moment of transformation of the revolution had not yet come.

While leading the democratic revolution to victory, the Chinese proletariat firmly established its political control of the state; therefore, after the victory of the democratic revolution there was no longer any need to conduct another struggle for the seizure of state power for the purpose of socialist revolution. This is because that in the course of leading the democratic revolution our Party never for a moment forgot the goal of socialism and throughout the struggle for the democratic revolution it firmly grasped the issue of state power and resolutely established and consolidated the leadership of the proletariat.

FOLLOWING the founding of the People's Republic, all bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises were immediately confiscated and turned into socialist enterprises. The economic basis of the reactionary state power of Chiang Kai-shek was thus completely demolished. Bureaucrat-capital held about 80 per cent of the fixed assets of the entire capitalist economy in old China. The expropriation of this part of bureaucrat-capital, its passing into the ownership of the People's Republic and, simultaneously with this, the establishment of socialist state-owned commerce on a countrywide scale and the introduction of a state monopoly in foreign trade enabled the People's Republic to possess a powerful socialist state-owned economy and control the economic arteries of the country. On the one hand, a powerful state apparatus lies in the hands of the people and a firm worker-peasant alliance has been formed on the basis of the land reform and the revolutionary war; on the other hand, the state power led by the proletariat has kept hold of the state-owned economy which controls the economic arteries of the country. Thus, it became entirely possible to carry out the socialist transformation of the middle and small capitalist sectors in the economy through the form of state capitalism and by peaceful means and to bring about the socialist transformation of other sectors of the private economy, thereby gradually eliminating the capitalist economic system and establishing the socialist economic system.

While saying that the key thing marking the transformation of the revolution, marking the basic conclusion of the stage of democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution, is the transformation of state power, the ending of the counter-revolutionary state power of the Kuomintang and the founding of the People's Republic of China, we certainly do not mean that the tasks of socialist transformation could be undertaken in all spheres throughout the country immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic. After the People's Republic was founded, the main contradiction in the vast countryside that had been newly liberated was still the contradiction between feudalism and democracy, that is, between the landlords and the peasants;

it was not the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. Therefore, we spent three years carrying out land reform in these areas. And it was only after we had completed the land reform throughout the country that we undertook the systematic socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce.

Some people maintained that, before the contradictions between democracy and feudalism were completely and thoroughly solved, a transformation of the revolution could not be effected even though the proletariat had state power in its hands throughout the country; they held that we must wait for the complete solution of these contradictions before we could bring about the transformation from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Such views were wrong. Lenin said that between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution there existed this kind of relationship: "The first [the bourgeois-democratic revolution] grows into the second [the proletarian-socialist revolution]. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first."* The basic indication of the transformation in the revolution was the seizure of state power throughout the country by the proletariat. Immediately after we seized state power throughout the country, we began to carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution; simultaneously, we made vigorous efforts in a period of time to carry through the tasks left over by the democratic revolution, that is, carry the land reform through to completion. Furthermore, on the basis of the completion of the land reform, we immediately went ahead without delay to lead the peasant masses who were small owners to take the path of co-operation through mutual-aid teams. There was another wrong view at the time which held that there should be an intervening period between the land reform and socialist transformation. This view actually amounted to letting the spontaneous forces of capitalism grow in the countryside and causing the revolution there to stagnate. Our Party repudiated and criticized this wrong view, thereby enabling the cause of the socialist revolution to develop vigorously in our country.

CONCERNING the question of how to effect a transformation in the revolution, the conclusion tallied entirely with what Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, that we must "persist unswervingly in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang on a countrywide scale and set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body. In this way, the Chinese nation will completely throw off the oppressor; the country will be transformed from a semi-colony into a genuinely independent state; the Chinese people will be fully emancipated, overthrowing once and for all both feudal oppression and oppression by bureaucrat-capital (Chinese monopoly capital) and so achieve unity, democracy and peace, create the prerequisites for transforming China from an agricultural into an industrial country and make it possible for her

* V.I. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of October Revolution," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 596.

* "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

to develop from a society with exploitation of man by man into a socialist society.”* The victory of the Chinese people’s great revolution and the founding of the People’s Republic made it possible, in exactly this way, to bring about the transformation from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in our country.

V

Holding to the Marxist-Leninist principle of unity of the theory of the development of the revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solved the question of the distinction and link-up between the two stages of the Chinese revolution, and at the same time, regarding this principle as a universal method, has creatively applied it to the entire revolutionary movement in China to guide the Chinese revolution forward step by step and without interruption from one process to another and from one victory to another.

That the revolution is divided into stages and is also uninterrupted is an objective law. We cannot regard the theory of uninterrupted revolution in isolation from the theory of the development of the revolution by stages. What we call the uninterruptedness of the revolution refers to continuity of the different stages of revolutionary development, the carrying out of one revolution after another, that is, the linking up of the different stages of revolutionary development. Nor can we regard the theory of the development of the revolution by stages in isolation from the theory of uninterrupted revolution. What we call the stages of the revolution refers to the qualitative differences between the various revolutionary stages in the process of uninterrupted revolution, while each revolutionary stage is a fragment, a section and a part of the long stream of uninterrupted revolution. This reflects the constant process of advance in which things develop from quantitative change to qualitative change and one thing is transformed into another.

BECAUSE the movement of contradictions in things themselves assumes two forms—quantitative change and qualitative change, and quantitative change gives rise to qualitative change, things of one character are bound to be transformed into things of a different character and one kind of qualitative process is bound to develop into another kind of qualitative process. This represents the unity of continuity and stages in the development of things. But we must also note not only that the constant process of change in things of different qualities is invariably marked by stages but that, even as regards one and the same thing, in the long process of its development, before it passes on to the final, qualitative change, there are many partial qualitative changes in the general process of quantitative change (as against fundamental qualitative change in things) and because of this, more often than not this process also comprises different stages of development and there are certain differences in character between the various stages. “This is because, although the character of the basic contradiction in the development of a thing or the nature of the process has not changed, yet at the various stages in the long process the basic contradiction assumes an increasingly inten-

sified form. The process is marked by stages because among the numerous big and small contradictions determined or influenced by the basic contradiction, some become intensified, others are temporarily or partially solved or mitigated, and new ones emerge. If we do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, we cannot properly deal with its contradiction.”*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has not only applied the principle of unity of the theory of the development of the revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution to relationship between things of different characters, for instance, to the relationship between the two revolutions—the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution—which are of different characters; he has also applied this principle to the relationship between the different stages of development of the same thing or the same process, for instance, to the relationship between the several different periods of development in the process of the democratic revolution, and the relationship between the various minor stages included in each of the several major stages.

