

People's 人民中国 China

November 16, 1951

MAO TSE-TUNG'S 'ON PRACTICE' AND CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

Feng Yu-lan

CO-OPERATIVES IN NEW CHINA

Chang Chia-chi

NEW TIENTSIN

Hsu Ying

10

VOL. IV

Supplement: *Chou En-lai's Political
Report at the P.P.C.C.*

Pictorial: *A Glimpse of Chinese Art*

PUBLISHED IN PEKING



People's China

41 Yang Shih Ta Chieh, Peking, China

This journal appears on the 1st and 16th of each month. Entered as first-class printed matter at the General Post Office of China.

Editor: Chiao Kuan-hua

Vol. 4, No. 10

CONTENTS

November 16, 1951

Chairman Mao's Greetings to Generalissimo Stalin	3
P.P.C.C. Addresses World Peace Council	3
EDITORIALS	
China's People Plan New Advances	4
Asian Friendship for Peace	4
ARTICLES	
Mao Tse-tung's 'On Practice' and Chinese Philosophy.... <i>Feng Yu-lan</i>	5
The Just Struggle of the Peoples of Iran and Egypt <i>Peking "People's Daily" Editorial</i>	8
Co-operatives in New China	9
Land Reform Strengthens Viet-Nam's Fight for Freedom.. <i>Truong Son</i>	14
The People's Representative Conferences	21
PICTORIALS	
A Glimpse of Chinese Art	17
FEATURES	
What We Saw in China	12
New Tientsin	24
They Were Once "Coolies"	27
A New Writer is Born	29
American Bombing of P.O.W. Camp.	31
CULTURAL FRONT Exhibitions Teach the People	16
CURRENT CHINA October 26—November 10, 1951	34
BACK COVER	
Glory to the Hero Volunteers of the Korean Front! <i>Woodcut by Shih Ko</i>	36
SUPPLEMENT	
Chou En-lai's Political Report to the P.P.C.C.	

國內定閱價目表 (平寄郵費在內,掛號郵費另計)

半年 十二期 基本定價四十八元 全年 廿四期 基本定價九十六元

(價目及倍數隨時調整,外埠定戶以信到日計價)

請就地向國際書店定閱

RATES FOR ABROAD (Postage Included)	6 months		one year	
			(post free)	
U.S.S.R.	RbIs.	7.00	RbIs.	13.00
India	Rs.	4.00	Rs.	8.00
U.S.A. and Canada	US	\$2.00	US	\$3.50
U.K.		9/-		17/-
Hongkong	HK	\$7.00	HK	\$13.00

Published by the FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, 26 Kuo Hui Chieh, Peking, China.

To Comrade J. V. Stalin

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

On behalf of the Chinese people, the government of the People's Republic of China and myself, I extend my heartfelt greetings to the Soviet people, the Soviet government and you, on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Permit me to offer my congratulations on the great achievements in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and in the construction of Communism which is just beginning; these achievements have enabled the working people throughout the world to acquire boundless courage in their striving for a bright future.

Permit me to greet the great victories of the peace policy of the Soviet Union; these victories have smashed the shameless plots of the war instigators, have united peaceful humanity throughout the world and have given them faith that peace will triumph over war.

Permit me to salute the unshakeable and great friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China which grows ever closer; this friendship among one third of the whole world's population is the most reliable guarantee of certain victory for the cause of world peace and progress.

Mao Tse-tung

*Chairman of the Central People's
Government of the People's
Republic of China*

Peking, November 5, 1951

P.P.C.C. Addresses World Peace Council

The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has resolved to give full support to the campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact. Reporting this fact November 1 to the World Peace Council meeting in Vienna, the National Committee declared that "world peace is confronted by a serious threat" but that "the war makers are meeting resolute opposition from the peace movement of the peoples of the world."

The Committee's message noted that the United States government and its satellites "are doing their utmost to expand both armaments and networks of military bases and are preparing a new world war." In the Far East, the U.S. continues to occupy Taiwan, persists in armed aggression against Korea and obstructs the Korean armistice talks. Its fake "peace treaty" with Japan aims to occupy that country indefinitely, revive Japanese militarism, and use Japan for aggressive war. The bilateral and multilateral "security" pacts signed by the U.S. government with several governments in the Pacific have the further aim of organising an aggressive bloc in the Far East.

Massacres and suppression of colonial peoples, the message continued, are spreading in Viet-Nam, Malaya, the Philippines and Morocco with U.S. support. The rulers of America, Britain and France encroach on the sovereignty of Iran, Egypt and Iraq for the purpose of enmeshing the entire Middle East in their war plans.

"However, while a grave war crisis exists, the strength of the peoples of the world in defence of world peace is growing to an unprecedented degree," the message declared, noting that the strength of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies was growing. A new anti-aggression tide was surging in Asia and North Africa. The world peace movement was spreading. "The conspiracy of the warmongers will certainly be smashed and the outbreak of a new world war checked provided the peace-loving peoples the world over unite all possible forces and take the cause of the defence of peace into their own hands."

Expressing full support for the resolutions of the World Peace Council for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and advising the Council of its own resolution on the Five-Power Peace Pact, the National Committee concluded:

"In the interests of world peace, the people of China will struggle resolutely for a just and reasonable agreement on the armistice in Korea. They will firmly oppose the Japanese 'peace treaty' signed at San Francisco, the revival of Japanese militarism and German fascism by the United States and the ruthless acts of aggression of the U.S.-British aggressors in Asia and North Africa. The people of China guarantee resolutely to fight to the end, together with the peace-loving peoples of the world, for victory in the defence of world peace and in the campaign for a peace pact."

China's People Plan New Advances

The National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference—the supreme organ of the Chinese people's state power—has just met in Peking. This was the voice of a fifth of the human race, more vital, more creative than ever before, united under the leadership of the men of the Chinese people, headed by their greatest son—Mao Tse-tung.

The people's delegates have discussed and taken historic decisions on the vital needs of the nation, decisions which concern all the peoples of the world since they particularly concern the defence of world peace.

This session summed up the nation's massive achievements in the 16 months since the Committee's last meeting in June, 1950. It reviewed a country strong and united as never before in its thousands of years of history. The farthest western territory—Tibet has been peacefully liberated from Kuomintang and imperialist intrigue. Three hundred and ten million peasants have been emancipated by the land reform. Agriculture in most areas has reached and in some has surpassed the highest levels in their history. Heavy and light industry, recovering from the shattering misrule of the imperialists and Kuomintang, has exceeded last year's production. Many branches are making new records. These successes have been immediately reflected in improvements of the people's livelihood. More children and adults are at school than ever before. A democratic culture spreads enlightenment and beauty through the land.

Such changes would have been remarkable even if completed within decades. In achieving them within two years, the system of the People's Democratic Dictatorship has demonstrated its superiority over the political systems of the capitalist countries.

While the warmongering parliaments of the U.S.A. and its satellites plot new attacks on the people's lives and liberties, the New Democracy shows itself as a system that rapidly improves the life of the people and solves their urgent problems. It makes the people invincible by giving maximum expression to the inexhaustible initiative of the masses in peaceful construction and the defence of peace.

At this session Chairman Mao Tse-tung placed as the central task of the Chinese people today, the strengthening of the work to resist American aggression and to aid Korea, to increase production and practise economy in support of the Chinese people's volunteers. This task is inseparable from that of safeguarding the victories of the revolution and assuring the further advance of the new democratic economy towards industrialisation and the building of a prosperous, strong People's Republic of China.

The session also placed great stress on education. A whole nation is being remoulded through creative labour and study. The people have launched an unprecedented movement of re-education in the principles of new democratic citizenship. They say: "Let us master the teachings of Mao Tse-tung that have led our revolution to victory, that are leading us to new victories in peaceful construction!" They know that by mastering these teachings they will learn to make still mightier strides towards the future.

Together with its decisions on these questions, the resolutions in support of the World Peace Council's appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact and on events in Korea fully reflect the demands of the people and their consciousness of the historic nature of the tasks that confront them.

Asian Friendship For Peace

"A source of inspiration to all Asian countries." These words of the Indian Goodwill Mission sum up the main impressions of delegations from five Asian countries after spending several memorable weeks in the people's China.

The delegations from Viet-Nam, India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia were composed of people having various political views. But they all represented millions of patriots in Asia who are eager to strengthen the friendship between their nations and the people's China.

Whence this keen, friendly interest in China? The victory of the Chinese people demonstrates to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia the way to national independence and freedom. The successes of the Chinese people in the political, social and economic fields during the past two years further prove to their neighbours that any nation no matter how backward and poverty stricken can rebuild itself and prosper once it is really free from

imperialism and feudal oppression. Our Asian neighbours, in the words of Mr. Iftikhar-Ud-Din of Pakistan, hope that the "life giving sparks" from the "fresh fire" lit by the Chinese people will "enliven the subdued spirits of other Asian peoples".

The warm friendly feelings with which the Asian peoples regard the Chinese people is seen in their eager demand for news, literature, films and music from the new China. They have also set up many associations for friendship with people's China. Great enthusiasm has marked every public appearance of the Chinese cultural mission now touring India, which will later visit Burma and other Asian countries.

The Chinese and the other Asian peoples, comprising one half of mankind, have two paramount common desires—peace and national independence. Their increasingly close friendship is the best guarantee that these common aims will be realised by all.

Mao Tse-Tung's 'On Practice' and Chinese Philosophy

Feng Yu-lan

1950 was an eventful year, notably marked by the re-publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's philosophical treatise *On Practice* written in 1937. As an article in *Study*, the leading theoretical magazine in China, has well described it:

On Practice scientifically sums up the practical experiences of the Chinese people's revolution over a long period under the leadership of the Chinese proletariat and its political party—the Communist Party of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis is the result of marshalling, re-organising and synthesising data taken from extremely rich revolutionary experiences. His thesis, having stood the test of time in revolutionary practice, has proved to be the scientific Marxist truth.

Pravda has also editorially commented:

In his work Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives a succinct and lucid account of the epistemology of materialism, i.e., the theory of reflection. He develops the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding the epistemology of dialectical materialism, the part played by practice in the process of cognition, and the significance of revolutionary theory in the actual revolutionary struggle. The work has this characteristic: it combines concreteness with vividness in its penetrating analysis and presentation, from the Marxist standpoint, of the intricate problems of philosophy.

Furthermore, "Comrade Mao Tse-tung profoundly interprets and develops the famous principle of Engels and Lenin regarding absolute and relative truth."

Such without doubt are the great achievements of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice*. Within the compass of this article, I wish to deal with another significant aspect of its achievement. Based on the principles of the epistemology of dialectical materialism, *On Practice* gives a scientific solution to an important traditional problem of Chinese philosophy, the problem of the relation between knowledge and action. This problem finds its ultimate solution in the theory of the unity of cognition and action set forth towards the end of the treatise.

It sets out four special features which characterise the epistemology of dialectical materialism: it emphasises the dependence of theory upon practice, practice being the basis of theory. It shows that knowledge acquired in practice further serves practice; that the question whether cognition or theory is true is to be judged not according to subjective feeling but according to the objective results obtained in social practice; it shows how practice and knowledge help to advance each other and form a cyclic pattern, and how with each cycle, the content of practice and knowledge is elevated to a higher level.

Feng Yu-lan, noted philosopher, is Professor of Philosophy at Tsinghua University. He is a member of the Chinese Cultural Delegation to India and Burma, now visiting these two countries.

In the history of Chinese philosophy, a systematic study of the relation between knowledge and action began with the Moralists of the Sung Dynasty (960-1276 A.D.), though earlier philosophers were also aware of the problem and occasionally expressed their views on it. If examined in the light of the

four epistemological characteristics set forth by Chairman Mao, these views indicate clearly where their advocates stood and what camps they belonged to.

First of all, a just evaluation must be made of the thought of Confucius*. Opinions are divided but it is generally held that Confucius laid considerable emphasis on action. He said: "When I have energy to spare from action, I use it for learning." It therefore seems that Confucius made a primary and secondary division of his efforts. But judged on the basis of the four points above, Confucius is assuredly an idealist in the epistemological as well as in other spheres of philosophy.

As shown by the above quotation, Confucius obviously considered doing and learning independent of each other. The first sentence of the *Analects* runs thus: "It is a great delight to learn and to review constantly what one has learned." What, then, did Confucius learn? According to his own confession, he "relates but does not create." He trusted and loved the ancient traditions. "My knowledge is not inborn," he said on another occasion, "I love and strive to study the ancient traditions intelligently." From these passages and from what we know of his life, we are sure that what most interested Confucius was poetry, history, rituals, music and the political and social institutions and customs handed down from ancient times. He set great store by knowledge inherited and passed on and made deductions and inferences therefrom. So he was pleased with his disciple, Yen Hwei, who "on hearing of one thing, could make out ten of its kind." Confucius did not, we seem justified in inferring, lay much store by practice, the most important source of knowledge.

Knowledge of the ancient traditions was thus considered as truth by Confucius and it seemed to him quite unnecessary to re-examine and test it in social practice. Since there was no need of testing

* Confucius (551-479 B.C.), best known of the early Chinese philosophers. His teachings are the classical philosophic expression of Chinese feudal society.

it, naturally there never arose the question of knowledge and practice helping to advance each other.

Confucius was, however, in perfect agreement with one point in the above criterion, i.e., he believed that knowledge serves action in the sphere of moral activities. It is perhaps on this point that Confucius may be regarded as attaching importance to "action".

According to Mo Ti (Mo Tse circa 479-381 B.C.), the most notable opponent of Confucius, there are three aspects of speech which embody knowledge. The first is its basis in the history of the ancient sage kings; the second is its source in the actual practice of the people's hearing and seeing; and the third its application to policies and laws among the common people or in the nation as a whole. These three aspects—basis, source and application—seem to correspond approximately to the four points above-mentioned. The first and second aspects correspond to hearsay and personal knowledge, i.e., indirect and direct knowledge. Thus Mo Ti laid due emphasis on experience as a source of cognition. The third aspect corresponds to social practice as the criterion by which cognition is to be tested. As knowledge is to be tested in practice, naturally knowledge and practice will advance each other. Moreover, Mo Ti and his followers consistently emphasised the role of knowledge in the service of practice.

From the views on epistemology held by Confucius and Mo Ti it can be seen that ever since the dawn of Chinese philosophy there existed the two schools of idealism and materialism. This is only natural since in those days there already existed a class of exploiters and a class of the exploited.

Epistemological idealism in Chinese philosophy reached its extreme form in the school of Taoism. Taoist philosophers held that truth could not be derived from perceptual and rational knowledge; that truth could only be obtained from "true knowledge" which was beyond the ken of perceptual and rational knowledge. This kind of truth was, of course, unrelated to practice.

Epistemological materialism developed to a certain extent among the Legalists. Han Fei-tse*, initiator of the Legalist school, said: "To form a judgement without making tests is unwise and to rely upon such a haphazard judgement is to lead oneself astray." The Legalist school represented the thought of the rising landlord class. And this being then a new force, the school tended to have a materialistic bias.

Wang Chung†, a philosopher of the Han Dynasty continued to develop the materialist tradition. "Action can only be understood by its results," stated

* Han Fei-tse (280-233 B.C.) is the chief representative of the Legalist school of philosophy.

† Wang Chung, born about 27 A.D., was a noted materialist.

