

人民中国

# People's China

人民中国

In This Issue:

**Stalin, Friend of  
The Chinese People**  
— Mao Tse-tung

**The United Front in Literature  
And Art**  
— Kuo Mo-jo

**I Have Seen New China**  
— V. L. Toledano

**Pictorial: *China in 1949***

**1**

**Vol. I**

January 1, 1950



# People's China

Published and edited by the *Foreign Languages Press*, 26, Kuo Hui Chieh, Hsuan Wu Men, Peking, China. It appears on the 1st and the 16th of every month. Entered as first-class mail matter at the General Post Office of North China, December 20, 1949.

## CONTENTS

To Our Readers .....	3
Stalin — Friend of the Chinese People	Mao Tse-tung ..... 4
Long Live Comrade Stalin	Kuo Mo-jo ..... 4
A Historic Meeting in Moscow	Tsou Yen ..... 5
On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie in the Chinese Revolution	Yu Huai ..... 7
The United Front in Literature and Art	Kuo Mo-jo ..... 11
I Have Seen New China	V. L. Toledano .... 13
<b>CURRENT CHINA</b>	
December 11 — 25, 1949 .....	14
<b>PICTORIAL</b>	
China in 1949 .....	15
1949 — The Year of Victory	Liu Tsun-chi ..... 19
Wan Sui, Wan Wan Sui!	Lao Duane ..... 22
Three Different Asias, One Common Struggle	Lung Men ..... 24
<b>CULTURAL WORLD</b> .....	25
From Beggar to District Leader	Fu Lien ..... 26
1949, A Chronology .....	31

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR CHINA

(Postage included. Registered postage extra.)  
Six Months 12 Issues JMP \$14,400  
One Year 24 Issues JMP \$28,800

### 國內定閱價目表

(平寄郵費在內,掛號郵費另計)

半年 十二期 基本定價二十四元  
全年 廿四期 基本定價四十八元

(Subscription rates subject to change without notice) (價目及倍數隨時調整,外埠定戶以信收到日價計)

### RATES FOR ABROAD

(Postage Included)

	One Year (24 issues)	Six Months (12 issues)
United States of America, Canada	US \$ 4.00	US \$ 2.20
British Commonwealth and Empire	£1. —s.	£ — 11s.
U.S.S.R. ....	20 Rubles	11 Rubles
India, Malaya, Hong Kong .....	HK \$16.00	HK \$ 8.80

請就地向北京、上海及天津三聯書店定閱,或將定費掛號匯寄北京國會街二十六號人民中國社。

Please mail all orders and remittance to the

Subscription Office of the *Foreign Languages Press*, 26, Kuo Hui Chieh, Peking, China.

## TO OUR READERS

This is a journal dedicated to cementing unity and friendship between the Chinese people and the progressive people of all lands and to the cause of the lasting peace and people's democracy. Through its pages, we intend to inform our readers, twice a month, of the thought and life of the China that has freed herself from the clutches of domestic reactionaries and the yoke of foreign imperialists, — that is, the people's China.

Without the overwhelming victories of the Chinese people during the eventful year of 1949, the appearance of this journal would not have been possible. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people are now victoriously bringing to a close this arduous and costly revolutionary struggle which they have waged for more than two decades. Out of the debris of the degenerate regime of the Kuomintang, a People's Republic has emerged. For the first time in history, the Chinese people have stood up. They now have the possibility not only of freely expressing themselves at home, but also of freely communicating with friends abroad.

From now on, we shall do our utmost to inform our readers about the political, economic and cultural activities of this country in order that the friends of new China may follow the progress being made in the gigantic work of national construction.

Since the Chinese people have aligned themselves with the world camp fighting for the lasting peace and people's democracy, this journal will also devote itself to the sacred task of defending, vigilantly and steadfastly, the cause of world peace. It is the unswerving will of the Chinese people to guard this peace by every means within their power. The great solidarity of the peace-loving people must be strengthened.

The readers we have in mind are the whole of progressive mankind, i.e., the ordinary people of all lands, irrespective of nationality, race, colour and belief. They are innately good internationalists for they know

from their own experiences that all labouring people form one big family, bound together by their common struggle and common aspirations.

We believe that this journal can make a useful contribution to the consolidation of unity between the Chinese people and the people of the great U.S.S.R. and of our fellow People's Democracies, from whom we have so much to learn since they have pioneered the road to Socialism before us.

We believe that this journal can make a useful contribution to the strengthening of the friendly ties between the Chinese people and the progressive, open-minded people of the capitalist countries, whose struggle is our struggle just as our struggle is theirs.

We believe that this journal can make a useful contribution to the struggles of our fellow Asians, who are still fighting for their national liberation by casting off the chains of feudalism and imperialism as we have done. Since we have only just emerged from the prolonged darkness of feudal and colonial oppression, it is only natural that we feel a particularly warm sympathy for them in their present struggles and wish to extend them staunch support during their ordeals ahead.

In short, this journal is intended as a forum of truth and a clearing house of actual revolutionary experiences.

Our Chinese People's Republic is still young. Therefore, the multitude of problems now confronting our people cannot be solved overnight. We are bound to encounter difficulties, and when we do so, this journal shall not hesitate to state them honestly so that others may profit by our experiences.

Thus we shall exert all our efforts to satisfy the world-wide demand for information about the realities of the new China, the people's China. In these pages, our readers may follow, step by step, the progress of the Chinese people as they march steadily forward to consolidate their nation's independence, democracy, peace, unity, strength and prosperity.