FROM its beginning in the May Fourth Movement to its completion, China’s new-democratic revolution had passed through several periods—the Northern Expeditionary War, the War of Land Revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People’s Liberation War. During its entire course the fundamental character of the democratic revolution did not change, but the concrete circumstances and concrete tasks were different in the various periods due to the development of contradictions and changes in our enemies and our allies. The Third Revolutionary Civil War was the final period of the democratic revolution in China and also the greatest, the most impressive and active period. As a result of changes and developments in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, this period could also be divided into several small stages which differed somewhat in character. They were: the stage of striving for peace throughout the country while making preparations to cope with a countrywide civil war; the stage in which the enemy launched a strategic offensive and we maintained a strategic defensive; the stage in which we launched a strategic offensive and the enemy maintained a strategic defensive; the stage of waging decisive strategic battles and striving for the countrywide victory. From the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and the entire history of the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese revolution, we can see how Comrade Mao Tse-tung, basing himself on the law of the mutual promotion between quantitative and qualitative changes and the existence of partial qualitative changes in the general process of quantitative changes and skilfully applying the principle of unity of the theory of the development of the revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution, correctly handled the relations between the various above-mentioned periods in the democratic revolution, making a distinction between them and linking them up with each other, thereby pushing the revolution forward systematically and rapidly.

During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung brilliantly applied the principle of advanc-

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, pp. 25-26.

* “Carry the Revolution Through to the End.”

ing from quantitative changes to qualitative changes and from partial qualitative changes to full-scale qualitative changes in his direction of the military struggles at that time, the land reform, urban and all other kinds of work. For instance, in carrying out the land reform, several smaller stages of development were marked out in accordance with concrete conditions in different areas, and appropriate steps were taken to meet the needs of gradual changes in the relations of production and the gradual rise in the level of consciousness and the degree of organization of the masses under different circumstances. In a part of the semi-old Liberated Areas, i.e., the areas liberated in the two years between the Japanese surrender and the time of our general counter-offensive [against the Kuomintang troops], the land reform movement generally went through the three stages of the struggle to settle accounts, the carrying out of the "May 4 Directive" [on the land problem], and the universal and thorough distribution of land so as to gradually weaken and ultimately eliminate the feudal forces. In the areas newly liberated after the general counter-offensive, the land reform was carried out in two stages. The first stage was carrying out the policies of reducing rent and interest and reasonably distributing the tax burden, directing the attack against the landlords and neutralizing the rich peasants. The second stage was equal distribution of land, including the surplus and rented-out land of the rich peasants. Comrade Mao Tse-tung opposed haste in doing work without dividing it up into stages and pointed out that the stage of reducing rent and interest was indispensable in the land reform in all new Liberated Areas and that we would make mistakes if this stage were skipped.

THE distinction and connection between the various stages in the process of development of all the above-mentioned events were all matters of objective reality. They were, for instance, the distinction and connection between the stages of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the entire process of the Chinese revolution, the distinction and connection between the several periods of the general process of the democratic revolution, the distinction and connection between the various stages in the Third Revolutionary Civil War and the distinction and connection between the several stages of the land reform. One who recognizes these objective processes as they are and arranges his work according to the process of the development of things as it is, can accelerate the development of these processes through the display of subjective activity; but one cannot achieve his aim if he tries to carry his work to success by skipping the inevitable stages of objective development.

In his *On Practice*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that a true revolutionary leader must not only be adept at correcting his ideas, theories, plans or programmes when they are found to be wrong, "but he must also, when a certain objective event has already advanced and developed from one stage to another, be adept at making himself and all his fellow revolutionaries advance and revise their subjective ideas accordingly, that is to say, he must propose new revolutionary tasks and new working programmes corresponding to the changes in the new situation. In a revolutionary period the situation changes very rapidly; if the knowledge of revolutionaries does not change rapidly in accordance with the changed situation,

they will be unable to lead the revolution to victory." He also said: "We oppose the die-hard conservatives in the revolutionary ranks whose ideas, failing to advance with the changing objective circumstances, become Right opportunism in history. These people do not see that the struggles arising out of contradictions have already pushed the objective event forward, while their knowledge has not advanced."* He further said: "We also oppose the phrase-mongering of the 'Leftists.' With ideas ahead of a given stage of development of the objective event, some regard their fantasies as truth, and others, straining to realize immediately an ideal which can only be realized in the future, divorce themselves from the practice of the majority of the people and the realities of the day and indulge in adventurist actions."**

In short, whether in leading a whole revolution or a specific job, one must proceed not from subjective wishful thinking but from objective reality and one must adopt a realistic attitude, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has so often stressed. We must formulate our policies corresponding to a given situation on the basis of a deep and comprehensive understanding of objective conditions, and we should change our policies in accordance with changed objective conditions. Under no circumstance should we divorce ourselves from objective conditions and make changes, act quickly or slowly merely because subjectively we wish to do so.

UNDER the present new conditions, the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has further creatively used the principle of the unity of the theory of the development of the revolution by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution to guide the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country, and gradually solve the question of both the distinction and the link-up between the stages of socialism and communism. The resolution adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Sixth Plenary Session pointed out: "On the question of transition from socialism to communism, we must not mark time at the socialist stage, but neither should we drop into the Utopian dream of skipping the socialist stage and jumping over to the communist stage. We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; we hold that no 'Great Wall' exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of the revolution by stages; we hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative changes and that these stages, different in quality, should not be confused."

A thorough understanding of the spirit and essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on the distinction and the link-up between the two stages in the Chinese revolution will help us the better to implement the resolution adopted by the Party's Eighth Central Committee at its Sixth Plenary Session, the better to understand the Party's line and policy during the stage of socialist construction.

* *On Practice*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, p. 19.

** *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Peasant Wang Goes to College

by LIANG NIEN

We reported more than a year ago how Wang Pao-ching, a peasant, made his mark in scientific research work. The results of his experiments brought a big increase in maize yields in his part of the country. (See "Peking Review," No. 29, 1959.) Recently, Wang's name has been in the headlines again. He and his colleagues have become students in an agricultural college. The following account describes how he showed the same revolutionary spirit in overcoming the difficulties of the classroom as in his maize experiments. A pioneer on the farm front, he is helping to pioneer the way for tens of thousands in the academic field.

THE activities of the first spring festival of the 60's were hardly over when Wang Pao-ching, the peasant-scientist, packed his bags and together with eight comrades who had worked with him on the successful high-yield maize experiments set out for the Northwest Agricultural College. Pao-ching had had only one and a half years of primary schooling as a child. He still remembered how he quit school at the age of ten. That year, his family lost their grain tax receipt and was made to pay the year's tax all over again. This so drained the slender resources of his impoverished parents that they were forced to call young Pao-ching back from school.