Wang Chung, "and a theory cannot be definitive unless supported by proof." While this statement corresponded with Mo Ti's first and second aspect of cognition, Wang Chung clearly took the matter a step forward. Mo Ti's "source in the actual practice of the people's hearing and seeing" was limited to perceptual knowledge. "The question of truth and falsehood should not be ascertained by the ear and eye alone," wrote Wang Chung, "but by the mind as well." Mo Ti's argument assigns this source to material circumstances without taking the reason into account. What one hears and sees may be tangible and to a certain extent valid and yet may not be the truth. In Wang Chung's view, in addition to perceptual knowledge, there is also rational knowledge which stands on a higher level.

The Moralists* of the Sung Dynasty made still more systematic inquiries which fall mainly into four groups.

The first group of inquiries is concerned with the order knowledge and action follow: whether knowledge precedes action, or action precedes knowledge, or whether they alternately precede and follow each other. The second group is concerned with their relative degrees of difficulty: is it easy to know but hard to act, or is it hard to know but easy to act, or are both difficult? The third group touches on the relation between the two: are knowledge and action identical or separable or complementary to each other? The fourth bears on their respective degrees of importance: is knowledge more important than action, or is action more important than knowledge, or are both equally important? Thus the four groups include four inquiries into the problem and each group presents three possible views. This makes up 12 different views altogether, all of which found their advocates at one time or

* Moralism (Tao Hsueh) A school of philosophy devoted to the development of the teachings of Confucius after the 11th century A.D.



A group discussion of 'On Practice' at Tsinghua University. Prof. Feng Yu-lan is the third from left.

another in the past. It can thus be seen that this constitutes a problem of paramount importance in the history of Chinese philosophy.

The Moralists of the Sung Dynasty developed the epistemology of the ancient Confucianists and regarded *The Great Learning* and *The Golden Mean* as the two most important classics. The first chapter of *The Great Learning* opens with a discussion on the acquisition of knowledge and the conflict with material circumstances, *chih chih* and *ke wu*. The phrase *ke wu* has been interpreted in various ways but is usually taken to mean human efforts to discover the nature of things. A more detailed discussion appears in *The Golden Mean*: its advice is to study widely, to investigate circumspectly, to think carefully, to discriminate clearly between one thing and another, and finally, to act with earnestness. A still more explicit statement was given by Cheng Yi-chuan*: "Knowledge should come first, in much the same manner as the road must be illumined before one can walk on it."

As regards the problem of whether knowledge is more difficult than action or vice versa, Cheng Yi-chuan says: "One cannot possibly act successfully unless one has sure knowledge beforehand. To act is of course hard, but to know is by no means easy." "The ancients think it is not hard to know," he reiterated, "but I find it not easy either. Suppose, for instance, one intends to travel to the capital; he must know beforehand where to start from and what route to take, only then would he be sure of reaching his destination. Otherwise, even with the determination to go, could he move a step forward in the right direction?"

In regard to the respective importance of knowledge and action, Cheng Yi-chuan says: "To have known and yet be unable to act is impossible. Should this ever happen, it is because one knows imperfectly." According to Cheng Yi-chuan, therefore, knowledge is important and action, unimportant. Knowledge enables one to act, but, without knowledge, one is bound to fail in practice.

Chu Hsi† elaborated Cheng Yi-chuan's view to a considerable extent. "Knowledge and action are usually complementary to each other," wrote Chu Hsi. "With eyes to guide one's direction, one yet cannot walk without his feet, and with feet to walk one yet has no sense of direction without his eyes. Knowledge precedes action but action is more important than knowledge." "When one knows and yet is behind in action, it means one does not know enough. Only after one has had personal experience in action, can one's knowledge be enriched and be different from what it was before." Again, "If we view a single ordinary case, there is little doubt about precedence of knowledge over action. If, on the other hand, we measure the depth of knowledge and the magnitude of action, we find it is impossible to attain the great unless the small has been accom-

plished." By this Chu Hsi may mean that one piece of knowledge enables one to achieve something in action, one's knowledge deepens with practical achievement, and then one's action grows in magnitude with deepening knowledge. So he assumes the precedence of knowledge over action and at the same time the mutual advance of knowledge and action.

Much as Chu Hsi improved on the views of his predecessor Cheng Yi-chuan, he agreed with him on the separateness of knowledge and action. "Knowledge and action should be balanced," wrote Chu Hsi. "Know more thoroughly, and one can act more successfully; act more successfully, and one knows more thoroughly. Neither should be neglected. It is as if one walks with his two feet moving one after the other and step by step reaches his goal. If one foot lags behind all the time one would not be able to move forward a pace. However, one must know beforehand before one can act." Much as he held that neither knowledge nor action should be neglected, he seemed inclined to divorce knowledge from action.

Wang Yang-ming*, a great philosopher of the Ming dynasty, on the other hand, held to the view of the unity of knowledge and action, that knowledge is the beginning of action and action the consummation of knowledge. Precision in action brings knowledge and knowledge inspired by sincerity and earnestness will lead to action. By knowledge, Wang Yang-ming means essentially intuition or conscience, a moral sense which discriminates between right and wrong. Such a definition of these terms seems to indicate action as the realization of intuition, that he identified knowledge with action. Yet when this view is applied to knowledge and action in general, their respective characteristics are blurred and the two become equal in significance: knowledge is the beginning of action and action the continuation of knowledge. Wang Chuan-shan§ makes the following critical comment upon this:

Knowledge and action serve each other. Each has its own function and effect which make their mutual service possible, and their mutual inter-action shows their independence. There can be no question of mutual service in the case of one and the same thing; only two independent things can find common ground and serve each other.

This is the argument offered by Wang Chuan-shan in his advocacy of the mutual service rendered by action and knowledge.

Among the Chinese philosophers, Wang Chuan-shan has probably the best founded views on the relation between knowledge and action. "It is not necessarily hard to know, but it is certainly hard to act. What is hard to deal with comes first, and

(Continued on page 32)

* Cheng Yi-chuan (or Cheng Yi, 1032-1085 A.D.) An important leader of the Moralists school (Tao Hsueh).

† Chu Hsi (or Chu Tse 1130-1200 A.D.) Another important leader of the Moralists school.

* Wang Yang-ming (or Wang Shou-jen, 1472-1528 A.D.) Another important leader of the Moralists school.

§ Wang Chuan-shan (or Wang Fu-tse 1619-1692 A.D.) A philosopher who enjoyed a great reputation towards the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ching dynasties.

The Just Struggle of the Peoples of Iran and Egypt

Condensed version of the Peking "People's Daily" editorial of October 31, 1951.

Since March of this year, the Iranian people have been waging a resolute struggle against their British and American imperialist oppressors for the nationalisation of their oil industry. On October 3, the Egyptian government, complying with the growing demand of the masses, decided to abrogate the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899 relating to the Sudan. Anti-British demonstrations have taken place in various parts of Egypt. The people of Iran, Syria, Lebanon and other countries have demonstrated their support for the Egyptian people. The people of Iraq are solid in their demand for the abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930.

These events show that the struggle in the Middle East against the imperialist aggressors and for national independence and freedom is surging forward and spreading.

The British and American imperialists, particularly the British, have for scores of years imposed a most ruthless colonial regime over the Middle Eastern countries, reducing them to extreme poverty and misery. Since the World War the American aggressors have gradually monopolised the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, seized control of over 40 per cent of the products of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the right to exploit petroleum on the Bahrein Islands. Meanwhile, the British and American imperialists have forcibly occupied military bases and built airfields in various countries in the Middle East in an attempt to turn that area into their base for the waging of war against the Soviet Union.

When the Egyptian government announced the abrogation of the unequal treaties, the U.S. government conceived the idea of replacing British rule by American rule in that part of the Middle East. Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, on October 17 issued a statement declaring that the action of the Egyptian government was "not in accord with proper respect for international obligations" and that the U.S. government considered it to be "without validity". This shameless statement shows that American imperialism is out to realise its own criminal plans for enslaving the people of Egypt, the Sudan and other Middle Eastern countries.

While the British and American imperialists slander the Iranian people's movement for independence and freedom by alleging that it is "likely to threaten the maintenance of international peace and security", they announce that their own aggressive military action against Egypt is to enable the Middle East to be "safe from aggression". Unscrupulous aggression is described as "the defence of freedom" and "prevention of aggression", and calling resistance to

aggression "a threat to international peace". This is nothing but a revival of the Hitler technique.

The American and British imperialists also describe their actions as resistance to "Soviet aggression". But is it the Soviet Union or the American and British imperialists who have taken forcible possession of Iran's petroleum and used armed force to occupy Egypt, thereby menacing the independence and existence of Iran and Egypt? The Soviet Union not only has no intention of menacing or invading any other country, but is always in sympathy with and supports the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and for national independence. Recently, the Soviet Union strongly condemned the British and U.S. governments in the Security Council for making use of the Council to intervene in the domestic affairs of Iran. This is obvious proof that the Soviet Union respects and supports the wishes of the oppressed peoples for national independence. From their personal experience, the peoples of Iran, Egypt and the other countries in the Middle East realise that the Soviet Union is a trustworthy friend in their struggle for national liberation. Precisely because of this, they are unanimous in their demand for friendship with the Soviet Union while they wage their struggle against British and American imperialism.

The imperialists will not of their own accord cease their savage and shameless interference in Iran and Egypt. Therefore, in order to realise their goal, the Iranian and Egyptian peoples must prepare for a determined and protracted struggle.

The Iranian and Egyptian peoples are not alone in their struggle. We Chinese people greatly sympathise with their just aims and so do the other peoples of Asia and the world.

The present international situation is most advantageous to the anti-imperialist struggle undertaken by the Iranian and Egyptian peoples. The camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the U.S.S.R., is stronger than ever before. The struggle of the people of the world for lasting peace and for people's democracy has reached unprecedented heights. The Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army are inflicting serious blows on the American aggressors. In a word, the time when imperialism could dominate the world is past; the liberation of colonial and semi-colonial countries from the oppression of imperialism is absolutely possible. Under these conditions, if the peoples of Iran and Egypt unite; if they unite with the peoples of the Middle East and Asia to fight resolutely against the threats and schemes of the U.S.-British imperialist bandits and are vigilant against being deceived and betrayed, they will achieve final victory.

Co-operatives in New China

Chang Chia-chi

The *Common Programme*, basic law of the People's Republic, adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, gives a place of the utmost importance to co-operative enterprise in the national economy.

Co-operative economy, states Article 29, is of a semi-socialist nature and is an important component of the people's economy as a whole. The People's Government shall foster its development and accord it preferential treatment.

As a result of the implementation of this directive China is rapidly developing one of the greatest co-operative economies in the world. In point of members—51 millions—it already takes first place, and the growth of this mighty organisation is only just beginning on a nation-wide scale.

The Chinese co-operative movement has many years' experience behind it. Co-operatives were developed widely in the old liberated areas. Thus it was able to make rapid strides as soon as the liberation of the country and the establishment of the People's Government gave it encouragement and full freedom of development. The membership of consumers' and producers' co-operatives was only five million in 1949. By June 1951, it was 51 million. From 1949 to 1951, the number of co-operative societies increased by 61 per cent and the amount of share capital by 424 per cent. By June 1951, the 42,425 societies had a total share capital of 529,022,120,000 yuan.

The rapid growth of the past two years under the leadership of the Central People's Government has been mainly based on the new economic and social conditions created by land reform. The emancipated peasants have eagerly organised mutual-aid teams. Working on their own land, and inspired by the ideals of the people's democracy they have rapidly increased production. More efficient working methods and improved techniques give them more opportunity for cultural advancement and the development of subsidiary occupations. The organisation of co-operatives for the marketing of their products, for more economical buying of supplies, in the first place by cutting out middleman exploitation, and for agricultural and handicraft production has been a logical next step.

The rapid benefits brought by co-operation are its best propaganda. In Central-South China land reform commenced last spring. Since then co-operative membership has risen from two million in the first quarter to five million in the second and 20 in the third quarter. In Northeast and North China where land reform was completed much earlier than the rest of the country co-op membership already embraces 27 per cent of the whole population.

Though by no means on so spectacular a scale, the co-operative movement is growing apace in the

cities as well, among the workers and the broad masses of the urban population.

In Shanghai, for instance, co-op membership rose from 345,879 in 1950 to 412,377 in the first quarter of 1951.

Co-ops' Place in New China

These figures show graphically how the co-operative movement is developing side by side with other sectors of the national economy. It is the policy of the Central People's Government to co-ordinate and regulate the five component parts of the national economy—state economy, co-operative economy, the individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy and joint state and capitalist economy—in their particular spheres of operation so that under the leadership of the state-owned economy, they can play their respective parts in promoting the development of the national economy as a whole. As regards co-operatives, the *Common Programme* states in Article 38:

The broad masses of the working people shall be encouraged and assisted to develop co-operatives according to the voluntary principle. Supply and marketing co-operatives, as well as consumers', credit, producers' and transport co-operatives shall first be organised in factories, institutions and schools.

Co-operatives are semi-socialist in nature. They are a vital transitional form between private capitalist and socialist economy. Hence their importance in the development of China's New Democracy, which is eliminating the remnants of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism in China and laying the social-economic basis for the transition to Socialism.

Today most of the nation's land is owned privately by individual peasants who constitute 80 per cent of the whole population. It is of course impossible to organise collective farms or many large-scale state farms at the present time, but if the small peasants remain as unorganised individual small producers they will not be able to get away from the middleman's exploitation, they will not be able to make use of the technical means already available to increase production and thus better their livelihood and strengthen the people's democracy.

Among the peasant masses, wrote Chairman Mao Tse-tung in November 1943, individual economy has prevailed for thousands of years. Every family or every house has been a production unit. This scattered individual production is the economic basis of feudal rule and it has caused the peasants to suffer everlasting poverty and hardship. The only method to overcome such a condition is to change from individual labour to collective labour gradually and the only way to reach collective labour, according to Lenin, is through the co-operatives.

Chairman Mao in his 1943 address at the Welcome Reception to the Labour Heroes of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region said that:

Our economy is New Democratic in character and our co-operatives are merely collective labour established on the basis of individual economy (on the basis of private property).

In his talk on co-operatives in 1943, he pointed out that such a change

requires no change in the production tools and the fruits of production go to private individuals as usual. The change occurs only in the production relations between individuals.

How are these principles working out in practice today? The development of mutual-aid teams, the simplest form of rural co-operation, has been described in an article in a previous number of this magazine (See Vol. 4 No. 9 *Mutual-Aid Teams in New China* by Wu Chueh-nung.)

Consumer and marketing co-operatives are the next most widely developed forms of co-operation, particularly in the rural areas. They have been fostered in many ways. The state-owned trading organisations supply these co-operatives with low priced consumer commodities and give them priority when purchasing farm products. Low interest loans are extended to them by the state banks. They enjoy a tax rebate of 20 per cent over other enterprises. Among other privileges are free remittance services and reduced charges on farm insurance. The co-operatives in their turn give valuable aid to the state economic organisations. They serve as the link between the state economy and the scattered individual economies of peasants and handicraftsmen that form their membership. The state trading organs have the responsibility of developing trade between town and country to hold prices stable and promote agricultural and industrial production. This involves the primary task of planning the supply and marketing of the peasants' products to ensure a steady supply of goods and industrial raw materials to the towns, and of ensuring supplies of consumer and other goods to the peasants. The co-ops with their intimate contact with the scattered peasant production units play a vital part in this trade, informing their members and encouraging and organising them to carry out the over-all state plans, to advance increased counter-plans; make the primary collection of members' products and simplify distribution of industrial materials, fertilizers, machines, etc. to them.