# Stalin—Friend of the Chinese People

MAO TSE-TUNG

*EDITOR'S NOTE: This article was written by Chairman Mao ten years ago in Yanan. Apart from its historical value as an important document in the history of Sino-Soviet friendship, we print it here to remind the world that this great friendship of the two great nations is by no means a recent growth. This message, although written ten years ago, conveys the same love and respect for the leader of the labouring people of the world which the Chinese people are expressing today. This friendship has been tested both by time and by international storm and stress — it has stood the test well.*

December 21 this year is the 60th birthday of Comrade Stalin. It may be safely assumed that all revolutionary people the world over who are aware of this will celebrate this event with warmth and enthusiasm.

To celebrate the birthday of Stalin does not mean to perform a seasonal ceremony. It means to uphold him and his work; to uphold the victory of Socialism; to uphold the direction he has pointed out to mankind; and to uphold our dearest friend. This is because the majority of mankind are suffering tribulations, and only with Stalin's guidance, with Stalin's help, can we obtain relief from our calamities.

We, the people of China, are living during a most painful period of history in which we are most in need of help.

It is said in the *Book of Odes*, "When the birds coo, they are seeking friendship." That is exactly the predicament we are in.

But who are our friends?

Some so-called "friends" pose as our friends, and there are people in our midst who accept them as such without much thought. But those friends are of the type of Li Lin-fu, the Tang Dynasty premier who was known as a man with a mouth as sweet as honey, and a heart as evil as a sword. These "friends" of ours are of exactly the same kind. Who are they? They are a section of the

imperialists who go through the motions of being sympathetic to China.

There are other kinds of friends whose sympathy for us is genuine and who treat us like brothers. Who are they? The people of the Soviet Union together with Stalin.

No foreign country has relinquished her prerogatives in China except the Soviet Union.

During the Northern Expedition of 1927, the imperialists were all against us. The Soviet Union alone helped us.

Since the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, no imperialist nation has rendered any genuine aid to us. The Soviet Union alone has been helping us with manpower, material and funds.

Is this not clear?

True help for the liberation of China and the Chinese people can come only from the Socialist

country, the Socialist leader, the Socialist people; from Socialist thinkers, statesmen and labourers. Without their help, we cannot achieve final victory in our struggle.

Stalin is the faithful friend of the Chinese people's struggle for liberation. The love and respect which the Chinese people hold for Stalin and their friendship for the Soviet Union are entirely sincere. Any attempt to estrange us by rumour or slander will ultimately meet with failure.

## Long Live Comrade Stalin!

Kuo Mo-jo

*Great Stalin, beloved steel, eternal sun!  
Because humanity has you,  
Marxism-Leninism can exert its might today;  
Because humanity has you,  
The proletariat can display its strength today;  
Because humanity has you,  
The work of liberation can extend its glory today,  
It is you who lead us to the open sea of world Communism;  
It is you who instruct the West not to forget the East;  
It is you who unite us into a force unparalleled in history.  
The peace fortress of the Soviet Union stands firm,  
The unity and progress of the New Democracies of Europe and Asia advance;  
And the brilliance of the People's Republic of China shines forth.  
The history of mankind has started a new chapter;  
The order of nature too will follow the path of revolution;  
The name of Stalin will forever be the sun of humanity.  
Long live great Stalin! Long live beloved steel!*



## A Historic Meeting In Moscow

Tsou Yen

December 16, 1949, will be a red-letter day in human history. On this day Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese people, and Marshal Stalin, the liberator of mankind, met in Moscow for the first time.

This is not merely a meeting of two great revolutionaries or of two national leaders. In fact, it symbolizes a historic meeting of 675 million people of China and the Soviet Union.

This is a meeting that further deepens the great and profound friendship that has existed between the Chinese people and the Soviet people ever since the October Revolution in 1917. This is a meeting that heartens all the peace-loving people throughout the world while it shocks and embitters the warmongers. The result of this meeting is bound to have far-reaching consequences upon the world situation.

Chairman Mao has taken with him a valuable present to the Soviet people and their beloved leader, Stalin, that is, the unmeasurable gratitude, love and respect of the 475 million Chinese people for the great friendship and assistance which the Soviet Union rendered to them during their arduous struggle for liberation.

Not until 1918, when the first Socialist state emerged in the world, did the Chinese revolutionary struggle against imperialist and feudal exploitation discover a road to success. It was under the influence and as-

sistance of the Soviet Union that the Chinese people first learned about Marxism-Leninism and created their own revolutionary vanguard—the Communist Party of China—whose efforts constituted one of the main factors assuring the present victory for the revolution. The rich practical experiences acquired during the Soviet Socialist revolution have benefited and facilitated the revolution in China. In addition, the victory of the Chinese people must also be attributed to the valuable theoretical guidance provided by the Soviet Union, particularly by Stalin.

Looking back over the history of the past 32 years, we shall see that it was the Soviet Union that, immediately after its establishment, first abrogated the unequal treaties and other prerogatives imposed upon China by the imperialist nations. During the Great Revolution in 1925-27, the preliminary victory over the counter-revolution of imperialism and feudalism would have been inconceivable without Soviet aid, as Dr. Sun Yat-sen has asserted. When the Japanese imperialists invaded China in 1931, despite the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's regime had severed diplomatic relations with Moscow, the Soviet Union boldly lined herself up beside China by issuing a warning against the Japanese imperialist actions one week after the Mukden Incident. In the early period of the War of Resistance against the Japanese, a good number of Soviet pilots, engineers and strategists were fighting at

the side of the Chinese troops against the Japanese. Many among them even gave their lives for the common cause. After eight years of fighting, it was again the Soviet Red Army's entrance into the Far Eastern theatre of operations that brought about Japan's immediate surrender.