After liberation, Pao-ching, encouraged and guided by the Communist Party organization in his village, began his experiments on high-yield maize in 1952. Eight years of effort, of failures and successes, were finally successful and Shensi Province hailed him as its standard-bearer of technical innovation in agriculture. The set of measures he evolved for getting higher yields of maize earned him the title of peasant-scientist and he was made a special research member of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Refusing to rest on his laurels, Pao-ching became all the more eager to learn more about science and technique and make a scientific summing up of the experience he and his workmates had accumulated over the years. "If ever I get the chance to study science," he frequently said to himself, "I'll give it a real try." Now this dream had really come true. When the provincial Party committee of Shensi decided to send Pao-ching and his workmates to college, one of the tasks set them was to help to find ways and means of enabling the broad masses of peasants to rapidly acquire a systematic knowledge of the agricultural sciences.

The decision filled him with excitement and gratitude. But there were many problems to be answered. Could peasants like him understand and master science? Could they manage a college course? Could they master theoretical mathematics, physics, chemistry. . . ? Some of those who had once thrown cold water on the high-yield experiments but had finally been convinced by

facts even now had doubts about the feasibility of these college courses for peasants. "Science is a palace of puzzles suited only for talented people, not for clodhoppers," they whispered. Pao-ching took a different line: "We listened to the advice of the Party and succeeded in launching a revolution in production. Now the Party says that we can start a cultural revolution and I'm sure we can do it!"

Wang Pao-ching and his mates arrived at the Northwest Agricultural College on February 7, 1960. They were given a rousing welcome by students and staff. This was an unusual occasion in the college's 27 years of history—the first time peasants were enrolled! However, those peasants were old friends. Since 1955, the college had co-operated with the Fenghuo (Beacon) Co-operative Farm on technical innovations in agriculture. Pao-ching had visited the college more than once, to attend lectures on cross-breeding of maize or to ask about methods in scientific experiment. In 1955, he had made a report on high-yield maize to the students and faculty of the college. Only a month ago, he attended one of the college's seminars and made a highly interesting contribution on close planting and inter-cropping. Today, however, he was as awkward as a schoolboy. When someone mentioned that there were things Pao-ching could teach them, he said emphatically: "We've come here to learn. This is a political task the Party has entrusted us with, and with your help we hope to see it through!"

FOR peasants like Pao-ching, to go to college was a revolution. It was no less a revolution for the college to admit peasant-students. It had been asked to bring them with their smattering of primary schooling to the level of college student in a little more than a year. To cope with this task, the college staff, under the guidance of the Party committee, made a special arrangement: an experienced professor and a young instructor were assigned for each of the 14 subjects they had to study in the year. For these teachers, it was certainly an honour but also a challenge. There were no textbooks designed precisely for such pupils and no previous experience in such a course of tuition. For many days and late into the nights the teachers prepared for their tasks.

Classes began on the third day after their arrival. Sitting for the first time in the classroom specially assigned to his group Pao-ching felt deeply stirred. The words of the secretaries of the commune and the county Party committees were ringing in his ears: You are going to college on behalf of our commune! On behalf of all the peasants of the county! Wang Ta-cheng, the oldest man in the commune, had told him: "This is the first time I've ever heard about peasants going to college. You should prove that you are worthy of the Party and of us peasants." At this point he turned to his class-

mates and declared: "Comrades! The Party has honoured us by sending us to college. We must approach science as if we are going to take an enemy stronghold! We must live up to the hopes of the Party, of our peasant brothers, and of our Fenghuo People's Commune."

The first lesson was botany. When the teacher came in smiling, the students were also all smiles. She was none other than Comrade Chang Chih-ming who had lived and worked as a *xiafang** cadre at the Fenghuo People's Commune. She had no mannerisms or professorial airs about her. Her lecture was like her talks with the peasants during a work-break back in the commune. Both the way she spoke and the content of her talk were well within the grasp of her peasant-students and the first lesson ended pleasantly.

THE second lesson was the Latin alphabet. This was a headache. Yet it was essential to facilitate their study of mathematics, physics, chemistry and other lessons. The teacher did his best and the students racked their brains, but still they could not get their tongues to behave nor their hands to draw the letters.

Then an idea suddenly came to Pao-ching and he asked: "What does the letter 'T' look like?" "Like a nail," one of his group answered. Then all of them joined together to give suitable nicknames to the letters of the alphabet, associating the unfamiliar with the familiar and sound with sight. They worked on this and had great fun testing each other. Before the night was out they had learnt to print, write and pronounce all the 26 letters.

Mathematics, physics, chemistry, one subject after another followed in quick succession. Though the lessons were specially prepared for the new students, the pace began to tell. They were told to commit all the definitions and technical terms to memory. This they did but it didn't help their basic understanding of the subjects much. Five weeks passed; yet instead of gaining more confidence, their classroom enthusiasm waned. They were finding it more and more difficult to keep up with the lessons. When they heard the distant whistle of the train more than one wished he was on it, headed for home.

One day, Chang, also from the Fenghuo People's Commune, told Pao-ching: "I am afraid I'm not making out here as I should. How about letting me go home? There at least I'm sure of doing a good practical job of work."

Pao-ching himself wasn't any too happy about his progress, but he never thought of quitting. It wasn't only a matter that concerned himself; it concerned all peasants like himself and their advance to a good education—he was crystal clear about that. But there was certainly a big question hanging over their studies; something was holding them back. He looked at the question from the angle of the teachers and also of the students and felt that there might be something wrong with the methods of both sides. What actually was wrong? He was at a loss to tell. But quitting was no solution. He told Chang: "You and I are both Communist Party members. We Communists are not supposed to be given easy tasks! It's a revolution we are starting now that we have come here

to study. I feel it very difficult too. But why? Let's try our best to find a way out."

The college's Party secretary looked in on them at their dormitory. As if he knew how they felt, he said: "Everything not so smooth, eh? Peasants going to college is something new; in any new thing there are bound to be difficulties. When you overcome the difficulties, then the new event is made into a happy event." The dean of the college also gave them fresh encouragement.

With the help of the Party committee, they looked into their difficulties and together worked out a series of measures: firstly, to beat back the "five fears" (nervousness about being unable to understand the lectures, or commit to memory what was taught them, about the exams, and applying theory to practice, and lastly, fear that they might be laughed at by others); secondly, to hurdle the "five roadblocks" (technical terms, taking notes, mathematical calculations, lab work and the study of theory); thirdly, they mapped out "five points of emphasis" in studying. These were: tackle the key question first; get all the facts; compare them; see how they are related; and how they are applied.

The nine of them tried it, working out various other little aids and discussing and helping each other with their lessons. They found that this way, they made much better progress. Chang forgot about wanting to go home and flung himself into his studies with renewed enthusiasm. His comment on "tackle the key question first" was, "It's like picking up onions strung together."