To take but one example of the actual results of this state encouragement of the co-ops, in the Northeast over 83 per cent of the total volume of industrial goods distributed by state trading organisations were sold through co-operatives while 69 per cent of all the grain, industrial raw materials and local products bought by the state trading organisations were purchased through the peasant co-operatives. The volume of goods supplied to members in 1950 was six times that of 1949. The volume of members' products sold through the co-ops increased nearly four times in the same period. On a nation-wide scale in recent months the All-China Federation of Co-operatives signed contracts with the Ministry of Trade for the purchase of 3,950,000 tons of cotton. As they bought cotton from the peasant producers the Federation's member

societies took orders for the purchase of industrial consumer goods supplied by the state enterprises which were thus able to supply the rural areas on a more planned basis. The co-operative also acts for the state bank in such matters as arranging loans, effecting farm insurance and so on.

In the cities, the urban consumers' co-operatives have arrangements with state trading organisations for supplying co-operative members with low priced consumers' goods such as flour, sugar, cloth, kerosene, cereals, coal, etc. at prices from 7 to 12 per cent lower than the generally prevailing ones. This has been of great value to the workers of the great industrial cities like Shanghai, Tientsin, Taiyuan, Hankow. In Peking alone consumers' co-operatives in 1950 saved 300,000 workers one billion yuan per month on retail purchases. This has also had an important effect as a means of stabilising prices.

Besides guaranteeing the peasant producers good prices for their agricultural and handicraft products, the systematic large-scale purchasing programmes of the state trading organisations working through the co-operatives has also saved the peasants much time and trouble by giving them a guaranteed market. Great efforts have been made by the supply and marketing co-operatives in all parts of the country to promote the sale of local products. In North China last year, 5,000 billion yuan of local products waited for a market. However, with the rapid promotion of trade between town and countryside, in which the co-ops played a great role, in the period November 1950-March 1951, 80 per cent of these local products were sold. In the Northeast, the value of farm products sold through the co-operatives was 170 billion yuan in 1950. The solution of the marketing problem has given a great impetus to peasant production and to peasant purchasing power.

Forms of Co-operatives

There are three main forms of co-operatives: supply and marketing, consumers' and producers'.

	Percent- age of Membership	Percent- age of Societies	Percentage of Share Capital
Supply and marketing	84.3%	86.7%	80.7%
Consumers'	12.3%	9.5%	15.4%
Producers'	0.4%	2.4%	2.1%
Others	3.0%	1.4%	1.8%

The number of **supply and marketing co-operatives** is the largest because they answer the present urgent needs of the preponderantly rural population. Their main task is to sell the farm products of their members such as grain, cotton, jute and other farm products as well as the products of their handicrafts and subsidiary occupations. They also supply their members with farm implements, fertilizers and seeds, insecticides and daily necessities such as fuel, cloth and so on. There are now over 36,390 such co-operatives with 43,619,000 members.

Consumers' co-operatives supply their mainly urban members, workers and government employees with daily necessities at the favourable prices available through bulk buying and special state rebates on such goods as food, clothing, fuel and household

necessities. There are now 4,435 such co-operatives with about 6,301,640 members in 29 cities.

There are two main types of **producers' co-operatives**, those embracing handicraftsmen and farm producers. The former type embraces handicraftsmen in towns or villages. They are organised according to trades such as small-scale mining, shoe-making, food-processing, rug-making, dress-making, wood-carving, and cloth-weaving of various kinds. Their chief function is to market their members' products and supply them in turn with raw materials and other equipment for production. They also give their members advice on how to improve production, management and technique so that in the future production can be mechanised and made more efficient. There are over 967 such co-operatives with 221,472 members throughout the country. These are as yet mainly concentrated in the older liberated areas.

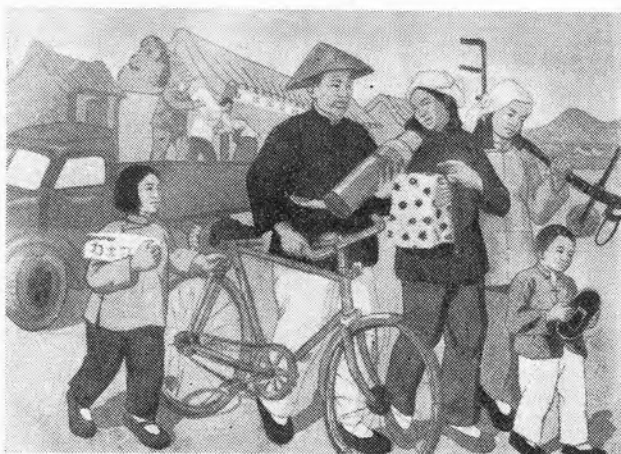
Some **agricultural producers' co-operatives** have in fact already been organised by the peasants with the aim of increasing agricultural output and raising their living standards by pooling land, labour, farm equipment and capital. There are over 200 such co-operatives (the prototypes of fully collective farms) all of them in Northeast and North China. Even with the usual equipment of Chinese farms today they have already proved themselves more productive than the small farms of the individual peasants. Their development, however, is limited by the supply of machines and equipment and trained cadres that exists at present in China. Though this is the further direction in which our agricultural production is moving, at present the main form of co-operative effort in the countryside is still and will be for some time to develop and consolidate the mutual-aid teams. These have developed widely in all areas where land reform has been carried out. Today some 55 per cent of Chinese peasants are in mutual-aid teams.

This great mass of co-operators is now firmly and well organised on a nation-wide scale. The individual societies are grouped pyramidally into county, provincial and administrative area federations to form the All-China Federation of Co-operatives which was established in July 1950 at the First National Congress of Co-operative Workers.

The Congress elected the 31-man Board of Executives of its All-China Federation headed by Po Yi-po, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs of the Central People's Government and including among its members, Li Li-san, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labour, Meng Yang-cheng, Director of the Co-operative's Central Management Bureau, Nan Han-cheng, Director of the People's Bank of China, Wu Chueh-nung, Vice-Minister of Agriculture and several chief executives of co-op societies in various parts of the country. A draft Law on Co-operatives was agreed upon for submission to the Central People's Government. It was decided to apply for membership of the International Co-operative Alliance.

Structure of Chinese Co-operatives

All the six administrative areas and 28 provinces have established their co-operative federations and



After the day's shopping at the village co-op

more than 50 per cent of China's 2,068 counties have already established federations of the 42,425 individual societies with 51 million members. The functions of the various federations is to give over-all direction to their members, undertake tasks (like large-scale barter agreements between areas) that involve more than one society and in particular to co-ordinate the operations of the various member groups and trade relations with the state trading concerns.

The co-operative movement in New China has already achieved outstanding successes in bringing about substantial improvement of their members' livelihood, as a great school of democratic organisation and training ground for cadres from among the mass of peasants and workers.

They have responded, like all other popular organisations, with great enthusiasm to the call of the great patriotic campaign. They have encouraged members to increase production to aid the Motherland. They have increased their efficiency under Patriotic Pacts and they give various priorities to the families of volunteers fighting in Korea.

All societies and federations hold regular meetings of members or their representatives. All supervisors and directors are democratically elected and regular reports keep members well informed of the work of the societies. Plans of future work are adopted after a democratic survey of member needs. They have regular mass educational work. Through their close contacts with the state trading organisations, their general policy is closely integrated with the over-all needs of the nation. As one model co-operative worker Tuan Yu-fu stated at a meeting held in his honour in Wuan county, Hopei province: "There is only one secret for the successful running of a co-op and that is: follow the policy of the Communist Party and consult the needs of the members."

This nation-wide development of the co-operative movement has shown the small agricultural producers, the overwhelming mass of the Chinese people, the concrete path of advance that will end the days of poverty forever and bring them to a prosperous life in a rich and strong people's state.

What We Saw in China

More than one hundred guests from many parts of the world came to Peking for the celebration of the Second Anniversary of the People's Republic of China, then took trips to various parts of the country—seeing whatever they wished to see. Below, we print the impressions brought back by the Goodwill Mission from India, by Mr. Iftikhar-Ud-Din of Pakistan, and Mr. Jack Dribbon, secretary of the Britain-China Friendship Association.

"A Source of Inspiration to All Asian Countries"

Indian Goodwill Mission

We have been privileged to witness the spectacle of a great and ancient country in the process of a glorious rebirth. The Chinese people, rich with the wisdom and experience of the ages, mellowed by centuries-old traditions of humanistic culture, their courage and their humanity undimmed by hundreds of years of feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation, have now found a new source of inspiration and vitality in their new Government and their leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, so utterly devoted to the cause of their people. The progress they have made in all fields of national reconstruction, within two years of liberation, is a source of inspiration to all Asian countries.

To mention only two aspects of the great new changes we have witnessed, the land reform which has liberated over 300 millions of Chinese peasants from centuries-old serfdom is a revolutionary step unprecedented in human history, while the New Marriage Law, ensuring freedom and equality to the women of China, is sure to have a far-reaching effect on the status of women all over the world, particularly in Asia.

We have been greatly impressed by the patriotic fervour and single-minded devotion with which workers and peasants are engaged in the gigantic task of production, and by the dynamism and self-sacrificing spirit of the youth of New China, all

working on the basis of voluntary austerity to build the future prosperity of their country, and shouldering the most arduous responsibilities on their young shoulders with remarkable self-confidence. The heroes and heroines, of labour as well as of the War of Liberation, have introduced us to a new concept of constructive heroism which synthesises the glory of individual achievement and distinction with the broad interests of the people as a whole. And we have been charmed by the children of New China on whose bright, smiling, happy faces we have seen the glow of a new dawn in China's history.

So we bid farewell to the great mass of the Chinese people whose goodwill and hospitality we have sensed wherever we have gone in Peking and in Tientsin, in Nanking and in Shanghai, in Canton and in Mukden, in villages and factories, in universities and in schools, people's courts and palaces of culture and even in streets where we have been greeted with fraternal smiles by complete strangers.

We go back now, and the only way we can express our gratitude is to convey to our people the goodwill that we, as their representatives, have received from the people and the leaders of New China, and the phenomenal, all-round progress we have observed, and thus to renew and strengthen the silken bonds of friendship that have existed between our countries for well-nigh 2,000 years.

"May We All Become Builders of New Asia"

Iftikhar-Ud-Din

I speak to you with full consciousness of the fact that you do not need any advice or suggestion from outside. You have in great abundance all that a people require in a period of reconstruction—the spirit of self-sacrifice, discipline, enthusiasm, creative urge and the desire to live and let live—each one of these qualities you possess in an incredibly large measure. And to crown it all you are blessed with an inspiring leadership the ripeness of whose experience is the envy of progressive peoples of the world.

All that you expect of others is peace. That you yearn to live in peace with others is proved beyond contradiction or doubt by the zeal with which you are building up the shattered economy of your country and are tending to the wounds of a long strife. And seeing your achievements of the first two years, one is forced to say: "Let there be

peace if not for any other reason, at least to see a record being set up in the speed of reconstruction which would be an example to the other people engaged in or about to be engaged in a similar task."

It is a grand, an unforgettable spectacle to see 500 million of humanity on the march. May the fresh fire that you have lit up on the rich remains of your ancient civilisation burn more and more brightly and may its light kindle not only the hearths, homes and hearts of your own people but also with its life-giving sparks enliven the subdued spirits of other Asian peoples and may we all become the proud builders of a new Asia as you are of a new China today. All this required but one thing: Peace. So from my heart I wish you success in the struggle for everlasting peace.

"Could Not Stop Telling Me About the Good Life"

Jack Dribbon

The bubbling enthusiasm of all the people of China has to be seen to be believed. Today I visited a village just outside Peking. We met an elderly woman whom I asked some questions. She was taken by surprise, but when she started talking she could not stop telling me about the good life she and her folks are now living.

The railway worker from Tsitsihar whom I ran into at the Railway Exhibition explained how his living standard was six times what it had been, how he had been beaten under the Kuomintang and could not read or write. Now he is valued as an important person in the new society.

Judging by all normal standards—the appearance of the people, their enthusiasm as shown wherever I have seen them, in the factories and in the villages—the people here are conscious of the freedom to build their new life and have confidence in their ability to do it. There is a youthful spirit in all that they do that speaks volumes for the leadership of the country. Above all, the young people and children show what great progress has been made

here in the two years since the People's Government was established.

The people of my country want peace, trade and friendship with New China. They do not approve of the American trade blockade or the imperialist war in Korea. I am secretary of the Britain-China Friendship Association and I know that at every meeting every reference to peace and friendship with China is cheered. Despite all the efforts of the reactionaries, the people hate the Korean war and want the British lads brought home.

Our Association is new. Our membership of almost 600,000 will grow as the vast goodwill that exists towards China is harnessed in activities that are in the interests of both the British and the Chinese peoples. Our Association has tabled resolutions in Britain demanding the withdrawal of all forces from Korea. I leave your country inspired by your heroism and your enthusiasm for peace and construction. I promise to tell the British people of what you are doing and to help the efforts of the large numbers of British people who are determined to build Britain-China friendship.

Tibet Affirms Support for People's Government

The Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed in May, 1951, between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan Local Government is now being executed. The Dalai Lama, in a message to Chairman Mao Tse-tung dated October 24, solemnly pledged his support for the Agreement and determination to carry it out to the letter. "The Tibetan Local Government and the monks and people of Tibetan nationality," the message stated, "are giving the Agreement unanimous support. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government, they are actively helping the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and strengthen the national defence, drive the imperialist forces out of the area and safeguard the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Motherland."

This move by the Tibetan Local Government was welcomed by the Central People's Government and received the support of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni, the Tibetan people and the people of other nationalities within the country.

Tibet will now participate actively in the governing of the country through representation at the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, to which the Dalai Lama, Kaloon Ngabou of the Tibetan Local Government and Panchen Ngoerhtehni were elected on November 1.

When the main body of the People's Liberation Army arrived in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, on October 26, they were greeted at a grand rally of Tibetan officials, monks, and over 20,000 residents. In accordance with China's stated policy of assistance to national minorities, the P.L.A. has already set up many medical clinics, and started regular visiting medical services for villages and lamaseries in remote regions. Over 10,000 people have received medical treatment, and an even greater number have been vaccinated against smallpox.

As an expression of the deep friendship and unity existing among China's national minorities, General Chang Ching-wu, the representative of the Central People's Government, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, on October 28 presented the Dalai Lama with a portrait of Chairman Mao, photographs, fine ivory engravings, jade, porcelain and silk embroideries. In return, the Dalai Lama presented many gifts to the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units in Tibet.

The unity and co-operation shown in the peaceful liberation of Tibet is another blow to the imperialists and a great victory for the national minority policy of the Central People's Government.

Land Reform Strengthens Viet-Nam's Fight For Freedom

Truong Son

The Viet-Nam revolution, a national people's democratic revolution, has three primary tasks. They are to drive out the imperialist aggressors, to uproot feudal and semi-feudal remnants, and to lay the foundations for Socialism. At present, the main task is the fight against imperialist aggression. To this end the people of Viet-Nam are concentrating all their forces and uniting people from every walk of life—workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and patriotic landlords—to drive the French colonialists and American interventionists from their soil.

In Viet-Nam today, one of the aims of the agrarian policy is to encourage patriotic landlords to join the resistance. In this it is not unlike the situation in China during the early years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression when patriotic landlords united with the people to fight against the Japanese imperialists. At the very least this policy neutralises the majority of the landlords instead of pushing them into the arms of the imperialist aggressors. It also facilitates the winning over of those strata of the population closely related to the landlords, particularly the intellectuals, many of whom come from wealthy landlord families.