The Soviet people again demonstrated their warm kinship with the Chinese people by their prompt recognition of the People's Republic of China immediately following its establishment on October 1, 1949. They have also offered sincere and unselfish assistance by concretely helping the new China in her reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Bearing all these things in mind, one can easily understand why people all over China were so jubilant over the news of Chairman Mao's visit to Moscow, why they considered it the biggest event since the founding of the Republic, why Stalin's 70th birthday was so enthusiastically celebrated in cities as well as villages throughout the nation.

The Chinese people have learned by their own experiences that only a Socialist country and a Socialist people can be genuine friends of the oppressed people everywhere. They realize that without the existence of the Soviet Union and her help to China, their present great victory would have been impossible. So they felt that their representative, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, had fully expressed their own views when he said upon arriving at Moscow: "This fraternal friendship which the Soviet people and the Soviet Government bestowed on the Chinese people at the time of their difficult ordeals will never be forgotten."

They also felt that their determination to serve the cause of world peace was clearly expressed when Chairman Mao declared on the same occasion: "The most important tasks of the present are consolidation of the

world peace front headed by the Soviet Union, opposition to warmongers, strengthening of the friendly relations between the two great states—China and the Soviet Union—and development of the great friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples."

The closer unity between China and the Soviet Union means the consolidation of a huge force of 675 million people which constitute almost one third of the world's population. This force will stand as the main pillar of the world's peace front. Together with the existence of other People's Democracies and the efforts of peace-loving people everywhere, the joining hands of these two great peoples at Moscow has made the forces for world peace invincible.

This is why the historic meeting of Mao Tse-tung and Stalin has caused exultation wherever people hope for peace. This great event and the world-wide celebrations for Stalin's birthday are in themselves great contributions to the cause of world peace.

This is also why it has caused so much alarm among the imperialists, especially those in Wall Street. The American diplomats are anxiously watching the Far East for repercussions to the Moscow visit.

American officials have conceded that the Moscow meeting of the great leaders "may spell further trouble for the United States." If they mean the U.S. of Wall Street, then most certainly "trouble" lies ahead. Wall Street's main hope to avert its economic and political collapse lies in launching a new imperialist war. But Comrades Stalin and Mao, together with the 675 million people they lead, are determined to thwart their war-making efforts. This spells decided "trouble" for the U.S. of Wall Street, but it means happiness for the peace-loving American people and the people of the whole world.

## On the Role of the National Bourgeoisie In the Chinese Revolution

Yu Huai

As it is well-known, the political line of the Chinese Communist Party in the present people's democratic revolution of China has been based on a people's democratic united front composed of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic elements, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class.

We are going to discuss in this article: First, why is the national bourgeoisie at the present stage to be united with, but not to be exterminated, by the Chinese working class? And second, what is the policy being adopted by the Chinese working class in dealing with the national bourgeoisie, and on what basis is this policy formulated?

### The Bourgeoisie in Colonial Countries

As China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, long under the yoke of imperialism, her revolution could not but take up the fight against imperialism as one of its main tasks. This characteristic determined the series of strategies and tactics of the Chinese revolution.

In his report on the national and colonial questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin emphasized the paramount importance of making "the distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations". He believed that in this lay the fundamental difference between the Communist International on the one hand and the Second International and bourgeois democracy on the other. Viewed from this angle, Lenin pointed out: "The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most rudimentary form." (Lenin: *Preliminary Draft of Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions*)

Stalin has developed this brilliant theory of Lenin's on the peculiarities of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. He has clearly pointed out the double task of opposing feudalism and opposing imperialism in the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, with emphasis on "the sharpening of struggle against imperialism". (Stalin: *Chinese Revolution and Tasks of the Communist International*) He has thus concluded that an alliance with the national bourgeoisie was permissible under certain conditions.

In uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has succeeded in concretely applying the theory advanced by Lenin and Stalin regarding the role played by the national bourgeoisie in the revolution of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

### The Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and the National Bourgeoisie

Since the component groups of the Chinese bourgeoisie have different relationships with imperialism and feudalism, they should not be treated as a homogeneous mass, but should be differentiated from each other. There are two main groups within the Chinese bourgeoisie, namely, the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The economic interests of these two groups are in conflict with one another. They therefore have played different roles in the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

The distinction between the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in China was made clear by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, when he wrote in 1939:

"The bourgeoisie is divided into two different groups. One is the big bourgeoisie which is compradore in nature, and the other is the national bourgeoisie.

"The compradore big bourgeoisie directly serves the imperialistic foreign capitalists who, in turn, support and nurture this class. Hence it is closely related to the semi-feudal elements in the rural districts. Therefore, in the history of the Chinese revolution, the big bourgeoisie has never been a force of the Chinese revolution, but remains its enemy. . . .

" . . . Since the national bourgeoisie is oppressed by imperialism and restricted by the remaining feudal elements, thus it clashes with imperialism and the remaining feudal elements. In this sense, it is a part of the revolutionary forces. During the history of the Chinese revolution, they have shown their vigour in the struggle against imperialism and the government dominated by bureaucrats and warlords". (Mao Tse-tung: *The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*)

Who are the Chinese big bourgeoisie?