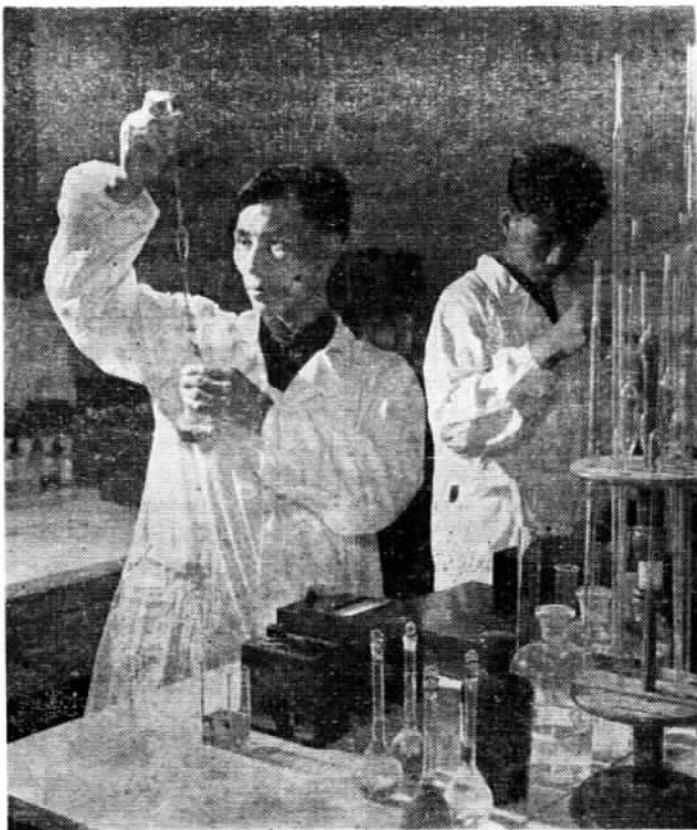
Pao-ching too felt more confident: "There's no question of going back to where you came from. This would not only be face-losing for yourself but also for the Party and the peasants as a whole. Even if science is covered with prickles a foot long, we shall grasp it!"

FOR Pao-ching, words meant deeds. In his studies his watchword was: "Good, better, best; never let it rest." One day, in doing some homework on chemical equations of compounds, he worked from early morning to noon, but failed to find the solution. These chemical equations had a direct bearing on production, he was told. So he was determined not to give up. He spent the whole afternoon and then the night wrestling with it. When it got into the small hours and he grew drowsy, he twisted a strip of paper into a spill and tickled his nose so that he sneezed and woke himself up. He was duly rewarded for his efforts. At two o'clock he was able to slap his chest with satisfaction; the exercise successfully finished.

The further they went in their studies, the harder they worked. They were particularly interested when they saw the practical applications of what they had learnt. Thus the question of changing the teaching system naturally came to the fore. Take chemistry for instance. The teacher spent two weeks trying to get them to understand the law of motion of matter and still they couldn't grasp it. It was only after he told them about the law of periodicity and conducted several experiments showing the practical application of those laws and how they worked that they felt as if they had finally come out of the wood.

"Why not talk about practical things first and then about the laws?" Pao-ching asked the chemistry teacher. "That would be easier to understand."

*An intellectual who goes to live and work for a period of time among the workers or peasants.



Wang Pao-ching in the laboratory

"A change is certainly needed," answered the teacher, "but we'd best go carefully at it."

Pao-ching felt more and more that it was necessary to change the teaching system and the content of the lectures if peasant-students were really to make rapid and solid progress in their studies. He consulted Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. "In fighting battles, in production and construction we turn to the works of Chairman Mao for help. Why not in our studies too?" He and the others spent a week and more studying selected articles from Chairman Mao's works and gradually one idea emerged more and more clearly. "The problem of 'for whom' is a fundamental one, one of principle."—Chairman Mao had raised this question in his talks on art and literature back in the Yen-an days. And now here was their problem, wasn't it also a question of "for whom?"

One day, strolling together with his chemistry teacher, Pao-ching asked: "When were these definitions and laws in chemistry formulated?"

"Some long ago. Tens of years or hundreds of years."

"When they were written, for whom were these books intended?"

"Intellectuals," the chemistry teacher answered.

"Tens of years or hundreds of years ago, did the writers ever think then that peasants too would go to college?"

"How could that be possible!"

"I am a peasant. And I want to study chemistry. Can you re-word the definitions and laws in chemistry in a way that we peasants too can understand?"

"That cannot be done. These are theories carefully worked out by many leading scientists. Science is something which is highly precise and systematic. Scientific

definitions have their universal characteristics, their world significance. They cannot be changed."

"But would it violate their world significance just to write the text in language that every peasant can understand?"

"Science is something everyone should respect. If you explain it in popular language, it would be difficult to give a full and complete explanation."

Pao-ching pressed his point: "To respect, you must. . . ?"

His teacher said: "Not distort the technical terms, definitions and laws. This is the proper way to inherit knowledge from other people, to respect science!"

"You are right in saying that," Pao-ching said. "But I've got another question. I don't know which shows more respect to science: to leave science just to a few people or to popularize it among millions upon millions of peasants?"

His teacher was silent. Pao-ching's question was sharply and also profoundly presented. It set him thinking.

Pao-ching continued: "Chairman Mao's works have world significance. What they discuss is the big question of revolution. Yet everybody likes to read them and everybody understands them. Why? Chairman Mao compares those conservatives in the agricultural co-operative movement to women walking on bound feet. What has a co-op farm got to do with women walking with bound feet? But when this is read to an old peasant, an old woman or a child, they can all understand what it means. Why cannot theories in natural science be described in a way that peasants can understand? As I see it, if we don't distort the principles, do not get the spirit wrong, there is room for us to try out ways of popularizing them."

"Yes, we can try," the teacher answered. But on second thoughts, he changed his mind: "It is not easy to compile textbooks in ordinary language. Perhaps we could use paraphrases to help the memory."

"This has much greater significance than helping one to memorize things," Pao-ching urged. "It concerns the big question of making the peasants well-educated. As a teacher of chemistry, you have a big part to play in helping to modernize our agriculture."

His teacher nodded in agreement. Soon afterwards, he started experiments on producing a popular chemistry textbook.

THE faculty went to no end of trouble to help their peasant-students and in so doing amassed valuable experience on how to teach modern science to peasants. Teaching methods needed reforming, that was clear, and also that what was taught should be correlated more closely with practical reality. Wang Pao-ching and his classmates asked particularly that what was taught must have a dialectical materialist content; that they should be taught the most advanced and the latest things; that their studies should be closely linked with production; and that textbooks should be written in a way that would be understandable and attractive to peasants.