Except for a handful of big landlords with property in the cities and large accounts in French banks, who have fled to enemy-occupied areas and become collaborators, the majority of landlords have remained in the free zones of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

Over the past five years many of these patriotic landlords have come to appreciate the strength of the people, the authority of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the certainty of victory. To some extent the great changes which have taken place in the course of resistance and national construction have re-educated them, heightened their patriotism and strengthened their allegiance to the people's democratic regime. It is not uncommon to find entire landlord families participating in national salvation work. A number of landlords have voluntarily contributed large sums to the resistance movement or donated thousands of hectares of land to the government.

Agrarian Policy Aims

The aim of agrarian policy is not only to win over landlords and isolate them from the imperialist aggressors. The platform of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party pledges "to improve the living conditions of the peasants and mobilise the majority of the people, that is, the peasants, to participate actively in armed

resistance, to increase production and ensure supplies."

The agrarian policy carried out in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has greatly improved the lives of the peasants, who under the French colonial administration knew only suffering and privation. Constituting about 90 per cent of the population, 40 per cent of whom were landless, the peasants prior to 1945 were subjected to ruthless exploitation by the French colonialists and their feudal lackeys.

Under French rule land ownership was highly concentrated. The following figures showing the distribution of land, taken from *Annuaire Bleu* (1948), reveal the extent of French spoliation.

Area of land owned	Percentage of land-owners compared to total population	Percentage of land owned compared to total cultivable area
Less than 5 hectares	44.40%	28.49%
From 5 to 50 hectares	2.35%	28.14%
More than 50 hectares	0.16%	31.50%
Communal lands	—	11.87%

In considering the above table three important facts deserve special attention:

1) Communal lands, which accounted for a sizeable proportion of the total cultivable area, were lands nominally owned by the inhabitants of a village. Under despotic French colonial rule, however, they were seized by the village head, government functionaries or landlords. In north Viet-Nam communal lands accounted for 20 per cent of the total cultivable area; in central Viet-Nam 25 per cent, and in south Viet-Nam 3 per cent. In south Viet-Nam where the French first settled, they seized much of this land for their own estates.

2) The degree of concentration of land was not uniform throughout the country. It was greater in south Viet-Nam than in north Viet-Nam and least concentrated in central Viet-Nam. In south Viet-Nam the total cultivable land was owned by 23.36 per cent of the population. About 6,300 landlord families owned 1,035,000 hectares or 45 per cent of the cultivable land; 66 per cent of the peasants in this area were landless.

3) French colonialists owned the largest rice-growing estates as well as huge rubber and coffee plantations. A handful of French landlords, approximately seven hundred persons, owned 377,000 hectares of rice fields, i.e., 8 per cent of the total rice-growing area in Viet-Nam. The Bourgouin-Meiffre rice-growing estate in Sontay province covered an area of over 1,461 hectares and the Tartarin estate in Bacgiang province over 5,220 hectares (*Origine Lointaine de*

la Crise Indochinoise, Joseph Boyer, 1947), while some French rubber estates reached the colossal size of 45,000 hectares.

French Land Seizures

The lust of French colonialists for large tracts of the best land dated from the early days of conquest (1862-1884), when the French seized the land of fleeing peasants. In later years the Bank of Indo-China took over sizeable stretches of land from the landlords by foreclosing on mortgages. During the economic crisis of 1929-1931, landlords unable to meet their obligations to the bank because of the crash in the rice market, were forced to give up large parts of their land. The Catholic Church was another large land owner. With the support of the colonial government, it seized large areas of land from the peasants—as for example, in Thaibinh and Ninbinh provinces in north Viet-Nam, Vinh-long and Travinh provinces in south Viet-Nam and Ninhthuan province in central Viet-Nam. In Ninhthuan, one-third of the arable land belonged to a French colonialist, Colonel Duval, and another third to the Catholic Church.

On the average, under French colonial rule, peasants had to give the landlords half of their crop as rent. This did not include the high interest on their debts and other obligations such as *corvees* (work without pay) and gifts. The condition of landless peasants was even worse. A farm labourer in south Viet-Nam earning 136 piastres annually had to spend 95 piastres or 81 per cent of his yearly income on food, while a labourer in Thaibinh province in north Viet-Nam earning only 75 piastres a year had to spend 55 piastres or 81 per cent of his annual income in order to get just enough food to keep him alive. With the years of poor harvest due to drought or flood, and the numerous taxes levied on the peasants by the colonial administration, the condition of the peasants and farm labourers under the French regime was pitiable in the extreme.

Revolutionary Struggles

The peasants of Viet-Nam fought back against their oppressors all through the period of French domination. They participated consistently in the struggle for national liberation and were particularly active after 1930 when the Communist Party of Indo-China was founded and adopted, as one of its aims, the slogan "Land to the tiller!" It was the peasants who were the main force in communist-led insurrections between 1931 and 1941: these included the Nghean movement of 1931 when workers and peasants set up soviets in three districts of central Viet-Nam and successfully defended them for three months against the onslaught of the French colonial forces; the uprisings at Bacson in September 1940 which led to the organisation of the first guerilla



Peasants of a village in Ninbinh province after receiving land hold a meeting to "Thank the Democratic government for having improved the living conditions of the poor peasants", as the banner in the photo says

groups; the revolt of peasants and soldiers in Cochinchina in November 1940, and the revolt at Doluong in 1941.

In 1941 a fundamental change took place in Viet-Nam. The French colonialists, without making any show of resistance, surrendered to the Japanese fascists with whom they then allied themselves to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the people of Viet-Nam. The Japanese seized all the available rice in the country and in some areas forced the population to grow jute instead of rice.

The majority of landlords remembered vividly the 1929-1931 activities of the Bank of Indo-China, and the ignominious capitulation of the French only served to lower French prestige still further in their eyes. It was against this background of events that in 1941 the Viet-Minh Front led by President Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party proclaimed their agrarian policy emphasising reduction of rents and interest rates. This policy aimed at rallying the whole population, including patriotic landlords, to support the movement against the French colonialists and Japanese imperialism. As a result of the success of the broad united front led by President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet-Nam revolution emerged victorious in August 1945 and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was proclaimed.

Immediately after its establishment, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, faithful to the programme of the Viet-Minh Front of 1941, issued a decree for a 25 per cent reduction in land rents. Tremendous difficulties were encountered during the first stage of the resistance which hampered the implementation of this decree. A more detailed measure signed by President Ho Chi Minh on July 14, 1949 insisted upon the reduction of land rents by 25 per cent and abolished all additional obligations such as *corvees* and gifts to landlords.

(Continued on page 33)



Exhibitions Teach The People

More than a thousand exhibitions have been held in Peking during the last two years!

Many of these exhibitions have been held in the magnificent collection of former imperial palaces, ceremonial halls, courtyards, gardens and lake parks once known to the world as the Forbidden City. Here, in these ancient centres of aristocratic rule and luxury, the ordinary people of Peking have ample opportunity to absorb knowledge on a vast range of subjects—archaeology, art, science, social science, revolutionary history, technology, the struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea.

Despite their variety, however, all the exhibitions present one major underlying theme. That theme is the long, hard struggle of the people against the forces of nature and against oppressors, and the great victory that has finally been won under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

A recent show in the long East Gallery at the entrance to the Palace Museum in the Forbidden City depicted with models, charts and specimens of material culture the development of man from his earliest human ancestors. Here were the bones of the Peking Man and the primitive stone tools of the palaeolithic and neolithic ages, pictures and dioramas of their way of life as they developed in the Yellow river basin, one of the earliest cradles of human civilization.

"We'll no longer believe in idols," an old peasant wrote in the book for visitors' comments. "Doesn't this exhibition show the evolution of man with things you can see and feel? Who can doubt its truth?" That correctly characterises the new exhibition style of New China, aimed at presenting the truth to a mass audience in straight-forward and easily understandable terms.

On view at the same time in a neighbouring gallery were important specimens similarly arranged for the man-in-the-street but also of

immense interest to the specialist: the finds made only last April by the Archaeological Institute during excavations of the 3000-year-old tombs of the Yin dynasty (1400-1137 B.C.) at Anyang, Pingyuan province. These tombs yielded well preserved utensils including some fine drinking cups, jade and bronze ornaments throwing vivid light on the life of the slave state then arising in China.

The exhibition of *China's Cultural Heritage* in the huge Palace Throne Room carries the story down to the present. Many of the exhibits are being shown to the public for the first time. The Kuomintang rascals made off with the greater part of the treasures originally in the famous Palace Museum collections, but individuals and organisations have generously given or lent a wealth of material to make up a new national collection. Here one may see typical red and black neolithic pottery from Kansu province, Northwest China. Here also are some beautiful bronzes from Shang (1766-1122 B.C.) and chou times (1122-481 B.C.).

Unique Bronzes

Bronzes in fact occupy more than a quarter of the exhibition. They mirror with peculiar force the successive advances of Chinese art. They also reflect the development of technique in the art of metal casting. The earliest bronzes, little more than cast replicas of clay vessels, are succeeded by magnificent productions of the master craftsmen of the Shang dynasty. These, with their geometric designs based on natural forms, develop into the ornate shapes of the later Chou, heavily incised and profusely decorated with flanges and knobs and almost "naturalistic" dragons and cranes. These are followed by the powerful shapes and decorative motifs of the warlike Han (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) and the increasingly refined and sophisticated productions of the Tang (618-960 A.D.) and Sung (960-1368 A.D.) periods. Ceramics, wood sculpture and enamel ware of the later dynasties give glimpses of the richness of

artistic invention and the skill of the craftsmen of the people. Workers, peasants from the Peking suburbs, delegates to the National Day celebrations from the old liberated areas, People's Army men, many students and women crowd around these masterpieces of ancient Chinese art.

Today there is a renewed awakening of popular interest in China's cultural heritage. Never were art exhibitions attended by such throngs as today. But it is a sign of the times that the greatest interest is aroused by exhibitions of contemporary events—the life of China's national minorities, the movement to resist American aggression and to aid Korea, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the splendid exhibitions showing the life and products of the People's Democracies of Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and others.

From the top of the mound in the North Sea Park a red flag fluttering among the trees announces an exhibition on the great Huai river conservancy project. At the Noon Gate, another exhibition shows the development of Chinese architecture. Two other outstanding exhibitions have broken all records of attendance: that on railways and that on coal at the Workers' Palace of Culture. Working models, graphic charts, maps and actual machines bring home to Peking's people the full meaning of these complex and mighty industries and their machines for the industrialisation of the New China. They show the great achievements made in their rehabilitation and development.

Still other exhibitions display the famous Yung Lo Encyclopaedia, workers' art, Soviet films and the story of the 1919 May Fourth Movement, herald of China's great movement for liberation. All of these have given these formerly royal and forbidding halls the character of a great people's educational centre, typical of the transformation of all China under the enlightened leadership of the People's Government.

A GLIMPSE

of



CHINESE ART

Shown above is Tai-ho-tien, one of the three Throne Halls of Peking's Forbidden City, and the main building of the people's Palace Museum. It now holds the cultural heritage exhibition, organised by the Bureau of Museums, Libraries and Archeological Research

The painted polychrome pottery of Kansu province with its striking red and black designs shows Chinese culture dating back to Neolithic times



This stone gong embellished with a conventional design of a tiger was discovered by the Archeological Institute last year at An-yang, Pingyuan province, in the tomb of an aristocrat of the Yin dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.)





This large bronze basin (138 × 87 cms.), dating in the West Chou dynasty, is one of China's bronzes. Unearthed at Paochi, Shensi province. It was donated by a private owner to the national



This hu (pot) from the famous excavations at Hsincheng, Honan province, belongs to the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals (722-481 B.C.)



This *yao*, a musical instrument of the West Chou (1122-722 B.C.) is the largest one in existence. A foreign "collector" tried to smuggle it from China but it was discovered by the Customs and subsequently placed in the Palace Museum. Nationally important works of art may no longer be removed from the country



From 816 B.C.
most precious
was recently
collection



Scholars by Han Huang of the Tang dynasty (618-960 A.D.) shows some typical intellectual activities of the time. This is the only one saved from an important series of paintings which was looted by the Taiwan Kuomintang gang



The *Baby Pillow* is a masterpiece of ceramic art from the famous Sung (960-1280 A.D.) porcelain kilns of Tingchow, Fukien province

A typical example of red carved lacquer ware of the early Ming (1368-1644 A.D.)



This sculpture of a Buddhist apostle in milk white Fukien porcelain bears the seal of the famous Ming dynasty potter, Hu Chao-chung



The People's Representative Conferences

Chou Teh-feng

When the People's Republic of China was founded in October, 1949 following the overthrow of the reactionary U.S. puppet Chiang Kai-shek regime, the "political experts" of the imperialists' camp confidently predicted its early collapse. Their favourite slander was that the country was too vast for such an inexperienced government to administer. New China was declared to be without the men and ideas to put the country in order after decades of KMT misrule which the imperialists themselves had foisted on the Chinese people.

Once again underrating the power of the Chinese people, the American and British reactionaries refused to admit that it is not the old, exploited and down-trodden China but a rejuvenated giant of a nation, holding its destiny in its own hands, that stands in Asia today. They did not see that the emancipated Chinese people are now armed with a most powerful instrument with which to organise themselves, to exercise their own political power and not least, to crush any counter-revolutionary attempt to undermine the new state. This powerful instrument is the people's democratic dictatorship.

The people's representative conferences and people's congresses and the governments of various levels which they elect, form the basic political system of the people's democratic dictatorship. In a speech before the People's Representative Conference of Peking on February 28 this year, Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, described it as "our basic state system" and "the basic organisational form of the people's democratic power". (See *People's China*, Vol. III No. 8—Ed.) At the present time in most places only people's representative conferences are being convened. But they are gradually assuming the functions and powers of the more developed people's congresses until conditions are ripe for these latter to be elected on a basis of universal suffrage.

Functions of the Congresses

What are the functions and powers of the people's congresses? In his *On Coalition Government*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung defines them in the following terms:

The political power of New Democracy should take the form of democratic centralism. It is for the people's congresses of all levels to decide on policies and to elect the governments.

Elaborated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to suit the particular needs of the country at the moment, this system of people's congresses has been fully approved by the Chinese people and is incorporated into the *Common Programme of the P.P.C.C.* (Article 12) to form part of the fundamental law of the land.

Nevertheless, since conditions for convening people's congresses are not ripe in every area, it is

not deemed advisable to attempt to implement universal suffrage immediately to establish popularly-elected people's congresses of all levels throughout the country. In the circumstances, the people's democratic dictatorship must be established step by step and the people's representative conferences must precede the people's congresses in the exercise of political power.

In the process of the nation-wide establishment of the people's power as soon as a place was liberated, a system of military control was adopted to clear out the remaining counter-revolutionary forces and to establish revolutionary order. The task of this military control commission is to set up a civilian people's government council to whom it gradually turns over the administration. It thus establishes a provisional people's government and, as soon as conditions permit, a people's representative conference by choosing its delegates from among the various democratic parties, the people's organisations, military units, classes, etc.

At the beginning this is usually only a consultative body through which the local people's government and higher administrative organs transmit their policies and maintain and extend their relations with the masses. After a few meetings and as the level of political consciousness of the people is raised and organisational experience is gained, the people's representative conference gradually assumes the functions and powers of the people's congress. It begins to elect members to the local people's government council; elects its standing committee—the Consultative Committee and examines progress reports and the budgets of the people's government.

As long as the decisions of the local people's representative conferences do not conflict with the policies and decrees handed down from a higher level, the local people's government must carry them out. But of course the local people's representative conferences and governments have the right of criticism and to make recommendations to the higher organs. Finally, when conditions are ripe, that is, "In all places where military operations have completely ended, agrarian reform has been thoroughly carried out and people of all circles have been fully organised, elections based on universal suffrage shall be held immediately for the purpose of convening local people's congresses." (*Common Programme* Art. 14) These in turn elect the members of the regular local people's government council.