" . . . The Four Big Families —Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen — during their 20 years in power have amassed enormous capital worth 10 to 20 billion American dollars and have monopolized the economic life-lines of the entire country. This monopoly capital, merged with state power, becomes state-monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism, intimately merged with foreign imperialism and the domestic landlord class and old-type rich peasants, becomes compradore, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. This is the economic foundation of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism not only oppresses workers and peasants, but also oppresses the petty bourgeoisie and injures the middle bourgeoisie (i.e., the national bourgeoisie—Y.H.). This state-monopoly capitalism reached its highest peak during the anti-Japanese war and after the Japanese surrender. It prepared adequate material conditions for the new democratic revolution. This capital is popularly called bureaucratic capital in China. This bourgeoisie is called bureaucratic bourgeoisie, i.e., China's big bourgeoisie. Apart from doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China, the object of the new democratic revolution within the country is to eliminate the ex-

ploitation and oppression of the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the big bourgeoisie) . . ." (Mao Tse-tung: *Present Situation and Our Task*)

It should be emphasized that without the fulfillment of the task of opposing bureaucratic capitalism, and without the carrying out of its accompanying concrete program for the confiscation of the property of the big bourgeoisie by the people's state, the content of the Chinese people's democratic revolution could not be considered complete.

The process by which this unique bureaucratic capitalism was expanding under the reactionary KMT regime was the same process by which the Chinese national bourgeoisie was being oppressed and its private enterprises crippled. The bureaucratic capitalists, as represented by the Four Big Families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, never developed any industry of their own. They appropriated the property of the labouring people and in part of the national bourgeoisie, to swell up their ill-gotten capital, chiefly by means of their traitorous collaboration with foreign imperialists, particularly with American imperialists, by means of the state apparatus under their control, especially their extensive network of financial organizations, and also by means of an openly predatory policy. During the war against Japanese aggression, the KMT bureaucratic capitalist bloc accelerated this process of plundering and concentration of capital by instituting various wartime economic controls and by permitting a runaway inflation. After the Japanese surrender, this bloc, in the name of "taking over" the properties of the Japanese and their puppets, privately pocketed the assets which originally and rightfully belonged to the Chinese people. In this way, the Japanese imperialist aggressors and their lackeys served no more than as a tool in the conversion of the wealth of the Chinese people, including that of the national bourgeoisie, into the private property of the bureaucratic capitalists, which means, in the end, into the private property of the American imperialists. It is, therefore, nothing strange that the more the bureaucratic capitalists expanded, the more

the national bourgeoisie contracted. Thus, the bureaucratic capitalists became the big bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie assumed the position of the middle bourgeoisie. The former were oppressors and exploiters of the Chinese people, and the latter, while exploiting the Chinese working class, were themselves ruthlessly oppressed by imperialism and its agents, the big bourgeoisie.

Viewed from all these economic factors, it is not difficult to understand the changes in political attitude of the Chinese national bourgeoisie at various historical stages. Although during the period after 1927 and before the Mukden Incident of 1931, it cooperated with the big land-owning class and the big bourgeoisie in opposing the revolution, nevertheless, it has never been in power. That is not all. After the Mukden Incident, which heralded the Japanese imperialists' all-out invasion of China, certain representatives of the national bourgeoisie, prodded by the masses, took an active part in the anti-imperialist movement, at that time directed against the Japanese imperialism. This movement was banned by the Kuomintang which was then in power. After the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, owing to the intensification of various reactionary political and economic measures, certain representatives of this class sympathized with and even supported, in varying degree, the democratic movement in China. After the Japanese surrender, the people throughout China all yearned for peace and opposed the impending civil war. This could not but force the KMT government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, to convene the "Political Consultative Conference" proposed by the Chinese Communist Party. The representatives of the Chinese national bourgeoisie participated in this Conference which had as its aim the striving for democracy and peace at home, and their attitude on the whole was sympathetic towards the progressive demands of the Chinese people. Following the abortive peace parley, a full-scale civil war was launched by the KMT reactionaries, then basic victory was won by the Chinese people in the revolutionary war. During this series of vital

changes, although the national bourgeoisie displayed at times a wavering and wait-and-see attitude, yet it had not surrendered to the KMT reactionaries. What was more, with the changes in situation, its representatives at last took part in the recently-held People's Political Consultative Conference which symbolized the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people.

#### Dual Nature of the National Bourgeoisie

As stated above, because there are certain contradictions between the Chinese national bourgeoisie on the one hand and foreign imperialism and the domestic bureaucratic capitalism on the other, consequently it is either sympathetic towards or remains neutral in the Chinese people's democratic revolution — this is one aspect of its nature. But also because there are contradictions between the Chinese national bourgeoisie on the one hand and the working class and the peasantry on the other, consequently it has a dual nature in the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

"From this dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we can conclude that at a certain period and under certain circumstances, it can take part in revolutions against imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and warlordism, and it can become a part of the revolutionary forces. But at other times, it may serve the big bourgeoisie by assisting the counter-revolutionary forces." (Mao Tse-tung: *The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*)

It is exactly because of this fact that struggle must necessarily be conducted in an appropriate manner against the national bourgeoisie, while uniting with it.