Guided by the Party committee of the college and basing itself on the experience of both students and teachers, the teaching group attending to the peasant-students reorganized its tuition methods so that theory was

taught through practice, the concrete came before the abstract and the simple preceded the complex. All lectures were revised and streamlined in accordance with these ideas. Lectures were followed by discussions to clarify obscure or difficult points. This and many other innovations greatly improved the teaching and the students made marked progress. Pao-ching and his classmates finished the entire general basic course in maths, physics, botany, chemistry and the other subjects in a little over 150 days taking some 700 hours in all.

Although the first term was devoted entirely to basic subjects, still Pao-ching found many answers as to the scientific why and wherefore of his success in raising bumper crops. He regularly wrote back to the commune suggesting various improvements on experiments being carried out there. On discovering in the course of his studies that his past experiments in inter-cropping had not been thorough and comprehensive enough he talked it over with members of the commune, and it was decided to start more comprehensive experiments. After he learnt of the use of furfural and how it is made, he helped set up a plant to make it in the commune. Another time he returned with some teachers from the college and helped set up a class for advanced studies in the commune's own agricultural technical school. This way, he hoped, advanced scientific knowledge would be made more easily accessible to more peasants like himself.

"There is nothing at all mysterious about science," he remarked to another peasant. "I thought at first there was, but all you have to do is make a determined go of it and the whole thing is there for you to master and use. Agricultural science came from the actual practice of farming so why can't peasants like us who farm every day of our lives master it? If we follow the Party and are bold and determined we can master science and rapidly too."

New China is determined to train a new generation of peasant-scientists, scientific farmers. Wang Pao-ching and his colleagues are certain that it can be done. Difficulties have been met and gradually overcome. A new event, as the college's Party secretary had pointed out, is turning into a happy event.

SIDELIGHTS

A Dredging Engineer. One of the key men keeping Shanghai port free of silt is the newly promoted dredging engineer, 58-year-old Yu Shih-fu. For 25 years before liberation he worked hard at his jobs on a dredger in one of the world's biggest and busiest seaports trying to learn all he could about dredgers and the work of deepening and clearing the approaches to Shanghai's harbour. But for all his diligence and eagerness to learn, he never got beyond becoming an ordinary sailor.

Then in 1949, immediately after Shanghai was liberated, the Communist Party, recognizing the worth of this experienced but illiterate worker, sent him to study at a part-time school. There, he made rapid progress. With his new found literacy and the encouragement of the Party, he studied physics, maths, and subjects related to dredging. His rich practical experience stood him in good stead. He quickly assimilated all that he read. Back on the job with this better understanding of his work, he went on to introduce many improvements.

For seven successive years he has been elected an advanced worker, and in the current technical innovations campaign, he designed a suction dredge to remove mud from the river bottom which is more efficient than the equipment used previously. In these past ten years he rose from sailor to first mate and then to a captaincy of a dredge.

Yunnan Black Tea. "Tianhung" is a black tea growing in subtropical Yunnan Province. The famous Puerh Tea, the choicest leaves of which in the past were sent annually as tribute to the emperors also comes from here. This variety of tea, from which Yunnan's black "Tianhung" tea is made, thrives in Yunnan and is noted for its large but tender leaves and high content of tannin, theine and aromatic oil.

The old regime tried several times to process a new black tea from Yunnan's staple varieties but it never succeeded. It was not until after liberation that this was achieved. In

1951 the first shipment of Yunnan "Tianhung" black tea was exported. Today it is highly rated by tea experts throughout the world. It is also much in demand at home.

In order to meet this demand, 150,000 *mu* of new tea gardens were laid out in Yunnan's Lintsang Special Administrative District last year. This is several times more than all the land opened up to tea groves in the province over the last 300 years. Field management has been improved to get the shrubs to produce more and better "flush" or young leaves and shoots. Picking is highly selective to ensure an even, high quality. With more mechanization being constantly introduced in cultivation and processing, much labour is saved while a superior black tea is produced to delight tea drinkers throughout the world.



Teapickers Woodcut by Chao Tsung-tsao

Writing Nurses. Deciding that doing their job as best they could was not enough, 144 nurses of the Shanghai No. 6 People's Hospital, mostly with 2-5 years of working experience, decided to do something more. The result was 43 scientific papers covering proposals for improving nursing practice as well as on various branches of medicine and surgery and including Chinese traditional medicine. Each paper, based on their actual working experience, was written after analysing and co-ordinating data from hundreds to thousands of case histories with the unstinted help of doctors and members of the medical profession, and after extensive consultation of home and foreign publications related to their work.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Tang Dynasty Palace Unearthed

The Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) was one of China's most powerful imperial houses. It recorded brilliant Chinese achievements particularly in culture and the arts, and also, during its decline, frightful disasters. Now more than three years of scholarly research and patient excavating at the Tang Dynasty capital of Changan by archaeologists of the Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, has shed much new light on one of the largest palaces of this dynasty, the Ta Ming Kung Palace. A score of palace halls and 11 gates have been located. The remains of two of the main palace halls and several important gates have been completely uncovered. In addition, the entire length of the main palace walls measuring 7,628 metres in all, has been traced and part of it has been uncovered. This is, however, merely a beginning of a project to fully investigate this historic site. It will take many more years to complete.

Situated on the high ground of Lung Shuo Yuan about one kilometre to the north of present-day Sian (Shensi Province), Ta Ming Kung was first built in the 8th year of the reign of Chen Kuan (634 A.D.) and rebuilt and further extended in the 2nd year of the reign of Lung Shuo (662 A.D.). It is now hard to tell exactly how much of the people's wealth was squandered in building this extravagant palace of the feudal rulers. But historical records give us some idea of the phenomenal cost. In the 3rd year of the reign of Lung Shuo (663 A.D.) alone, taxes and levies from 15 *chou* (an administrative unit roughly corresponding to the present province) were allocated to the building fund for Ta Ming Kung while all officials serving in the capital were obliged to contribute one month's salary.

Ta Ming Kung was built at the height of the power of the Tang Empire and it must have presented a magnificent appearance in its heyday. The destruction caused by the An Lu-shan—Shih Sze-ming Rebellion (755-763 A.D.) drove the Tang Empire into a state of rapid decline. Changan the capital was sacked and burnt several

times; the Ta Ming Kung was likewise burnt and plundered till in the end nothing of it was left but ruins. When, 170 years after the end of the Tang Dynasty, Lu Ta-fang of the Northern Sung Dynasty looked over its site, he found that all its walls, halls and other buildings, had been demolished. When the current excavations started in the spring of 1957, even the broken walls of this once imposing palace had been buried and could not be traced. All that remained of it were a few earthen mounds—the last traces of the foundations of several gigantic halls—which had been visited from generation to generation as relics of historical interest.