At the head of the pyramid of the people's representative conferences and congresses based on the village, *hsiang*, county, province and administrative area stands the People's Political Consultative Conference. At present, the P.P.C.C. exercises the functions and powers of the All-China Peo-

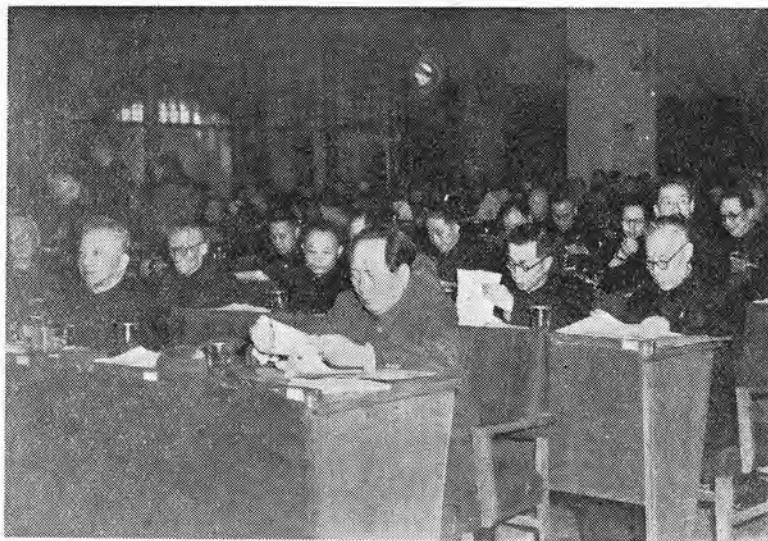
ple's Congress. It enacted the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; it elected the Central People's Government Council and vested it with authority to exercise state power. When conditions are ripe the P.P.C.C. will be superseded by the All-China People's Congress elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

The system of the people's representative conferences and the people's congresses is a political system of a high level. It is through these conferences or congresses, but at present mainly through the former, that it has been possible to achieve on an unprecedented scale the unity of all democratic classes and all nationalities in the country. Practice has already proved that the delegates are the leading representatives of the people in every walk of life and the system of representation is being constantly improved. They are being elected directly or indirectly by the people on an ever-increasing scale. Direct electoral measures are adopted, for instance, in factories or colleges, or in towns and villages where people live in concentrated areas, and have already attained the requisite level of political organisation.

In those cases where the people are widely scattered, indirect elections are held. A number of additional representatives are specially invited to participate by the people's governments in the people's conferences as these are at present constituted to ensure that the representation is sufficiently broadly based by supplementing the representation at points which the election might have failed to cover. A further group of representatives are nominated by the democratic parties, the various people's organisations, government organisations, and the armed forces. And to these are added a certain number of government cadres who are appointed in accordance with government regulations. With delegates coming from all circles of the people, the decisions adopted represent the interests and will of all the people.

Members of the counter-revolutionary classes, such as feudal landlords or bureaucratic capitalists, are definitely prohibited from becoming representatives. The enemies of democracy can have no voice in the people's councils.

The principle of democratic centralism governs all discussions and acts. To make this democratic centralism completely effective, full discussion and consultations precede all decisions and acts. The aim is to ensure that different views and opinions find expression and that all representatives give the benefit of their knowledge on every subject with which they are well acquainted. Special emphasis



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Li Chi-shen (front row left) and other members of the P.P.C.C. First National Committee, at its third session

is laid on respect for minority opinions. It is out of such detailed discussions that unanimity is achieved and unanimous decisions can be taken. In this way, the people's representative conferences develop to the full the democratic spirit of the people. They have succeeded in mobilising their energies for effective action in the great national construction plans of the people's governments.

Government Policies Discussed

When in session, the people's representative conferences first discuss all important government programmes and policies, such as the land reform, the development of production, the readjustment of the relationship between labour and capital, the assessment and collection of taxes, etc. Through discussions in the people's representative conferences joint decisions are reached on these activities which closely concern the welfare of the broad masses of the people. Through the people's representatives these decisions are brought to the heart of the masses. Great mass movements are thus initiated and led and the programmes and policies of the people's government are completed rapidly and well.

The land reform, for example, after discussions in the various people's representative conferences, developed into a tremendous movement which drew in the widest circles. Workers and intellectuals for their part went to the villages to participate in the work of land reform. Cities established urban and rural liaison committees to support the peasants, the main force of the movement. Thus a broad and powerful united front against feudalism was formed.

The people's representative conferences must also discuss all proposals emanating from the people. For instance, in Peking, the Dragon Beard Ditch in a working class quarter was a blight in the area

and disastrous to the people's health. Rain water often flooded it and damaged nearby homes. The reactionary governments never paid any attention to this problem. But after Peking's liberation workers' representatives brought up the question in the people's representative conference, and the people's government immediately took action. Soon the ditch was filled in and replaced by an underground sewer.

To take another example: communications were very poor in mountainous Lin county, Pingyuan province. The peasants' representatives in the people's representative conference proposed that the roads be repaired. The county people's government accepted the proposal and promptly launched a road repair programme in which the local people voluntarily took a major and enthusiastic part. A network of good roads was built, taking big carts and linking every single village in the county.

It is in such ways that the proposals of the people are carried out after discussions in the people's representative conferences, driving home the realisation that the people really are the masters of their country, and able to administer their own affairs.

Criticism and self-criticism is widely employed in the people's representative conferences. In this alone what a gulf separates them from bourgeois parliaments! Every representative is encouraged to give his opinion on government measures and on the working style of government cadres. A cadre criticised is expected to review his actions frankly before the people's representative conference and promptly correct any mistakes. At the same time criticism and self-criticism is exchanged between the people's representatives. In this way, the people's representative conferences achieve impressive results both in educating the people and in improving the work of the people's government.

The system of the people's representative conferences has so developed its efficiency that it has become a central link in executing all important policies and programmes of the people's government. It has already proved that it is the best way for the people to govern the country; that it provides effective leadership for the tasks of economic and cultural reconstruction and guarantees their fulfillment, heightening the patriotism of the people and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

Superior to Old Parliaments

In comparison with the parliamentary systems of capitalist countries, the system of people's representative conferences is clearly superior. Bourgeois parliamentary systems are instruments of capitalist dictatorship. Elections in capitalist countries, manipulated by the capitalists and the trusts, limit in various ways the people's right to vote (as a result of property, tax, race, educational qualifications, etc.). They are in fact not based on a popular franchise. Members of these parliaments created by such elections are in the main political agents of the capitalists. In such parliaments at the present time, they are passing budgets envisaging the unleashing of war, adopting bills to limit the rights of the workers and raising a slanderous clamour against people's China, the Soviet Union and Commun-

ism. Ignoring the welfare of the people, they are creating conditions of inflation and rising prices. In the capitalist countries the vast masses of the people are, in the eyes of their rulers, victims tagged for slaughter. The actual nature of government in these countries is in fact a dictatorship of a few oligarchs over the masses.

In New China the triumphant march of democracy continues. People's representative conferences have been established on a wide scale as the following table shows:

To date, out of the six administrative areas (North-east China, North China, East China, Central-South China, Southwest China and Northwest China), the Northeast administrative area has already convoked its area-wide people's representative conference. The conference has now assumed the functions and powers of a people's congress and has elected the Northeast People's Government Council.

The only autonomous national region in China as yet, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, directly under the Central People's Government, has convoked its people's representative conference which has now assumed the functions and powers of a people's congress and elected its People's Government Council.

Of the 28 provinces, 27 have convoked people's representative conferences. In 17 provinces the people's representative conferences have assumed the functions and powers of the people's congresses and have elected their provincial people's government councils.

Eight special administrative districts, (the Administrative Districts of North, South, East and West Szechuan, North Anhwei, South Anhwei, North Kiangsu and South Kiangsu), which have the same status as provinces, have convoked their people's representative conferences.

Of a total of 154 cities in China, 144 have already convoked their people's representative conferences, and of these, 64 city conferences have assumed the powers and functions of people's congresses. All have elected their municipal people's government councils.

Of the 2,068 counties in China, 2,038 have convoked people's representative conferences. All these conferences and congresses have elected county people's government councils.

Of the 117 administrative units of the same status as counties, 105 have convoked people's representative conferences.

Most of the towns and *hsiang* (administrative villages) have convoked people's representative conferences or peasants' representative conferences. People's congresses have already been convoked in some.

These are great achievements. They have been gained under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao himself worked out for China the system of the people's representative conferences and the people's congresses and this system has already shown that it suits the present condition of China perfectly. With the support of all democratic classes and parties and all national minorities, and the active initiative of all the people in the country, this system has become a form of government ensuring the consolidation and rapid expansion of China's people's democracy.

New Tientsin

Hsu Ying

Tientsin is a city of almost two million people, the largest commercial and industrial centre of North China. For 90 years, it was one of the notorious "treaty ports" in which foreign imperialists and Chinese reactionaries joined in squeezing the life-blood out of the people. Throughout this period, the rulers of Tientsin mercilessly exploited the hundreds of thousands of workers in its factories and exacted ever-heavier tribute from tens of millions of peasants in the North China hinterland.

Today, two years after the liberation of our country, Tientsin stands cleaned of age-old dirt, oppression and corruption. It has begun to serve the people instead of stealing the fruits of their toil. Its industries, instead of concentrating on quick-profit items and the processing of goods for export, are now filling the needs of the national economy and the people.

That the progress of Tientsin's industries has already gone far beyond simple rehabilitation may be seen from the following striking fact. Through the entire period of the so-called "development" of China by imperialism, not a single motor vehicle was produced in our country. In 1951, only two years after imperialism was expelled from the mainland, Tientsin produced its first motor vehicles, completely Chinese-made from engine to tyres.

Tientsin workers are also turning out the first Chinese high-speed diesel engines, automatic lathes and molybdenum alloys for hardening steel. They have received help from Soviet advisers in mastering these techniques. Whereas imperialist "advisers" were really salesmen seeing to it that China did not make too many things for herself but imported the maximum amount from the capitalists of their own countries, these Soviet friends freely pass on their knowledge to lay solid foundations for Chinese industry in all fields.

Considering the history of the city, the changes already accomplished have been phenomenal both in speed and in depth. From ancient times, Tientsin was a stronghold of landlord and merchant speculators. These elements amassed wealth out of Tientsin's nearness to the terminus of the Grand Canal, where 8,000 vessels a year discharged tax-grain from Central China for the imperial court in Peking, and out of the extensive salt trade which gave rise to the group of usurer-financiers known as the "eight big families". After 1858, the imperialists turned Tientsin into their base. They used it to dump goods in North China, sweat its workers, extract raw materials from rural producers in the vast area stretching thousands of miles west to Sinkiang, and spread reactionary cultural and political influences.

Railway construction in the 20th century made the city the junction of five important lines, but these were adapted to the trading, investing and strategic ambitions of the imperialist countries. On

top of this economic and political enslavement, the people of Tientsin were long humiliated by the garrisoning of their city by the imperialist troops of Britain, Germany, Tsarist Russia, Austria-Hungary, Japan and the United States. No less than eight imperialist countries also administered parts of the city through their own "municipalities". The presence of their lawless soldiery added the moral corruption of the garrison town to the other dirt encrusting the city.

With the liberation of Tientsin in January 1949, the last alien uniforms finally disappeared from its streets—for the first time in the lives of its present generation of citizens and indeed of their parents and grandparents. The last foreign gunboats and destroyers left its waterfront and the last imperialist overseers were chased out of its Custom House and port facilities. Seven months after liberation, the Tientsin municipal administration showed a very substantial credit balance.

Change and Growth

In October 1949, Tientsin's People's Municipal Government called the city's first People's Representative Conference. At this conference of workers, industrialists, merchants, professional people and delegates of democratic parties and groups, Huang Chin, the young mayor of Tientsin, outlined the goal of reconstruction—to turn Tientsin into a people's city. Among the difficulties to be overcome he referred to the evil legacy left by the near-century of imperialist rule. Then he went on to the more recent past and its economic consequences:

There has been a great disparity between agricultural and industrial production as a result of the long period of isolation of Tientsin from the country during the decades of Japanese and Kuomintang occupation. The number of consumers in the city increased tremendously, whereas economically the only thing that grew was speculative profiteering stimulated by the Japanese and Kuomintang degradation of the economy during those years. The money pumped into speculation destroyed the profits of legitimate industry and commerce. Speculative profits were greater than those from either industry or trade. This is another difficult problem that faces us during the period of economic reconstruction, of transition to a people's economy.

What made it possible for the people of Tientsin to set about rebuilding their city on new foundations was the success of the Central People's Government in regulating the national economy as a whole. By the middle of 1950, the economic and financial system of the country had been unified. Satisfactory adjustment between public and private enterprise, labour and capital and production and distribution had finally ended more than a decade of malignant inflation. Exchange of goods between town and country had increased greatly, knitting together producers and markets long isolated from one another

by foreign and civil war and establishing new ties between places that had no previous economic relations.

In 1950, the number of economic enterprises in Tientsin, both publicly- and privately-owned, increased by 1,919. Employment rose accordingly. Exports tripled as compared with 1949. The capital of commercial and industrial enterprises increased by 16 per cent. City revenues in 1950 were double those of the previous year. These figures indicated how, under the leadership of the state-owned economy, all elements of the city's economic life had succeeded in shaking off their previous reliance on imperialism. They proved that all obstacles could be overcome and that large-scale growth had begun.

Some further figures and facts may give an idea of this growth. Tientsin used to be a great importing city, but it imported consumers' goods and luxuries instead of industrial supplies. Since liberation, the total value of imports had fallen somewhat, but the import of machinery in 1950 was already 3.6 times greater than in 1949, the last year under the Kuomintang and the American imperialists. It was also greater than in 1936, the last year before the Japanese invasion. Exports, on the other hand, increased five times between 1949 and 1950. Foreign trade as a whole was torn out of the hands of imperialist interests. Roughly 70 per cent of it is now conducted by state organisations, and 22 per cent by private Chinese firms, while 8 per cent is dealt with by foreign concerns.

Indicative of increased production, the industrial consumption of electric power in the period from March to September 1951 was 44 per cent higher than in the same months of 1950.

A decisive role in these economic improvements has been played by the productive enthusiasm and initiative of Tientsin's workers, prompted by the consciousness that they are now working for themselves and the whole people instead of for the profits of the alliance of foreign and domestic parasites as in the past.

Workers Build New Life

In 1949, the workers repaired much of the dilapidated machinery that was the heritage of Kuomintang neglect. They solved many problems which neither the Kuomintang nor American "experts" from

UNRRA had shown themselves capable of handling. For example, American engineers had tried without success to improve the No. 1 paper-making machine of the Hui Tung Paper Factory, but a worker, Sun Chung-hua finally did the job. Railway workers renovated an engine in the yards which the Americans had pronounced to be beyond recovery. Worker Pan Chun-yu devised a way of repairing Martin furnaces in the steel mills while hot, and thus avoiding losses from interrupted production.

In 1950 and 1951, workers and engineers turned their energies to developing new production and to substitutes for basic goods that were previously imported, thus counteracting the imperialist blockade. Great successes have been achieved in this regard. Apart from the first-time production of automobiles, diesel and gasoline engines, municipal transport has now been supplemented by electric trolley buses made entirely by Tientsin workers.