In December, 1947, on the eve of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"In areas ruled by Chiang Kai-shek, there is a section of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie (i.e., the national bourgeoisie — Y.H.) who, though small in number, have reactionary political tendencies — these are the rightist elements among these classes. They disseminate illusions about American imperialism and

the Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary bloc. They oppose the people's democratic revolution. As long as their reactionary tendencies can still influence the masses, we should carry on the work of exposing such tendencies among the masses who have been under their influence. Blows should be delivered at their political influence among the masses, so as to liberate the masses from their influence." (Mao Tse-tung: *Present Situation and Our Task*)

In July, 1949, after the basic victory of the Chinese people's revolution was won, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out:

"As for the national bourgeoisie, a great deal of suitable educational work can be done among them at the present stage. When the time comes to realize Socialism, that is, to nationalize private enterprise, we will go a step further in our work of educating and reforming them. The people have a strong state apparatus in their hands, and they do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie." (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*)

Blows at the reactionary political tendencies on the part of the rightist elements of the national bourgeoisie, and adequate educational and reforming work among the national bourgeoisie—all these compose the content of the struggle against the national bourgeoisie at various stages and in various periods of the revolution.

### The National Bourgeoisie and Economic Reconstruction

The national bourgeoisie is called upon to play its part in the people's democratic revolution. This is because the people's democratic revolution in China is directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, while the national bourgeoisie might and did participate in the movement against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. This is not all. China is a very backward country in so far as modern industries are concerned, and the imperialist countries will continue to be hostile even after complete victory has been won in the Chinese revolution. Therefore it becomes necessary to draw the national bourgeoisie into the common struggle to re-

sist imperialist oppression and to improve China's backward economic status.

However, this policy of integrating the national bourgeoisie into the common effort to improve the economic position of China does not at all mean the unlimited expansion of private capital which would lead China to develop in the direction of capitalism. In the first place, having a state-owned economy of a socialist nature occupying a predominant position in China's modern industry makes it impossible for the private capital of the national bourgeoisie to lead China in the direction of capitalism. In the second place, the people's government adopts the policy of encouraging and assisting "the active operation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood". (Article 30 of the *Common Program*) The new government also encourages their development "in the direction of state capitalism in such ways as processing for state-owned enterprises and exploiting state-owned resources in the form of concessions." (Article 31 of the *Common Program*) This means that the existence of the private capital of the national bourgeoisie and its development under proper control of a state led by the Chinese working class will in reality serve to promote socialism instead of capitalism in China.

Of course, this is not to say that there exist no contradictions, and consequently no struggle, between the state-owned economy of a socialist nature and the private-operated economy of a capitalist nature. No, contradictions do exist, and so struggle is inevitable, and it will be further sharpened.

But since tremendous changes have already taken place in the relative strength of the various classes in China, and since the powerful state apparatus is now in the hands of the people and since the growing state-owned economy having a socialist nature together with the co-operative economy having a semi-socialist nature will become the leading components of China's economy, this kind of contradictions and struggle need not be solved by further bloodshed but can be solved, to a considerable extent, by means of education and reform.

## The United Front In Literature And Art

Kuo Mo-jo

Chairman of All-China Association of Writers and Artists

Present-day Chinese writers frequently use the phrase the 'new literature and art created since the May Fourth Movement'. In what way is the literature and art of the last thirty years new? How exactly does its nature differ from that of the old?

For quite a lengthy period, our writers and artists have been either in the dark or have had only a vague notion about this. The question received a truly scientific explanation only after the publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's "*On New Democracy*". In that great work, Chairman Mao points out that the nature of the Chinese revolution, at the present stage, is that of new democracy. He summarizes the characteristics of the democratic revolution in a nutshell, as the "anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the masses of the people led by the proletariat". The foregoing characteristics of the Chinese revolution thus determine the nature of the new culture, the new literature and art of China. In other words, the new culture created since the May Fourth Movement is no longer the obsolete culture of the old democracy, but has become the new culture of new democracy; it is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal; it belongs to the masses of the people, led by the proletariat; similarly, the 'new literature and art created since the May Fourth Movement' has ceased to be the obsolete literature and art of the old democracy, but has become the new literature and art of the new democracy, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, a literature and art of the masses of the people, led by the proletariat. This is the 'new' in the 'new literature and art created since the May Fourth Movement' and this is how it differs from the old in nature.

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal task of the Chinese revolution has been predetermined by the nature of Chinese society during the past hundred odd years. Since the Opium War, all political, cultural, literary and artistic movements have been in different degrees anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. Therefore among the characteristics of the new democracy as outlined by Chairman Mao, i.e., the characteristics of being 'anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, of the masses of the people, led by the proletariat', the last named, 'led by the proletariat', is the most fundamental. Without the leadership of the most revolutionary class, the proletariat, and without the most scientific proletarian thought, it would be impossible to prescribe the correct directions and policies of the revolution. Without these things it would also be impossible fully to develop the strength of the masses of the people, or to gain victory for the Chinese revolution.

This is so not only in political revolution, but also in cultural, literary and artistic revolutions. Over and over again this fundamental truth has been proven by the thirty years' history of China. The great victories which have been won to-day by the Chinese people in political, cultural, literary and artistic revolutions are inseparable from the leadership of the Communist Party of China and from the teaching of Mao Tse-tung. These revolutions which have taken place since the May Fourth Movement have remained more persistent, thorough and uncompromising than any others in Chinese history because of the leadership of the proletariat.