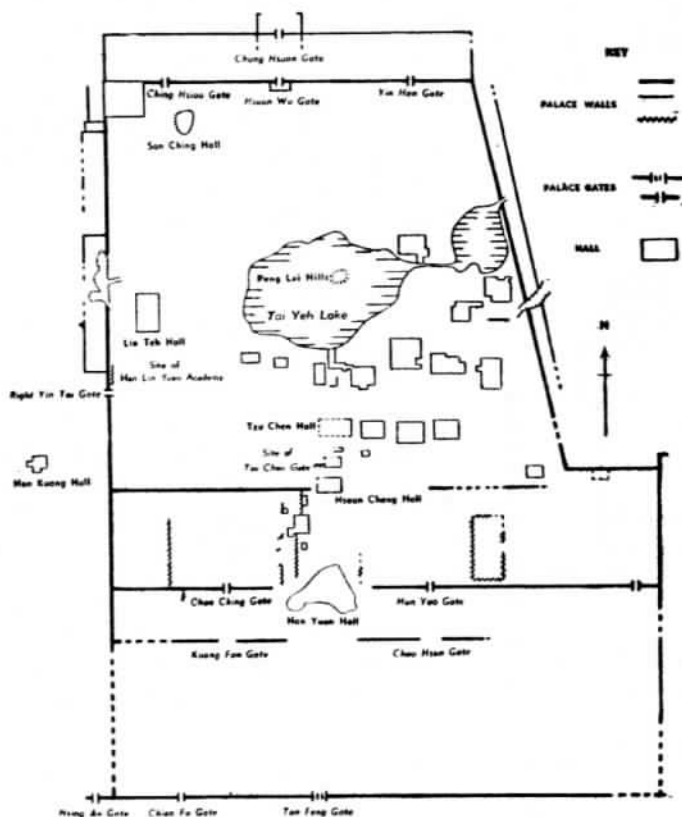
The excavations reveal that Ta Ming Kung would be exactly rectangular in shape but for the slant of the northern half of its eastern wall cutting off the northeastern angle of the walls. Built of solid rammed earth, the walls on the north, east and west sides were up to 13 metres thick. As it abutted on Changan city, its "borrowed" its southern wall with a thickness of nine metres from the city.

Ta Ming Kung was divided into two parts. The northern half had double walls on three sides (north, east and west), the outer up to three metres thick. Historical records show that

the space between the double walls was used to quarter the palace guards. The southern half of Ta Ming Kung was flanked by the two imperial gardens of Tung Nei Yuan and Hsi Nei Yuan and for this reason it had only a single wall on its east and west sides.

The largest of the palace gates excavated is Tan Feng Men on the south, the main entrance. Historical records show that important state events such as the granting of amnesties or change of the reign name, were proclaimed in the hall crowning this gateway. Excavations show that it was built on a platform measuring 51 x 16 metres with three gate openings. Directly opposite to this gate was the Hsuan Wu Men Gate which stood in the exact centre of the inner northern wall. Archaeological evidence indicates that this originally had an impressive gate tower built on a rectangular raised platform measuring 34.23 x 16.4 metres. The remains of the platform, protected with brick facings on the sides, still stand two to three metres high. Opposite the Hsuan Wu Men and located at the exact centre of the outer northern wall was the Chung Hsuan Men Gate. Inside the Hsuan Wu Men was another gate, very similar in structure but not provided with a gate tower. These three gates standing on the same axis were the main entrance to the Ta Ming Kung from the north. With the exception of the southern main entrance, all the rest of the gates located had only one opening.

In the autumn of 1957, excavations were started on the high ground to the west of Tai Yueh Lake. Two years of digging finally uncovered the remains of the earthen platform of a throne hall with bases for 192 pillars. The platform measuring 130 x 70



Sketch of layout of Ta Ming Kung based on findings at the site

metres was covered with a brick facing and still retained a height of 2.5 metres. On this platform once stood three halls with a total floor space of nearly 5,000 sq. metres. The front and central halls were paved with smooth marble flagstones and the rear one with square polished bricks. The approach to the flight of steps leading up to the front hall was paved with square bricks with a beautiful lotus design. Flanked on each side by a tower and a pavilion, the hall itself was further surrounded by a long gallery. This was the Lin Teh Tien Hall where, according to historical sources, the Emperor Hsien Tsung used to feast hundreds of officials simultaneously. This was also where marriage ceremonies of the royal princesses were held.

The remains of Han Yuan Tien, the main throne hall, were more recently excavated. About 600 metres to the north of Tan Feng Men, the main southern entrance, this was the hall where, according to historical records, important state ceremonies were held. Its platform, measuring 75.9 × 42.3 metres, still stands more than three metres above ground. The stone base of some of the hall's two rows of 20 columns have been discovered. They are shaped like inverted basin on a square base. The hall was surrounded



The remains of Lin Teh Hall, facing southwest

by a long gallery and its platform by a balustrade and posts with dragon-headed capitals. Its platform is flanked by two higher but smaller platforms of rammed earth to the southeast and southwest, the remains of the Hsiang Luan and Hsi Feng Pavilions. Between the two pavilions was the famous 50-metre-wide Dragon Tail Road with three passages stretching from the main entrance to the great flight of steps leading to the hall. These remains give us some idea of the majestic appearance which this towering hall once presented to those entering the palace through the Tan Feng Gate.

Excavations conducted to the west of the Ta Ming Kung site within the imperial garden of Hsi Nei Yuan have uncovered the remains of another palace hall and a ground for the playing of ball-games. The playground is thought to have been used for polo. This was a very popular game at the Tang court. The Emperor Hsuan Tsung himself was a good player. A stone tablet unearthed there shows that the hall was called Han Kuang Tien and was built in the 11th month of the 5th year of the reign of Tai Ho (831 A.D.).

In Tang times, provincial officials often sent tribute to the court in pottery jars sealed with clay bearing the impress of the seals of these officials.

The excavations at Ta Ming Kung have uncovered a large number of such clay fragments bearing the name, title and place of office of the senders along with the date and list of contents. These provide rich factual data for a study of official ranks and the tribute system in the Tang Dynasty. A silver plate with an exquisite lion design at its centre and an encircling band of peonies, and four ingots of silver weighing 200 taels have also been unearthed. The latter was sent to the court from Szechuan by Yang Kuo-chung, cousin of the great beauty, Yang Kuei-fei, imperial concubine of Emperor Hsuan Tsung; whose family was one of the most powerful and corrupt of the time.

The investigations and excavations conducted at the site of Ta Ming Kung have added much to our knowledge of it. [See *Ta Ming Kung of the Tang Capital Changan* (with English and Russian abstracts) edited by the Institute of Archaeology.] They have signally corroborated certain historical records and resulted in some significant corrections to information contained in the works of various scholars since the Sung Dynasty, thus providing us with a much fuller and more accurate picture of the buildings and layout of one of the most famous palaces of the Tang Dynasty.