The life of the people of Tientsin, particularly the workers, has improved beyond recognition. More workers are employed with each year, indeed with each month, and real wages are rising.

Labour insurance now applies to 160 enterprises with a total of 250,460 workers. The number of hospitals increased from nine in 1949 to 12 in 1950; the number of clinics from 12 to 15. In 1950, no less than 1,020,741 persons were vaccinated against smallpox, and 151,189 were inoculated against cholera and typhoid.

Water-supply and sanitary services are constantly being improved. Formerly these were available only in parts of the city inhabited by the foreigners and the rich. Now piped water is installed throughout Tientsin, and for the first time in history, it is safe to drink without boiling. Open sewers, a menace to health, are being eliminated. More sewer pipes have been laid and repaired in the past year than in the 11 years before liberation.

Forty-nine nursery schools and other child welfare institutions are now available to children of working mothers. Maternity services for working-class women now employ 48 obstetricians and several hundred midwives and nurses.

The number of children in Tientsin's elementary schools increased from 130,833 in 1949 to 179,354 in September 1951, while 30 new schools were set up.

Chinese Moslems Support Egyptian People

Leading Chinese Moslems have sent a message of support to all Egyptian patriots expressing confidence in the Egyptian people's final victory over the imperialist marauders in their country. "We hope," the message says, "you will resolutely and uncompromisingly drive the British imperialists out of your land. The Moslems in China, the entire Chinese people and all just, peace-loving peoples throughout the world will stand at your side . . . until victory is yours."

The message expresses respect and admiration for the heroic struggle of the Egyptian people and indignation at the treachery and ruthlessness of the British imperialists. The signatories are Muhammad Makin, Professor of Arabic, Ridwan Umar Abdullah, Assistant Professor, Sulaiman Chang Peng Do, lecturer (all of Peking University); and Muhammad Tawadu and Isa Ismail Yung, Imams of the Peking Mosque.

A letter in Arabic pledging support for the struggle of the Egyptian people for independence and sovereignty was also sent by the students of the Arabic section of the Department of Oriental Languages of Peking University.

The number of boys and girls from worker and peasant families attending secondary schools doubled between 1950 and 1951. On International Children's Day this year, it was announced that every 7-year-old child will be attending school in 1952. Vocational schools, most of them newly established, now have 781,754 students.

The outward aspect of new Tientsin is testimony to the change. The best buildings have been taken over by the people.

The old "Cosmopolitan Building", half of whose 140 rooms were once occupied by prostitutes, is now the general office of the North China Supply and Marketing Co-operative, which supplies daily necessities to hundreds of thousands of people. Co-operatives abundantly stocked with inexpensive consumers' goods have 781,859 members among wage-earners and their families.

The old "Hai Alai Palace" was built as a gambling den. Thousands of Chinese once lost their money there to enrich the foreign owners. Many became completely impoverished as a result and some went straight from the gambling-house to commit suicide in the Hai river only 500 yards away. Today this spacious five-storey building is the Workers' Palace of Culture. Its neon lighting is a beacon of enlightenment instead of a symbol of robbery and decay. More than 18,000 workers are now attending classes in this and other cultural clubs.

The turretted "Gordon House", which was named after the British butcher-general Gordon who killed unnumbered thousands of Chinese in the suppression of the Taiping Peasant Revolution of the 1850's, once housed the municipal "government" of the so-called British concession in Tientsin. It is now the Tientsin People's Government. The small garden in front of it, one of the places to which "Chinese and dogs" were not admitted by the imperialists, is now a place of recreation for all.

How many evil schemes were hatched and evil deeds done behind the once-hated pink marble facade of another Tientsin building, which has been occupied, at different times, by almost every kind of enemy of the Chinese people! This edifice was once known as the "French Municipality" and housed the administrators, tax extortionists and police bullies of the former "French concession". The Japanese, during their eight-year occupation, used it as a "Municipal Government" for all Tientsin. When the corrupt Kuomintang was brought back by the Americans, it established its own "Advanced Command Headquarters" there for war against the people. Finally the American imperialists themselves cast an eye on it and the sign was promptly changed to read: "U.S. Naval Headquarters".

What is the role of this once justly hated building today? It has been changed into a cultural centre for the working people. The auditorium is constantly occupied by educational and artistic exhibitions. The former offices are now spare-time schools which are busy spreading literacy and enlightenment. Night-shift workers such as cinema and bathhouse employees study there each morning from eight to ten. Daytime workers fill its rooms from seven to nine every evening. These changes are a measure of the transition in Tientsin. Instead of a place where evil minds worked to oppress and

suppress the toilers, this building has become a place where working people educate themselves as masters in their own land.

Where there were once imperialist soldiers, there are now schools. The old "British Barracks", a regular small town of many buildings, subsequently became, by the fortunes of war and imperialist rivalry, a Japanese barracks and an American barracks. Now it is a place where 2,300 Chinese boys and girls study, and where their eager voices resound in song and laughter.

Defending a Great Future

This is a rough summary of some of the gains already achieved in Tientsin, gains which are only a small indication of the limitless prospects ahead for Tientsin as a city of the Chinese people. It is no wonder that a large part of the working population spends its time after labour studying and reading newspapers—or listening to them being read. It is no wonder that Tientsin has moved into the front rank of Chinese cities in its support of the movement to resist American aggression which tries to turn back the clock of history. The people of Tientsin have sent many of their sons and daughters into the ranks of the Chinese people's volunteers and the various medical and other auxiliary units on the Korean front. They have maintained a high level of contributions to the donation drive to buy tanks and artillery for the volunteers.

In the meantime, the city continues to build and to grow. On August 24 this year the Central People's Government set up a committee to speed building of the new sea harbour, at Tangku, near Tientsin, which will be able to accommodate ships of tens of thousands of tons instead of only 3,000 tons as at present. This will ensure the expansion of Tientsin as a port for foreign trade.

Tientsin's home trade and industry, liberated from service to imperialism, have a tremendous future in serving the people of China. The great North China Local Products Exhibition which opened in the city on October 5 is attracting hundreds of thousands of people from all over China. Notably, it is being attended by great numbers of peasants who, after the land reform, are able to purchase agricultural implements and consumers' goods in ever larger quantities. The old difference in interests between the city and the countryside which were inseparable from imperialism and feudalism are being swept away by the People's Government.

With the main obstacles of the past overcome and new construction firmly under way, the people of Tientsin are moving confidently ahead, sure that their efforts will be crowned with new achievements.

CORRECTIONS: In the last issue, Vol. IV No. 9 on page 7 the Sino-Soviet Treaty of March 1950 was described as the "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Alliance". This should, of course, have read "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance".

In the pictorial page of the same issue, the Soviet basketball team was wrongly described as a "volleyball team". The team visited China in December 1950, and left on January 1951.

They Were Once "Coolies"

Chow Hsueh-sheng

Factories, schools, workers' dormitories and recreational facilities, offices for government departments, hotels to house visiting delegations—these are among the many buildings going up in many parts of Peking. From the railway stations to the construction sites, long lines of mule carts haul bricks, timber, structural steel, cement and other materials. The carts are under the charge of teamsters who drive them or walk alongside. They are loaded and unloaded by porters. Both the teamsters and porters of Peking, formerly held in contempt as "coolies", are putting their best efforts into building the capital of the People's Republic of China—the first capital any Chinese worker could ever call his own. They do it with special enthusiasm because, of all the city's toilers, they were delivered from the worst exploitation.

At Kwang An Men railway station, I talked to a tall, sturdy porter, Man Teng-ke, who had just finished unloading some cement. His last bag deposited, Man took the piece of cloth he had used as a shoulder-pad and wiped the sweat from his face. "It's tough work, comrade," he said, smiling at me. "But it's for the country, so who wouldn't work hard."

Man Teng-ke told me how his life has changed since liberation. He had worked as a porter at the same station for 15 years, through the Japanese and Kuomintang occupations. Today he is the leader and organizer of a team of 36 workers. Last April, his team responded to the emulation challenge of Ma Heng-chang's model workers' team in the Northeast. Since then it has received special commendation from the Transport Workers' Union, to which both teamsters and porters belong.

Telling me about his team, Man mentioned that, early each morning, the workers hold newspaper readings and study for two hours. "Ever study before?" I asked. "Study?" Man repeated my question with astonishment and a touch of sarcasm. "I only ate bean cake, and what's more the tyrant Li Ming almost beat me to death a couple of times. I was lucky just to stay alive."

Li Ming was one of the labour gang bosses who once lorded it over Peking's transport workers. All teamsters and porters in the capital, and many other people besides, remember his evil name. For many years, this notorious scoundrel ruled 2,000 workers around the Kwang An Men station with a rod of iron. Here is an example of how Li Ming amused himself. One day he made a large group of porters wait till long after dark for their pay. Finally he appeared with a whip in his hand and a big, sleek police dog trotting by his side. The dog had a white bag in its mouth which it dropped into Li's hand at his order. Li took some money out of the bag and yelled to one of the tired, hungry

workers, "Go buy some fried cakes and pork." When the porter returned, Li Ming fed the dog with the hot, tasty food while the men waited and swallowed their anger. Finally he took more money from the same bag and paid the workers their wages. Each man's pay for the day was not enough to buy one meal such as the dog had eaten.

In the days of Li Ming and his like, no teamster or porter ever knew what his wage was. Li Ming did not discuss such matters and no one dared ask him. His way was to entice a worker into "his gang" and allow him a daily pittance which remained the same regardless of actual working time. When corn flour cost \$4,000 Kuomintang currency a kilogramme, the "rate" was \$2,000 a day. When corn flour went up to \$5,000 it remained the same. Li Ming regarded the workers as his personal slaves and ruled over them by debt and by force.

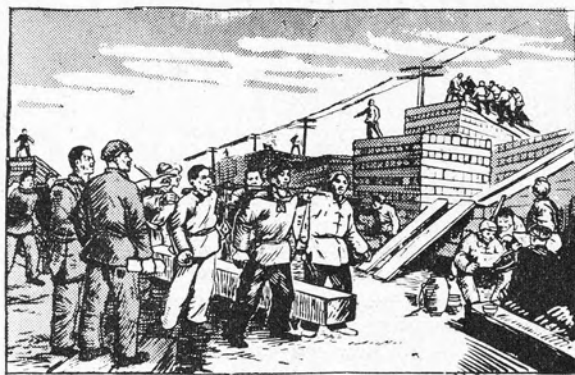
Before the liberation, there were over 500 "transport tyrants" like Li Ming, some big and some small, in the city of Peking. They divided the city among themselves like feudal lords. The Kwang An Men area "belonged" to Li Ming, the Chien Men area to Ching Wen-chuan, and so on. The gang-bosses put on capital into transport and did no work at all, but they collected for every load hauled. Anyone who wanted anything moved had to go through them. Workers could get hauling jobs no other way.

Hereditary Tyranny

How did the bosses get such power? The answer goes back to the Manchu dynasty when the emperor appointed various individuals to open pottery shops near each city gate. The idea was that, if invaders appeared beneath the walls, the pots would be filled with lime and emptied on their heads. Before long, however, the shopkeepers controlled all traffic through the gates they were supposed to "guard". They organized their own transport teams which had no trouble going in and out. All other traffic, peasants with produce from the countryside, pedlars with city goods for the villages, had to pay "protection". These profitable posts were passed from father to son, and areas were sometimes subdivided among several "heirs". The network of "regional gangs" became ever more intricate and oppressive.

Li Ming, a typical example of the hereditary gang boss, always managed to tie himself closely to the rulers of the day. Under the Japanese, he got a high gendarme official to adopt him as "godson". Under the Kuomintang he became "blood brother" to several bureaucrats. It was of course money, not affection, which cemented such "family" bonds.

These links also had their political side. The Kuomintang used the gang bosses against the workers and supported their extortions in return for such



Timber for the buildings of new Peking

services. Here is an example of such official support. Li Ming once asked a merchant about ten times the normal price to move a cartload of fish. When the merchant demurred, Li yelled, "All right, go elsewhere and see if you can get it cheaper." The merchant found some independent workers who undertook the job at one-tenth Li's rate. But when the fish came to the gate, the Kuomintang police said, "We've got to look in every fish to see if Communist propaganda leaflets are stuffed inside, one has to be so careful these days." The merchant had to go crawling back to Li Ming and pay what he asked—after which the fish went through without even a look from the sentries.

While the Li Mings grew fat, the teamsters and porters slept by the roadsides in summer or hired tiny rooms in which a dozen or more would huddle under a couple of blankets on winter nights. To clothe themselves, they rummaged in garbage heaps for rags which they patched together. Malnutrition and disease were their everyday companions. When one of them died, his body would be buried outside the city limits without a coffin—often to be dug up and eaten by wild dogs. When a hungry worker tried to steal a little grain from a load, the bosses exercised their ingenuity in inventing horrible tortures to make an "example" for the rest. Many workers were "gotten rid of" by the Li Mings, i.e. simply killed off.

When Peking was liberated, the bosses lost their influential friends. Donning sheep's clothing, many of them began to do a little work themselves and adopt a "soft" attitude to their workers. But when the government did not move against them for several months, they became bold again. They told their stooges to pose as "Communists" and try to fill trade union posts. In this way they tried to turn the workers against the union and the government.

Uprooting the Gang System

The authorities did not crack down on the bosses at once because they knew that only the workers themselves could pull the gang system out by the roots. Trade union cadres worked quietly, organising the active elements and handing over irrefutable proofs of murders and torture of workers by gang bosses to the police. In April 1941, 41 of the chief bosses were arrested. As the workers gained courage

and exposed the crimes of others, more arrests took place. The worst offenders, Li Ming among them, were sentenced to death and shot. Lesser culprits were given jail sentences or left free but deprived of civil rights. After these proofs of action by their own government, the workers made short shrift of the bosses' agents in their trade unions.

After the feudal gang system was scrapped, the work of Peking's 6,392 teamsters and porters was organised by the Peking Transport Company, set up by the Transport Workers' Union itself with government help. The company notified private enterprises and government agencies of the new arrangements. For the first time in history, standard rates were set, customers don't need to haggle over prices, and teamsters and porters receive fair compensation in accordance with work done. Their pay is fixed at 85 per cent of the rate charged to customers, the remaining 15 per cent being reinvested in the company for running expenses and expansion plans. All books and funds are kept by the workers themselves, through their trade union.

Seeing that greater effort and efficiency improved their own welfare, the teamsters and porters began to work with new spirit and enthusiasm. In the old days, a loss of 5 to 10 per cent of transported grain through spilling and spoiling was considered normal. Now every handful of grain is carefully picked up and the average loss is about one-tenth of 1 per cent. Sharp hooks are no longer used on grain bags. Porters have developed new methods of stacking, which allow a free flow of air through the bags, doing away with the necessity for re-stacking every two months to prevent rot.

"Coolies" Become Men

After the establishment of the company, the average wage of teamsters and porters rose to the equivalent of 8 kilogrammes of corn flour a day. In the first quarter of 1951, wages went up by 26.5 per cent as compared with the previous year. The average monthly earnings of these transport workers is now the same as that of ordinary office workers and middle-rank government officials. Many live in new houses, and the government is building dormitories for single men and workers in transit. A striking reflection of better conditions may be found in the number of transport workers who were married this year. Of 26 workers at the Chien Men station who were single when the company was set up, 23 have now found wives.

Labour insurance now covers all transport workers, and beds are reserved for them in six city hospitals. Soon their union will have a modern hospital of its own.