It was the imperialist and feudal oppression of the masses of the Chinese people that caused them to take part in the new democratic revolution. Hence, how to organize the broad masses of the people into an exten-

sive united front is one of the major problems which confronts the leadership of the proletariat. Without such a united front and without its correct guiding policies, it would be impossible to unify the strength of the whole country, to beat down the enemy, to gain victory for the Chinese revolution. Over and over again this has been proven by the thirty years' history of China.

For thirty years, the new literary and artistic movement has always been a movement of the united front. In the earlier period, it was composed of intellectuals who had just acquired some rudimentary knowledge of Communism, and of petty bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals. During the period from the May Fourth Movement to the First Great Revolution, they demolished the reign of the obsolete, feudal and semi-feudal literature and art, and established in its stead, a new literature and art with anti-imperialist and anti-feudal content. Writers with the rudiments of Communist ideology and petty bourgeois writers who were gradually approaching Communism, produced works representative of that period. Their works had a widespread influence among the intellectuals and had a significant effect in the campaign against imperialism and the feudal system.

When, after its betrayal by the right wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the First Great Revolution failed, the Chinese Revolution entered into a new era. In the field of literature and art, a left-wing movement came into being. This was the movement of the united front composed of the proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeois intellectuals. With Lu Hsun as its standard-bearer, this movement again and again fought bravely against imperialism, feudalism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. It not only won over many petty bourgeois intellectuals and young students to the camp of the revolution, but it tempered and trained in large number the revolutionary cadres of literature and the art. All in all, it contributed greatly to the Chinese revolution. During this movement only a few writers and artists adopted the erroneous viewpoint of a narrow-minded 'closed door policy'.

Then, upon the eve of the Anti-Japanese War, in the common cause of anti-Japanese aggression, Chinese literary and artistic circles organized themselves under the leadership of the proletariat into a more extensive united front, composed of proletarian, petty bourgeois, bourgeois and all patriotic writers and artists, classical or modern. Some writers and artists inside this united front did, at certain stages, overlook the ideological struggle and the serious mutual criticism. This resulted in rightist deviations. Nevertheless, viewed as a whole, the new democratic literary and artistic movements during the war progressed and developed, and contributed greatly towards the Resistance War and the democratic movement.

During the last two or three years, there have been some important developments and commendable achievements in the main currents of the movement. In the Kuomintang ruled area, not only did the armed forces of letters and arts hold on to the end but the persecuted writers and artists worked persistently, produced many works of deep political significance, attacking the Kuomintang reactionaries. Under the influence of Mao Tse-tung's new guidance to literature and art, writers and artists even made some attempt to attain unity with the masses of the people. In the Liberated Areas, with such fundamentally different objective conditions as having direct access to the teaching of Mao Tse-tung, and having many writers and artists learn and work, many ideological and practical problems unsolved since the May Fourth Movement were solved after the Discussion of Writers and Artists at Yen-an in 1942. Henceforth, creators of literature and art became united with the broad masses of the people and served the workers, peasants and soldiers. Literature and art then underwent a very great transformation, in both subject matter and form. All this demonstrates the basic conditions of the united front in the realm of literature and art during the last thirty years. It is also a brief summary of the attainments and victories gained by the literary and artistic united front during these thirty years.

(Continued on page 29)

## I Have Seen The New China

Vicente Lombardo Toledano

*Vice-President, World Federation of Trade Unions*

I came to China with the eager desire of seeing with my own eyes the tremendous victory of its great people, which culminated in the creation of the People's Republic of China. Naturally I was longing to meet its leaders, to observe the attitude of the working people, of the industrial workers and peasants, of the intellectuals and youths, confronted with the gigantic task of building a new China, strong, prosperous, independent and revolutionary.

I have seen how a long and dark past of exploitation of the common man, of ignorance, of moral slavery and sadness is dying out; and how a new world, full of energy, of creative spirit, of social justice, of economic progress, of popular education, and high political conscience, is being born here.

I have seen the land reform spreading through this immense country, digging the foundation for the liberation of the great majority of the people. When the living standard of the population is raised, industry will progress steadily, and in this way China is going to shed forever its economic backwardness and poverty.

The struggle against landlordism in China is bound to have considerable repercussions not only in Asia but also in Latin America, where our nations still have a semi-feudal structure that dates many centuries back.

I have seen the Chinese people enjoying full freedom for the first time in their history; I have seen them making use, with great efficiency and joy, of their political rights.

The People's Republic of China is a true and genuine democracy; the people's dictatorship against the oppressors is the true and direct intervention of the people in the government, in the organizations, and in the progress of the country.

I have seen how this people is defending the sovereignty of its motherland, how it is

determined to recover China for itself and to expel forever the disturbing and nefarious influence of foreign imperialism.

I have seen how the new China feels that it is linked to the other democratic countries, to the U.S.S.R., to the People's Democracies of Europe, to the workers and all progressive forces throughout the world.

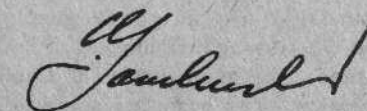
I have seen how the people's democracy in China, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, is but a bridge for reaching a Socialist state and the true emancipation of mankind.

And I have met the leader of this brilliant page of human history, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. No one who sees him can help feeling his extraordinary human qualities and the depth of his brilliant mind, the mind of a Marxist theoretician, of a genial strategist, of a real leader, devoted body and soul to his people's revolution — qualities that have already placed him side by side with Stalin, the leader of the world proletariat, in the vanguard of the peoples of the whole world.