TA MING KUNG IN RELATION TO CHANGAN

— MA TEH-CHIH

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Liu Shao-chi Meets Sharkey

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman, and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial talk with Lance Louis Sharkey, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, on January 15. Comrade Sharkey was on his way home via Peking after visiting the Soviet Union.

Among those present on this friendly occasion were Peng Chen, Member, and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Liu Ning-I, Member, and Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Chinese Vice-Premiers Return From Burma

Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and their party concluded their visit in Burma and left for home on January 14, bringing with them many expressions of the profound, kinsmanlike friendship of the Burmese people.

After Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Government Delegation left for home on January 9, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching continued their visit in Burma at the invitation of General Ne Win, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Union of Burma. During these days they enjoyed a pleasant rest in the west Burmese seaside town of Sandoway and visited the Shan State. They were given a rousing welcome wherever they went.

Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching and their party were honoured at a state banquet given by Sao Hkun Hkio, Minister of the Shan State of Burma, on January 12. Speaking on this occasion, Vice-Premier Chen Yi paid high tribute to the achievements of the people of the Shan State and

expressed heartfelt thanks for their welcome. He said that he was especially happy that Prime Minister U Nu would soon be spending his holidays in Kunming in China and that Foreign Minister Sao Hkun Hkio had accepted an invitation to visit China. He said that he also hoped that General Ne Win and his wife would visit China again. On behalf of Madame Chen Yi and Madame Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier Chen Yi invited the representatives of Burmese women to visit China at any time they like.

Chinese Exhibition in Burma

The exhibition of Chinese industry and agriculture now being held in Rangoon has attracted crowds like a magnet. In its first ten days up to January 14 it received 310,000 visitors including President U Win Maung and his family, and ministers of the Union of Burma.

President U Win Maung showed great interest in the exhibits and wrote in the visitors' book: "I visited the Chinese industrial and agricultural exhibition here in 1957. But the present exhibition is quite different from the previous one. China has achieved great progress in all fields. I am glad to see such great achievements in economic construction as realized by our kinsmanlike, friendly neighbour."

Minister of Finance, Revenue and National Planning Thakin Tin and Minister of Trade Development and Civil Supplies U Thwin, after visiting the exhibition, both had warm praise for China's great achievements in industrial and agricultural production.

A Rangoon citizen wrote in the visitors' book: "The People's Republic of China has written a most brilliant and unforgettable page in its history of socialist construction. We pay our respects to the heroes of New China who engage in creative labour." A visitor from the Mandalay area wrote: "The people's commune is a path leading to happiness, the best form of organization for developing production and improving the livelihood of the peasants at high speed." Vice-Chairman of the Burma Peace Committee, U Pyinnyazawta, wrote: "A visit to the Chinese exhibition has convinced me further that the great Chinese people is an industrious and peace-loving people. They have smashed the imperialists' malicious slanders against them with the fruits of their own

labour." Many visitors hailed New China as "a great example for underdeveloped countries," as "the pride of Asian peoples."

Nearly every page of the visitors' books is filled with such inscriptions as "Long Live People's China!" "Long live Sino-Burmese friendship!" "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people!"

Nepalese Delegation to China

The 9-member Nepalese delegation to the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee headed by Major-General Padma Bahadur Khatri, arrived in Peking on January 16 for the committee's second meeting soon to be held in Peking. On January 17, Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister, received and had a cordial talk with the Nepalese guests.

The Chinese-Nepalese joint team, sent in November 1960 in accordance with the agreement reached at the first session of the Chinese-Nepalese Joint Boundary Committee, to carry out investigations and survey work along the Chinese-Nepalese border, successfully completed its work on January 3, 1961.

BRIEFS

An exhibition of books published in the German Democratic Republic for young people and children opened in Shanghai on January 14. This is one of the fruits of the current Sino-G.D.R. cultural agreement. It will run for two weeks.

Two hundred books ranging from fairy tales and travel notes to fiction, scientific technology and Chinese folklore are on display.

A Chinese women's delegation was among the 250 delegates representing 59 Asian and African countries attending the Afro-Asian Women's Conference at Senate Hall in Cairo.

The permanent Bureau of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference concluded its week-long meeting in Colombo on January 10. China's representative, member of the Conference's 11-nation permanent Bureau, attended.

The meeting issued a communique condemning aggression and intervention by U.S.-led imperialist states against the Asian and African countries and pledged support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian and African peoples.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

New Soviet Effort to Settle Congoese Question

Renmin Ribao's editorial of January 15 supports the Soviet Government statement of January 11 on the necessity of liquidating the Belgian trusteeship over the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, and on the Congoese situation. These are further efforts made by the Soviet Union for a solution of the Congoese question. The Chinese people fully support the positive proposals contained in the Soviet Government statement, says the editorial.

At present, the editorial notes, the Congoese situation is extremely serious. While the U.S. is utilizing the United Nations for ever more frantic intervention and aggression against the Congo, Belgian colonial troops in Ruanda-Urundi launched new attacks against the forces of the lawful Congoese Government. The Belgian Government has flagrantly violated its commitments under the Ruanda-Urundi trusteeship agreement. It has directly organized the troops of the Mobutu gang to attack Congoese government troops from Ruanda-Urundi, and has even transported them to the rear of the patriotic Congoese troops for the purpose of expanding their acts of aggression. Belgian colonial troops entrenched in Katanga Province are in collusion with the troops of the Tshombe rebel clique, threatening the city of Manono recently occupied by lawful government troops. All this has been done with the support of the "U.N. forces." Just as the statement of the Soviet Government has pointed out, the arrangements made for the Mobutu gangsters and the aggressive activities carried out from the territory of Ruanda-Urundi have been known to the U.N. command in the Congo and carried out with its connivance. These "U.N. forces" and their manipulator, U.S. imperialism, can neither conceal this crime nor evade responsibility for it, the editorial warns.

The Belgian troops, the editorial says, should have long since withdrawn following the declaration of independence of the Congo. But to date the Belgian colonial troops not only have not withdrawn but have carried

out new aggression in the Congo. This is entirely caused by the colonial policy of aggression of U.S. imperialism towards the Congo. The Belgian colonialists need the support of the U.S. while the U.S. needs the Belgian colonialist troops for the time being for its aggressive aims. Some time ago the U.S. representative at the U.N., Wadsworth, said openly that to demand the withdrawal of the Belgian colonialists from the Congo would be "a destructive step" and "tragic" for the Congo.

Resorting to every foul means in its intervention and aggression against the Congo, the object of U.S. imperialism is obviously to completely destroy the lawful Government of the Republic of the Congo represented by Lumumba and Gijenga and supported by the Congoese people and the peo-

ples of the world, replace it with a puppet regime and thus shatter the independence of the Congoese people and subject them to the enslavement and domination of the U.S. neo-colonialists.