The workers never tire of talking of the recreation hostel provided by the company. I visited the hostel, which consists of three wings around a courtyard shaded by bamboo awnings in summer. In the central building, I found many men playing chess, ping-pong and billiards while others chatted and smoked over pots of hot tea. The southern wing houses a library. The third wing is occupied by the union office. The hostel is equipped with baths, a barbershop and a health clinic—all free.

In a corner of the clubroom as we went in, a union functionary was explaining to a worker why newspaper reading groups are important. "All Peking workers are organising them," he said. "It doesn't matter if you don't know enough characters yet. You can elect someone who reads better as group chairman. Then you'll know what our volunteers are doing in Korea, what workers are doing in the Northeast, how our country is growing." A middle-aged worker who had been quietly listening turned around and said, "He's right. Chairman Mao says we workers are masters of the new society. How can you be a master and not know what's going on?"

In the library, which has 5,000 titles on its shelves, I found workers reading the *People's Pictorial* and discussing the uniforms and arms of the people's volunteers portrayed in it, of which they seemed very proud. At the desk, I saw one worker borrowing a picture book about Michurin and another asking for something on model worker Ma Heng-chang. Looked down upon as "coolies" only three years ago, these men are now reading books, joining newspaper groups, discussing world events, wanting to learn all about the Soviet scientist Michurin and how he forced Nature to do the will of man.

Among other services available to Peking teamsters and porters are 40 vocational schools run by the union, with 4,720 students. Now schools are planned for the workers' families as well. Three classes for their wives are already organised. The Transport Workers' Union runs three clubs and has its own cultural troupe.

A New Writer Is Born

Tsao Chu

"I never dreamed that I would be writing novels. I was even unable to write my own name. Without the Communist Party, a plain peasant like me would never have been able to read literature, much less create it."

These words were spoken by Chen Teng-ko, one of the leading novelists of China today, as he described the 33 years of his life.

Chen Teng-ko's history is typical of that of many new writers who have gained popularity in the literary and artistic resurgence of China since liberation. The writer who today visits the U.S.S.R. as a member of a Chinese writers' delegation was born into a poor peasant family. The land the family worked on was not enough to keep them alive. His father had to haul heavy loads by wheelbarrow for extra pennies, while his mother slaved as a washerwoman. By saving and scraping the couple managed to send their son to a village school for two years. But soon, Chen Teng-ko too had to work in the fields from sunrise to sunset.

Poverty and bitter labour killed Chen Teng-ko's father when the boy was only 16. The family became poorer than before. For four years, Chen toiled like his father before him—on the land and between the shafts of the barrow. At 20 a new disaster

The house once occupied by the executed oppressor Li Ming accommodates one of the vocational schools. In the courtyard where the tyrant once tortured "offending" workers, 260 students now gather to begin their daily two-hour study under four teachers hired by the union. Chinese and arithmetic are the main courses taught in this school.

It was in this house that I once again met Man Teng-ke, the worker I had spoken to at the Kwang An Men Station. Illiterate when he joined, Man told me proudly that he has mastered 500 characters and can read the union paper. After the class ended, we went from the house where Li Ming lived to Man Teng-ke's own home—a quiet one-room apartment with a kitchen into which he moved last year. We were greeted there by his wife, who was busy knitting underwear for the winter. "New clothes, eh?" I smiled. "Yes, new clothes, we don't need to be shabby any more," Man said, pointing to his furniture and a new bedspread which he has bought out of the past year's savings. Man's wife told me that she is very active these days. She goes to school and was hostess at a recent party organised by the workers for men of the People's Liberation Army.

When I left Man Teng-ke's room, it was getting dark. Groups of other porters were coming the other way, returning home after work. They were talking and laughing, full of good cheer. They knew they would enjoy a good night's rest and rise the next morning without fear of unemployment, illness or poverty. They had the proud self-respect of equal participants in the building of their own capital. They were confident that their labour would bring, month by month, a more abundant life.

befell him—he was press-ganged into the Kuomintang army.

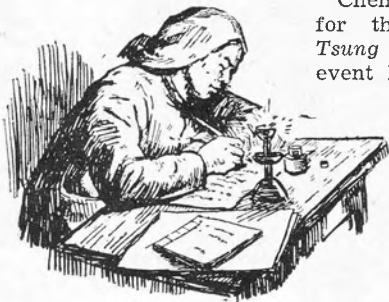
In 1940, Chen Teng-ko's unit, disgusted with the Chiang policy of attacking the New Fourth Army instead of resisting the Japanese invaders, and encouraged by a secret Communist in the unit, went over wholesale to the people's army. The New Fourth assigned Chen Teng-ko as personal guard to a district officer. "From then on," he now says, "I began to see the light."

Chen Teng-ko could neither read nor write at that time. Grinding work and a beast-like existence in the KMT army had driven his small stock of characters completely out of his head. In the heat of guerrilla warfare against the Japanese, his illiteracy did not at first worry him. It was not till late in 1943 after systematic education by the Communists and the popular forces that he understood the great future of all common men in China, and the need for education if that future was to be mastered. He began to study in his spare time. The comrade whom he was assigned to guard helped him. No matter how hard the day of campaigning had been, or how great his fatigue, this comrade gave him a lesson each evening. Chen Teng-ko was in-

spired with an even greater urge to improve. Working hard, he soon mastered five hundred characters.

It is a custom in the People's Army to encourage men who are educating themselves to keep diaries. Writing down the day's impressions in his book, Chen became more and more interested in expressing himself clearly and vividly. The unit had a wall-newspaper for which the soldiers wrote. Chen was once asked to contribute, along with others and picked a few pages from his diary to tack up. These at once attracted attention. One of them happened to be seen by a reporter for the district newspaper, *Jen Fu Ta Tsung*.

Visited by the reporter who asked him to become one of the paper's widespread net of worker-peasant correspondents. Chen Teng-ko was completely dumbfounded. Such a thing had never occurred to him and he could not believe his ears.



Chen's first news item for the *Jen Fu Ta Tsung* dealt with an event he had seen the day he wrote it, the press-ganging of young peasants by the Japanese.

"I sweated and my mind was in a whirl," he said

later, describing this early effort. "When I had finished, I counted the number of words by the dim light of the oil lamp. There were barely fifty of them. Those zigzag signs... that sparse army of words... the symbols I devised provisionally to represent words that I did not yet know how to write... looked to me like a bunch of earthworms. I stared and stared. It seemed senseless to forward such a thing to the paper, so I tore the manuscript to pieces and went to bed. But the picture of those Japanese dragging those peasant boys from their homes would not let me sleep. I got up and started to write again. I wrote till dawn, and finished the story. But I still had no hope it would be printed".

The story was accepted. From then on Chen Teng-ko wrote regularly. The Communist Party appointed Chien Yi, one of the staff of the paper to teach Chen. Chien Yi was in charge of worker-correspondents and in his lifetime trained some three thousand of them. Chen was one of his best pupils. Of Chien Yi who was tortured by the KMT and killed, Chen Teng-ko has said "he is a man I shall remember for ever."

In all Chen Teng-ko has written more than three hundred pieces of reportage and ten literary pieces. In 1945, the *Jen Fu Ta Tsung* honoured him with the title of "First-class Worker-Peasant Correspondent".

It is not difficult to understand the immediate popularity of Chen Teng-ko's writings. He writes because he feels he owes a duty to the common people as well as to the many comrades who died at the hands of the Japanese and the KMT. Because he himself has lived the life of the downtrodden pea-

sant and fought in the guerrilla forces he is able to write in a way no other writer can. He has also developed new ways of improving his reporting. Before writing, he would go to the peasants and discuss the subject he had chosen. After writing he would again go to the peasants and read his report aloud, watching their reactions as they listened. He wanted them to be moved by his descriptions which he tried to make tense and powerful in style.

Chen Teng-ko wrote his first long story in 1946. He called it *Children*. It tells of life in a kindergarten attached to one of the revolutionary colleges. The editor of his paper praised it for its literary qualities. This was how Chen began to think of literary writing. With much encouragement from his editor he began to work on a novel.

The novel *Iron Bones* appeared in 1946. It impressed everyone who read it. Later it was adapted for the stage and produced in north Kiangsu. Overjoyed by the reception it received Chen Teng-ko began to work on a second novel *Sister-in-law Tu* which was published in 1947. It told how a woman popularly known as Sister-in-law Tu came to organise a guerrilla force in her village during the liberation war. Chen himself had lived as a guerrilla correspondent in a village similar to the one in which the action of the novel takes place. The anti-reactionary sentiments expressed by the peasants in general and Sister in law Tu in particular are the sentiments of Chen himself who hates all enemies of the people. It was the publication of *Sister-in-law Tu* that established the young communist author nationally.

Chen's newest novel *Pond of Living People* was published early this year. Based on his experiences with the New Fourth Army it tells the story of Liu Kan-sun a dauntless 18-year old fighter who escapes being buried alive by the KMT through the courageous action of an old peasant woman who disguises him as her daughter who is supposedly dying from a serious wound sustained in an air raid. This novel is realistic, powerful and filled with suspense, and could only have been written by a guerrilla fighter who loves and respects the masses.

Chou Yang, vice-minister of culture and one of the best known literary critics of China has given a just evaluation of Chen Teng-ko. "His creative writings have already proved him an outstanding and promising writer," Chou Yang says. "He expresses the true and powerful feelings and strength of the working people".

Today Chen Teng-ko is studying under experienced writers at the Central Literary Institute in Peking. This Institute is the first of its kind in China. Through intensive work and group discussions, it broadens and deepens the understanding of young writers who come from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. It helps these young men and women to develop their rich talents and create a new virile literature for the people's China. But Chen does not consider his education will have ended when he leaves the Institute. He plans to return to the P.L.A., back to his old comrades, "to where I really belong" as he says. There he hopes to continue learning from the people he knows and loves so well and tell the world of their heroism and their unconquerable will to build a new China.

American Bombing of P.O.W. Camp

Protest by the P.O.W. Peace Committee

On October 13 an American plane deliberately bombed a P.O.W. camp killing one American officer and injuring many others. We print below excerpts from the protest of the P.O.W. Permanent Peace Committee to the people of the world made on behalf of 1,362 prisoners of war.

The protest describes the bombing of the camp and the killing of five and wounding of 16 persons (including Americans, British, Koreans and Chinese), and goes on:

The full list of American and British casualties are as follows:

Lieutenant Robert A. Gehman, AO-925833 of 612, Ocean Highlands Avenue, Ligwood, New Jersey, U.S.A. (died of wounds).

Captain Joseph A. Errigo, AO-1040377 of 8818, Veterans Drive, South-West Tacoma, Washington, U.S.A. (on the danger list at present).

Major E. D. Harding, 67136 of Islington House, West Shropshire, England.

Lieutenant G. T. Costello, 379283 of 6, the Warren, Aldershot, Hampshire, England.

Sergeant Major F. G. Strong, 1874123 of 3, Reed Hall Avenue, Colchester, Essex, England.

Corporal Marion Funkhouser, RA 17204045 of 521, East 4th Street, North Onawa, Iowa, U.S.A.

Private First Class Robert L. Pace, RA 13365416 of Box 722, Chestnut Ridge, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Private First Class Charles E. Dick, RA 15379078 of Spann, Kentucky, U.S.A.

The total damage to property in the camp area and the civilian quarter of the town amounted to eight houses partially destroyed and one house completely destroyed.

We wish to point out that this town which is situated in the safe zone of North Korea, as are most of the P.O.W. camps, does not in any way whatsoever constitute a military target. Aside from the normal staff of Chinese volunteers who are responsible for the running of this camp, and the civilian population, only P.O.W.'s occupy this town area. There is no industrial activity at all and no railroad. The only supplies in this town are for the benefit of P.O.W.'s or the civilian population.

This indiscriminate bombing of an established P.O.W. camp is not an isolated case. Many times have such known establishments been bombed and strafed by American aircraft. We have also observed many cases of indiscriminate bombing and strafing by American aircraft on civilian houses and population up and down the country. Many villages and towns have been completely exterminated with tremendous loss of innocent civilian lives including those of many young children. We have seen evidence of this with our own eyes when marching to this safe area in the northern rear from the region of the 38th Parallel where most of us were captured.

At all times since our capture we have been extremely well treated by the Chinese volunteers. Since coming to this camp we have been provided with many basic necessities of daily life including fresh clothes and toilet articles. Our food is more

than adequate and is the same as that enjoyed by the volunteers. Our state of health has been considered a top priority and many prisoners have received good medical attention in our own hospital. We live in warm houses provided by the local Korean people. All of us are safe and sound and looking forward to the day when we can return to our homes and loved ones. Indeed, our only danger is that we may be bombed again by American aircraft and denied the chance to live as free men again in the countries that we hold so dear. We want the people of the whole wide world to fully appreciate our predicament. Our fear is not that we will suffer as P.O.W.'s in the hands of our captors, but that we may be blotted out by the same group of selfish warmongers who sent us out here in the first place.

We now appeal to all the peace-loving peoples of the world to unite in a strong protest, in the name of humanity and common decency, to be lodged with the proper authorities demanding that these practices be terminated immediately, thereby safeguarding the interests, not only of many thousands of P.O.W.'s, but also of hundreds of thousands of innocent Korean men, women and children.

Many of those who will read this letter have a full understanding of the meaning of war and indiscriminate bombing in particular. We appeal particularly to the bombed citizens of Rotterdam, Coventry, London, Warsaw and many other places in the world who were the victims of such savage acts in the Second World War.

This war, or so-called "police action" is, in our opinion, utterly unjust. It should never have been started by the reactionary elements of America and Britain in the first place, but now the peace-loving people of the world who support the cause of peace, must fight to stop this conflict and establish a true lasting peace as soon as possible. The original text of this letter, with a full comprehensive list of American and British P.O.W.'s who wholeheartedly support this letter of protest, has been forwarded to you.

(Signed)

THOMAS BAYES, Jr.,
Chairman of the Permanent Peace
Committee

RONALD B. ALLUM,
Vice-Chairman of the Permanent
Peace Committee

JAMES KING, 19031823
FRANK UPJOHN, 6143171
ERNEST P. CORMIER, RA 11078046
EARL SMITH, RA 5413249
HARRY BOLTON, 6258334,

Secretary and members of the
Permanent Peace Committee

MAO TSE-TUNG'S 'ON PRACTICE' AND CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

(Continued from page 7)

the first to be dealt with is bound to be hard. The easy thing comes after, and what comes after is a gain." Furthermore, "knowledge depends upon action in order to be beneficial, but action does not depend upon knowledge in order to be efficacious. Action may result in knowledge, but knowledge does not result in action. . . . Action implies knowledge but knowledge does not imply action. . . . A learned man never assumes to know without action." According to Wang Chuan-shan, therefore, action precedes knowledge; action is more difficult than knowledge; they serve each other, but action is more important than knowledge.

So much for the various views on these problems since the Sung and Ming dynasties. Cheng Yi-chuan and, after him, Wang Yang-ming, carried on the idealist tradition of Confucianism. While Wang Chuan-shan who called himself a Confucianist nevertheless inherited the materialist tradition in so far as his epistemological viewpoint is concerned, all these epistemological views reflect the feudal stage in Chinese social history.

When the era of China's feudalism approached its end, Dr. Sun Yat-sen put forward his own theory concerning the same problem. Dr. Sun received a bourgeois education and was a product of a bourgeois social environment. His thinking was no longer restricted by feudal bonds and this enabled him to develop a deeper understanding of social development and take a broader view of society. Hence his relatively new understanding of the problem of knowledge and action. His view of the precedence of action over knowledge, which is undoubtedly a great advance from Wang Chuan-shan, is built upon the phenomena of social evolution. Wang Chuan-shan attempted to prove the same thesis on the basis of his belief in the old saying "it is easy to know but hard to do." But his line of thought was still not quite clear. Perhaps he meant to give precedence to practice because of its difficulty, or perhaps it was his view that it is an actual fact that that is so.