In 1935, I popularized the Soviet Union among the large masses of my people, for only a minority of them then knew about it. Now it will be my privilege to tell the Mexican people and the other people of Latin America about New China.

I brought the Chinese people a message of gratitude and admiration from 6,500,000 working people represented in the CTAL.

Now I am taking back a message from the workers and the people of China — the message of their example.



Peking, December 1, 1949.



## CURRENT CHINA

Dec. 11—25, 1949.

### The Map:

One of the commonest ways of following events in China is by asking: Where has the PLA got to? Ever since the autumn of 1948, it has been advancing faster than news could keep pace. As this journal goes to press, the whole of Central, South and Southwest China are cleared of the enemy except Tibet. The flag of the Chinese People's Republic has been proudly planted in Chennankwan, Kwangsi, facing the French-controlled Indo-China. The large annihilation campaign launched by General Lin Piao and his Fourth Field Army on Nov. 6 was victoriously concluded by the middle of December with the destruction of Pai Chung-hsi's forces.

On Dec. 9, the KMT Governor of Yunnan and the KMT Commanders of Szechuan and Sikang renounced their relations with the Kuomintang and accepted the leadership of the Central People's Government.

### The Intrigue:

Although Chiang Kai-shek moved with his "capital" to Taipei on Dec. 8, his intrigue against the country did not end there. The widely reported agreement between the KMT warlords and the French imperialists in which the latter undertook to shelter the remnants of Chiang's defeated troops, turned out to be not without foundation. As has been blatantly admitted by Lt.-General Marcel Allissandeim, French Military Commander in Tokin on Dec. 22, according to a Hanoi despatch of the United Press, 23,000 KMT troops had "marched across the border in orderly fashion, beginning on Dec. 12," and the march was described as a "mass movement". Not content with offering a haven to the enemy of the Chinese people, the French imperialists went out of their way to "protect" their KMT collaborators by infringing upon China's aerial sovereignty—a grave offence which Premier Chou En-lai, in his capacity as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has seriously protested.

### Economic Front:

Along with the military advance goes the progress in communications. When Wan Hsien, an inland river port in east Szechuan, was liberated on Dec. 11, through traffic could be resumed on the Yangtze, the main artery of China's water transportation. Two boats belonging to Min Sheng Company sailed down from Chungking via Hankow to Shanghai, loaded with pigs bristles and Tung oil.

By Dec. 13, all rail traffic in Hunan had been restored, which meant that the province had restored rail connections with Kiangsi, Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

The National Revenue Administration Conference, which opened in Peking late in November, adjourned on Dec. 13 after laying down a detailed plan for a fair and efficient system of taxation.

Economists, bankers and civic leaders throughout the country continued to express their approval of the 1950 Budget and acclaimed the issuance of the 200,000,000 unit Victory Bond.

On Dec. 19, the Government Administration Council issued a directive calling upon the country to combat flood with concerted efforts and to develop agricultural by-products and by-vocations as a means to compensate losses caused by flood.

### Solidarity:

The Conference of Women of Asia held from Dec. 10 to 16 in Peking was another forceful demonstration of the unity of the world peace camp which had earlier been illustrated by the Asian and Australasian Trade Union Conference.

On Dec. 11, the 2nd All Circles Representative Conference for Shanghai, with 667 delegates attending, came to a successful close after five days of thorough discussion on problems concerning that metropolis. A similar conference for Nanking adjourned the following day. It is by means of such conferences, attended by representatives of all strata of the community, that the People's Government keeps in close touch with the sentiments and desires of the people.

The National Shop Assistants Trade Union Conference opened in Peking on Dec. 12, with 33 delegates representing 15 cities including Peking, Tientsin, Nanking, Mukden, Harbin and Dairen. The aim of this conference was to further consolidate their organization and implement the policy of collective-bargaining as proclaimed by the All-China Federation of Labour early in November.

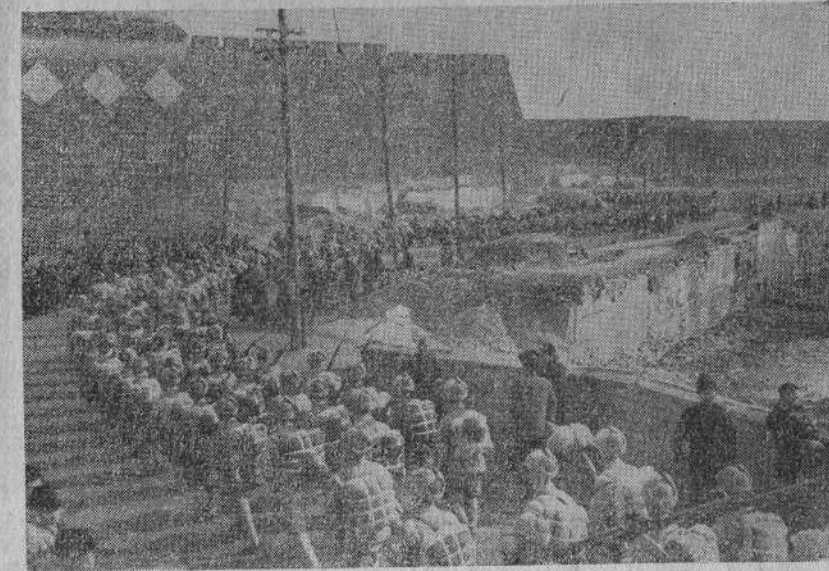
On Dec. 23, the National Education Conference opened in the capital under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education. It was attended by 23 representatives from 12 districts covering the whole of China.