But, the editorial points out, in making use of the U.N. to carry out its aggression in the Congo the U.S. has failed to achieve the desired results. Some Asian and African countries with troops among the "U.N. forces" have announced their decision to withdraw their troops and military personnel. The Congoese people are rallying around the Lumumba-Gijenga government and are continuing their heroic struggle to safeguard the independence and unity of their fatherland. No matter what twists and turns and difficulties are encountered by the Congoese people, so long as they unite as one and persist in struggle, the foul atmosphere created by imperialism in the Congo will be dispelled and the Congoese people

THE PASSING SHOW

Vain Precautions

The Hamburg court, West Germany, has issued an order to confiscate all copies of the *Appeal to All the Peoples of the World*, adopted by the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, on the ground that it "menaces" the Bonn government.

The East Wind blows

through the Iron Curtain of the West,

*Freezing the heart that beats — or does it
tinkle?*

— in that Bonn monopolist chest.

*The Iron Chancellor has donned an extra
winter vest.*

**BONN BANS THE COMMUNIST Appeal
to All the Peoples of the World!**

*Dread words for warmongers, ato-
maniacs*

and other sinners these:

*Defend world peace . . . End colo-
nialism! . . .*

*Cut out the arms race! . . . For
peaceful coexistence!*

*For disarmament! And Down with
Nuclear War!*

*Such are the calls on which the people
seize.*

Ghosts hate the dawn, they say,

And wolves, the hunting season.

Thugs fear the light of day,

And Bonn, the light of reason.

Mouths may be gagged,

But eyes can see the truth.

Ideas need no visas,

They're not afraid of cardboard Caesars.



will win final victory in their cause of national liberation.

In conclusion, the editorial declares that to support this patriotic, just struggle of the Congolese people it is necessary to immediately call a halt to imperialist aggression against the Congo. Just as the Soviet Government statement pointed out, the sooner measures are taken to curb colonialist aggression in the Congo and the sooner all possible moral and material support is provided the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo, the sooner will a just solution of the Congolese question be achieved.

An Algeria By and For Algerians

Commenting on the recent so-called Algerian "referendum" stage-managed by the de Gaulle government, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (January 13) describes it as a completely nauseating farce.

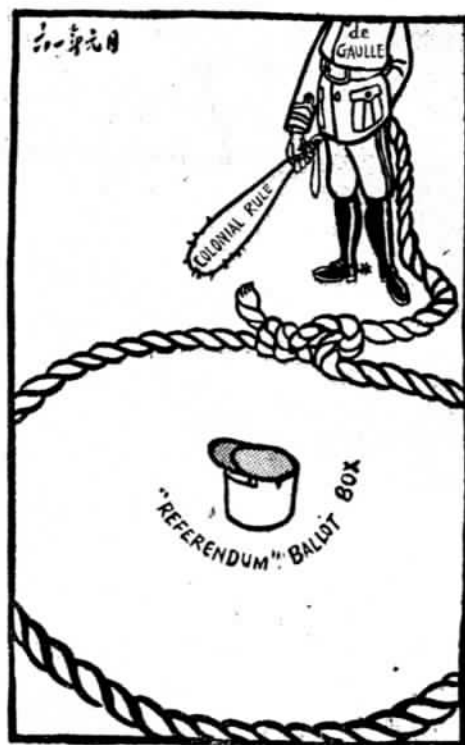
Commentator points out that immediately prior to the "referendum," not only did the French colonial authorities fail to halt their military suppression of the Algerian people for even a single day; but carried out a bloody slaughter of the masses in the French colonialist occupied zone. How can murderers whose hands are stained with the blood of Algerian patriots convince people that they "respect the will of the Algerian people" and would let them "handle their own affairs and have the right to choose their own future," asks Commentator.

Obviously, Commentator notes, de Gaulle himself is aware that the Algerian people, long experienced in the struggle against the French colonialists, will not fall into his trap. He arranged this farce because on the Algerian question the French colonialists are at the end of their rope and are vainly trying to use this "referendum" as a fig leaf to cover up their sanguinary rule in Algeria.

The French Government has long landed itself in a hopeless quandary in Algeria, Commentator points out. The Algerian National Liberation Army carries on the war of resistance indomitably and becomes stronger day by day. The French colonialist troops have long lost all hopes of winning

victory in the battlefields. This long-drawn-out colonial war not only has met with ever growing opposition among the broad masses of the people in France but also has made the contradictions within the French ruling circles increasingly acute. At the same time, world public opinion demands ever more strongly that France "stop this dirty colonial war" and recognize the Algerian people's independence. The "referendum" farce put up impatiently by the French Government in such circumstances, was an attempt to deceive and make the French people at home and the people of other countries believe that the French authorities have already recognized the Algerian people's "right to self-determination" and that the Algerian question could be "peacefully settled" according to de Gaulle's plan, Commentator notes.

Commentator further points out that de Gaulle's "referendum" plan imposing "the organization of public powers" on Algeria—a plan enforced by bayonets—contains an even more venomous intent. It is a plan to partition Algeria and create national strife there. This plan not only calls for the partitioning of vast areas of the Sahara as well as other parts of Algeria turning them into a permanent French colony but also plots the installation of a puppet regime there using it as a tool to maintain French imperialism's colonial rule in that country. De Gaulle has brazenly called this criminal plan one to make "Algeria an Algeria of the Algerians." In fact, it is a big conspiracy to have the Algerians fighting among themselves in Algeria. De Gaulle's "referendum" humbug by no means indicates that the French colonialists intend to abandon their policy of military suppression. On the contrary, says Commentator, this is a new camouflage to extend their colonial war against the Algerian people in an effort to realize a purpose—to forcibly bring the Algerian people to their knees—they have failed to achieve in the past. This tactic of de Gaulle's only proves the irrefutable truth underscored in the Statement of the recent Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties that "the colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting." As the State-



The Trap

By Sun Yi-tseng

ment noted, "the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms."

U.S. imperialism has always been the chief accomplice of the French colonialists in pushing ahead with their policy of aggression in Algeria, says Commentator. At present it is busily engaged in support of de Gaulle's new conspiracy. On January 9 the U.S. State Department issued a statement declaring its open backing for de Gaulle's hoax. *New York Herald Tribune* sang the praise of de Gaulle by saying that "he has been offering independence to Algeria on a silver platter for a long time." In this the ferocious features of U.S. imperialism as neo-colonialism are once more evident.

De Gaulle's shameless deception and his fresh massacres of the Algerian people can only arouse greater indignation among them and strengthen their determination to carry on the struggle. The heroic Algerian people will surely smash the military suppression and political intrigues of the French colonialists, finally drive them out and make a reality of their lofty aim to make an Algeria of the Algerians, by the Algerians and for the Algerians, Commentator concludes.

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