In *Sun Wen's Theory*, Dr. Sun Yat-sen cites scientific and technological examples to support his argument that to know is hard but to act, easy. This signifies a great departure from former philosophers who confine themselves to the sphere of moral activities alone, and it shows a striking contrast between a bourgeois philosopher and a feudal one.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, however, remains a bourgeois thinker to the end. He maintains that action precedes knowledge but that knowledge is more important as it is more difficult. He was originally prompted to write his famous *Theory* in order to promote the revolutionary practice of the time. In his theory, however, he gives knowledge too high a status, and thereby sets too great a store by the initiated few, so that he tends to belittle the vast majority of the people who are considered ignorant and unawakened

and must therefore blindly follow the initiated and awakened minority. His over-estimation of knowledge is due partly to his position of responsibility for leadership among the revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals and partly to his inability, albeit his earnestness, to discover the correct revolutionary principles and laws. Consequently, he failed to arrive at a correct solution of the problem of China's revolution or of the traditional philosophical problem of the relation between knowledge and action.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* deals also with this problem. He masters and integrates the principles of Marxism-Leninism with China's revolutionary practice. He thoroughly understands the revolutionary problems of China, and through revolutionary practice he also thoroughly grasps the relation between knowledge and practice. Thus he solves this great historical problem of philosophy.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Theory* and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice*, although separated by only a short span of 20 years, represent two successive stages in China's history: the former stands for the era of old bourgeois democratic revolution and bourgeois philosophy and the latter for the era of New Democratic revolution and proletarian philosophy.

Let us reconsider the various views propounded on this problem by earlier philosophers. Since most of these ancient scholars lived only in the realm of productive relations away from the processes of production, they never experienced the fierce struggle that practice entails and therefore their knowledge and practice were not knowledge and practice acquired in that fierce struggle. To them knowledge and practice either preceded or followed each other, they might be easier or harder, or more or less important than the other, and might be united or separated. All this shows they lacked a true understanding of the relation between knowledge and practice. Their investigations were academic and unrealistic, and their conclusions entirely or partially incorrect simply because their premises were inherently metaphysical. That is to say, their presentation of the problems was incorrect. Their premises were built on a metaphysical basis and they considered knowledge and practice in isolation, believing that they are separated from and opposed to each other or that they are to be treated in the same way. Incorrect premises can never lead to correct conclusions. Above, I have indicated only a few of the more plausible.

In *On Practice*, due stress is laid on the dependence of knowledge upon practice. Emerging from this, the unity of knowledge and practice is upheld with the proviso that practice is the basis of knowledge. Knowledge in turn serves practice with, as further pointed out in the treatise, "practice, knowledge, more practice, more knowledge, and the repetition *ad infinitum* of this cyclic pattern". In the light of this, the view of their mutual interdependence is relatively sound. In this process of cyclic repetitions, there is no ground to assign precedence to either knowledge or practice, and therefore the view that knowledge and practice precede as well as follow each other is relatively valid. In so far as the essence and source of cogni-

tion are concerned, practice naturally comes first and knowledge after. In the inter-relation between cognition and practice, practice is no doubt more basic and therefore more important. But in the process of cyclic repetitions from one to the other, both are equally important. "At the present stage of the development of society," writes Chairman Mao Tse-tung, "the responsibility of correctly understanding the world and of changing it has fallen with the whole weight of history upon the shoulders of the proletariat and its political party." To understand the world and to change it accordingly are of course equally important, and so are knowledge and practice in philosophy.

From the above, it can be seen that the ancient philosophers of China held imperfect views on the

problem of knowledge and practice. Each school saw only one aspect of the process of knowledge and practice. Nonetheless, in the history of Chinese philosophy there has been a tradition of materialism in epistemology. With a completely new standpoint and methodology, *On Practice* solves the problem of the relationship between knowledge and practice and thereby signifies a further development of dialectical materialism. At the same time, it carries on and greatly develops to a new stage the materialist tradition in the theory of knowledge of Chinese philosophy by successfully solving a problem which has claimed the attention of so many brilliant minds through the centuries. It has solved the problem of the relation between knowledge and action in Chinese philosophy.

LAND REFORM STRENGTHENS VIET-NAM'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

(Continued from page 15)

The decree also stipulated that Land Rent Reduction Councils should be set up in every province to control rent reduction, settle disputes between landlords and tenants and examine special cases of hardship resulting from natural calamities or war.

Viet-Nam Land Laws

The July 14, 1949 decree has been thoroughly implemented in south Viet-Nam where rents have been reduced by more than 25 per cent, and in some parts, by as much as 50 per cent. In north Viet-Nam 80 per cent of the peasants have had their rents reduced by 25 per cent while in central Viet-Nam the decree has in the main been put into effect.

On May 22, 1950, the government issued a decree announcing the reduction of interest rates on cash loans to 18 per cent and on loans in kind to 20 per cent. These were formerly 100 per cent and 200 per cent respectively. In addition, the decree announced the cancellation of all debts on which the interest already paid amounted to twice the capital, and of all debts contracted before the August 1945 Revolution as well as those owed to persons sentenced for counter-revolutionary activities. To make this decree effective and practical for peasants who for lack of funds might borrow from landlords, the Production Credits Office made provision for peasants to obtain loans from the government.

Apart from the reduction of rents and interest rates, other measures have been taken to improve the condition of the peasants. These include: regulation of the land rent system; provisional allocation of land formerly owned by the French colonialists and traitors to the poorer peasants and to families of disabled ex-servicemen and war-dead; redistribution of communal lands; appropriate use of land belonging to absentee landlords and that of wasteland, etc.

The provisional allocation of the lands of French colonialists and traitors as well as the re-distribution of communal lands is a reform of great importance. As already stated, French-owned and communal lands occupied an area equal to 20 per cent of the total

cultivable land while the lands possessed by poor and middle peasants did not exceed 30 per cent of the total area of cultivable land. Thus, with the implementation of these measures, the aim of "Land to the tiller!" is being realised by stages. For example, 4,900 hectares formerly owned by French colonialists and Viet-Nameese traitors in the six northern-most provinces of north Viet-Nam have been allocated to 15,618 persons. Furthermore, under the reactionary French rule, women were deprived of any share in communal lands, even on a nominal basis, but today they are being distributed equally to peasant men and women.

The decrees regulating the land rental system and the use of lands belonging to absentee landlords are also aimed at restricting feudal exploitation and ensuring production. In some areas before the decree were put into effect some landlords took steps to circumvent rent reduction. For example, when they learned that rents were to be reduced, they immediately raised their rents by 25 per cent. In other cases they took back their land from the peasants and rented it out to new tenants at higher rates; or they took the land back and left it uncultivated. The regulations regarding land rent now stipulate that landlords and tenants must sign contracts for a minimum three-year period and the rent must be clearly stated in the contract. Thus the landlords are no longer free to take back their lands or increase rents arbitrarily. Land left uncultivated by landlords is allocated to poor peasants for temporary use and land abandoned for a period exceeding five years will be nationalised.

Living conditions have improved considerably for the great masses of peasants as a result of these agrarian reforms. And in addition, in the course of implementing them large masses of peasants, under the leadership of the working class, have been organised into the Viet-Nam Peasants' Association for National Salvation. More and more united and conscious of their duties and interests, playing an active and decisive role in carrying through the government's agrarian policy, the peasants of Viet-Nam are enthusiastically participating in the resistance, enlisting for military service, and through their production efforts are ensuring that adequate food supplies are available to the resistance forces in their struggle to liberate the whole of Viet-Nam.



CURRENT CHINA

October 26—November 10, 1951



Results of PPCC Meeting

The third session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference ended on November 1 in Peking after a ten-day meeting.

During the session the achievements of the past 16 months since the last session were summarised and the present main tasks defined. These tasks as formulated at the session are to strengthen resistance to American aggression, to aid Korea and to increase production and practise economy in support of the Chinese people's volunteers and to organise a systematic study of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, as part of the ideological reform movement. Resolutions were unanimously adopted to support the appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact among the Five Great Powers.

Eighteen new members, including Tibetan leaders, were elected to the National Committee.

People's Power Extended

Next spring, North China will elect *hsien* (county) administrative chairmen and members of the *hsien* administrative councils. The *hsien* all circles people's representative conferences, which formerly had only advisory powers, will be empowered to make both recommendations and decisions on questions of local reform and construction. These important recommendations were made at the First Conference of North China *Hsien* Administration Chairmen held recently in Peking.

Northwest Industry Expands

Industry and mining in Northwest China are registering new production advances as a result of two years' restoration and construction work. In 1950, crude oil production surpassed the highest pre-liberation figures by 23 per cent, cotton yarn topped the 1949

October Revolution Celebrated

Celebration meetings, radio talks, exhibitions and concerts were held in factories, government bureaus and peoples' organisations throughout China on November 7 in honour of the 34th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The press featured articles praising the policy of peace of the USSR its great construction achievements and invaluable aid given to China.

Special programmes of Soviet colour films were shown in 20 major cities. These included "The Fall of Berlin," "Conspiracy," and "Kuban Cossacks."

level by 43.45 per cent and power supply by 7.2 per cent. This year's coal output is expected to register a 54.6 per cent increase over 1950.

Fifteen factories, including machine tool and leather plants, and some 400 handicraft workshops, began work in the first half of this year. Full-speed construction on scores of power plants, textile mills and cement plants is underway.

Kwangtung Water Conservancy

A government-initiated campaign for small-scale irrigation projects in Kwangtung has resulted in a considerable increase in crop yields this year. Thousands of new reservoirs, dykes, irrigation ditches and sluices have improved the fertility of 240,000 hectares of cultivated land and increased yields by 110,000 tons. Embankments requiring 5,140,000 cubic feet of earthwork and totalling 322 km. in length have been completed. This year conservancy work exceeded all work done in the last 30 pre-liberation years.

Korean Truce Negotiations

No agreement has been reached on the question of fixing the military demarcation line since the resumption of the Korean truce talks in Panmunjon on October 25.

To get prompt agreement on the military demarcation line, the Korean-Chinese Delegation at the October 31 sub-committee meeting proposed a cease-fire on the basis of the existing battle line, with provision for necessary adjustments and a demilitarised zone embracing an area extending two kilometres on either side of the present line of contact. With the demarcation line in general agreed upon, the U.N. delegation, however, insisted that the Kaisung area, until now in the hands of the people's forces, be handed over to them. This demand was refused by the Korean-Chinese Delegation, which on November 10 made the following more detailed proposals:

1. That the principle be established that the actual line of contact between both sides shall be the military demarcation line and that the demilitarised zone shall be formed by a withdrawal by each side of two kilometres from this line.

2. That on the basis of this principle the sub-committee should immediately check the existing actual line of contact so as to have it agreed by both sides as the military demarcation line, and should fix lines two kilometres to either side of this military demarcation line as the northern and southern limits of the demilitarised zone, thereby mapping out the demilitarised zone.

3. After the entire armistice agreement is settled and before it is signed, the sub-committee must make modifications in this military demarcation line and demilitarised zone corresponding to the changes in the actual line of contact between both sides that have taken place by that date.

Support for World Peace Council

Leading Chinese papers editorially supported the Appeal to the United Nations and to the peoples of the world and the 11 important resolutions adopted by the second session of the World Peace Council which closed in Vienna on November 7. The full text of the Appeal and the resolutions were also carried.

Earlier, Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese delegation, reported to the session on the contribution of the Chinese people in defence of world peace by their construction projects at home and just struggle against imperialist aggression in Korea. Mao Tun, member of the World Peace Council, spoke of the importance of cultural interchange to the defence of world peace.

Huge Donations for Chinese Volunteers

By November 8, the Chinese people had donated a total of 3,184 billion yuan for the purchase of heavy equipment for the volunteers in Korea. An additional 800 billion has been pledged.

Earlier, in commemoration of the first anniversary of the volunteers'

entry into the Korean war against American aggression, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression forwarded the volunteers on behalf of the Chinese people, donations for the purchase of 1,500 planes.

Over 1,150,000 letters of greeting and support have been sent to the Chinese people's volunteers at the Korean front since January this year, the China Peace Committee announced on October 25. In the two months ending October 25 more than 158 billion yuan, 1,930,000 gifts and 980,000 parcels have been donated to the volunteers in addition to contributions for heavy equipment.

Chinese Pioneers Weekly

The first issue of *Chinese Pioneers*, a weekly published by the Central Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League, appeared on November 5. Designed for primary school children above fourth grade, it carries items on current affairs and general knowledge, stories, song sheets, reports on the life of the Pioneers, letters from child correspondents, puzzles and many illustrations.

Life Among the Minorities

Newspapers in six different languages are being published in multi-national Sinkiang province. There are eight newspapers in Uighur, three in Kazakh, one each in Chinese, Mongolian, Solon and Russian.

Nine new primary schools for Tibetans have been established during the past year in the Changtu area, of Sikang Province. Improved economic conditions have for the first time enabled many Tibetans to send their children to school.

* * *

To stimulate trade and help raise the living standards of the national minorities, the Ningsia Provincial People's Government recently organised caravans with some 30,000 camels to transport vast quantities of locally produced salt to minority tribes in neighbouring provinces.

International

A Chinese trade union delegation left Peking on October 30 to attend the General Council Meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Berlin on November 15. They attended the October Revolution celebrations in Moscow on November 7.

Letters from Our Readers

They Won't be Silenced

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

On behalf of the students of Melbourne University I send our fraternal greetings to you, the fighters for peace and lovers of freedom. We thank you for your news and are glad to know that you are all so solidly in the fight against the unspeakable Syngman Rhee and the American imperialists—you must know that in this country the Government is trying to silence all opposition to its fascist warmongering. But we are staunchly resisting them.

Our peace petition movement grows in size every day and more and more people are rebelling against being dragged in the wake of the imperialistic plutocrats on their bloody way to war. We are trying to reduce unemployment here, for now people starve in the streets as the result of the oppressive war taxes of the Government

EDITOR,
Student Forward

Three Great Events

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

I, a British woman over 70 years of age, am very thankful to be able to get *People's China*.

The three greatest events in my life, which has been spent on four continents, have been the Russian Revolution, the freeing of India and now the Revolution in China. Though I shall not live to see it, there are children in these countries who will see the toppling over, like a great tree rotten at the core, of the powerful country which now menaces the whole world, including China.

Although the northern part of New Zealand, containing its largest city, is forced to obtain all its news from two capitalist daily papers publishing war propaganda from every available source and never letting a day pass without vilification of the communist countries, nevertheless there is a very strong peace party utterly condemning America's war aims and the sym-

pathy of New Zealand's rulers for these aims.

Recently in Auckland a large peace congress was held and the International Peace Petition was widely circulated, but the authorities ordered the police to stop anyone attempting to get signatures on the streets.

One of New Zealand's best known clergymen, who had been at the International Congress in Europe, gave the lie to reports that funds for the New Zealand Congress were provided by Moscow. He called for contributions at each meeting at which he spoke. £5 and £1 notes were showered onto the platform showing that it is the people and no one else who supported popular movements.

Your paper not only provides necessary information but from an artistic and literary point of view is unique.

Capitalist gangsterism must go. May new China hand in hand with her mighty neighbour hasten its doom. This is the strongest desire in the life of:

ELLA DARLINGTON



Glory to the Hero Volunteers of the Korean Front!



Woodcut by Shih Ko