There is no doubt that the highlight of the month was the nation-wide celebration of Marshal Stalin's 70th birthday and the historic visit of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to Moscow. Nothing strengthens the Chinese people's confidence and hope more than the solidarity between their country and the Soviet Union.

# China In 1949<sup>(1)</sup>

## Decisive Victory Won

The first half of 1949 witnessed decisive victories gained by the People's Liberation Army. The whole of North China was liberated. And in the Huai Hai Campaign in North Kiangsu, a crushing blow was dealt to the main forces of the Kuomintang reactionary clique. Then the PLA successfully crossed the Yangtze River and drove deep into South China.



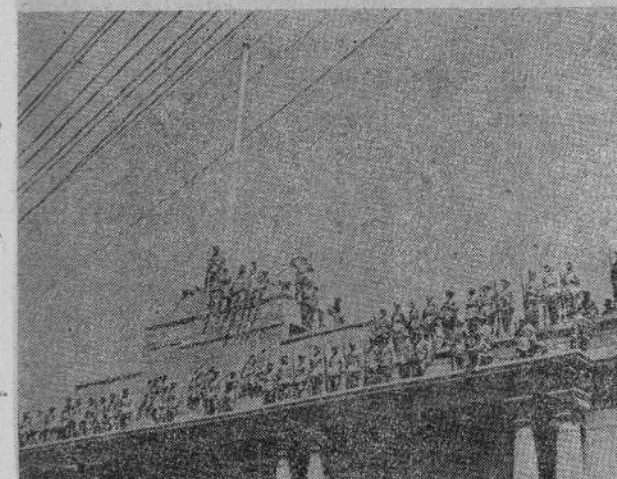
PLA entering Peking on January 31.



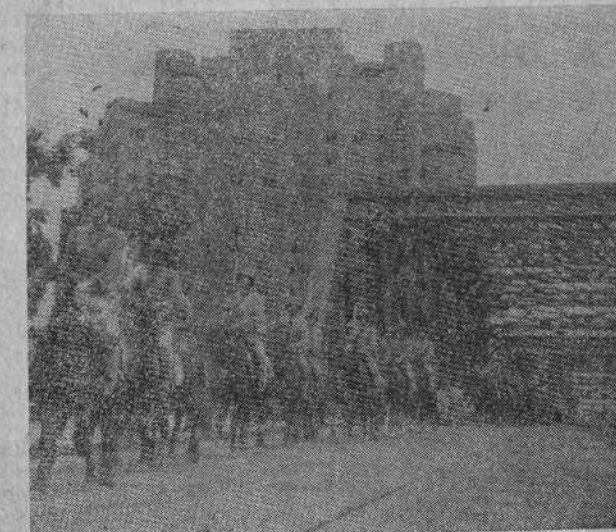
Heavy casualties inflicted on the KMT forces in the Huai Hai Campaign in January.



Crossing the Yangtze on April 20.



PLA men cheering from the roof of Chiang Kai-shek's "Presidential Mansion" in Nanking, April 23.



PLA's cavalry marching into Shanghai on May 25.



Leading figures at the preparatory committee of the Chinese People's PCC. In the centre is Chairman Mao Tse-tung and C-in-C Chu Teh (third from left, front row).



Chairman Mao opens the 1st Plenary Session of the Chinese People's PCC.



Chairman Mao proclaims, on October 1, the founding of the People's Republic of China. Right: the national flag rises for the first time amidst popular rejoicing.



Above: The Chinese People's PCC unanimously adopts the fundamental statutes of the People's Republic.



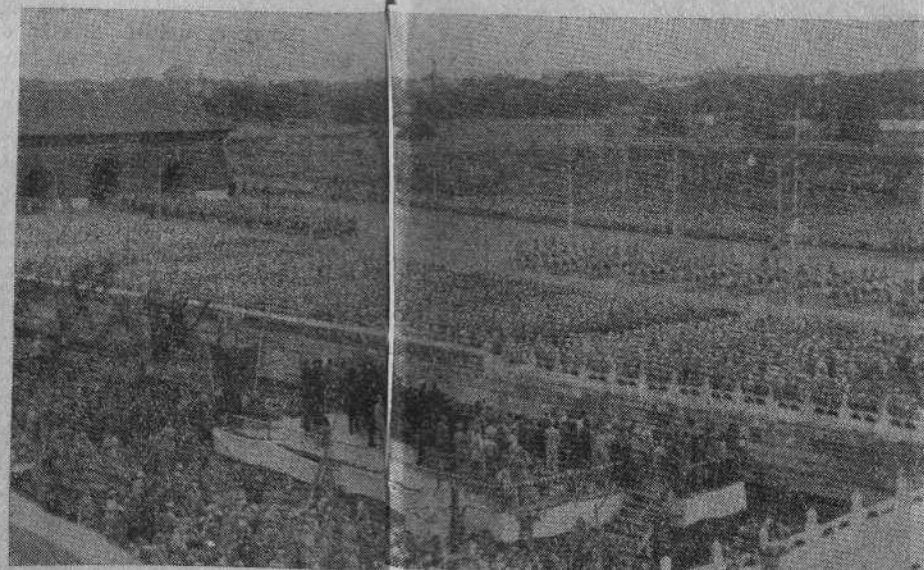
Right: A peasant delegate to the Chinese People's PCC casting her ballot during the election of the Central People's Gov't Council.

### China In 1949(2)

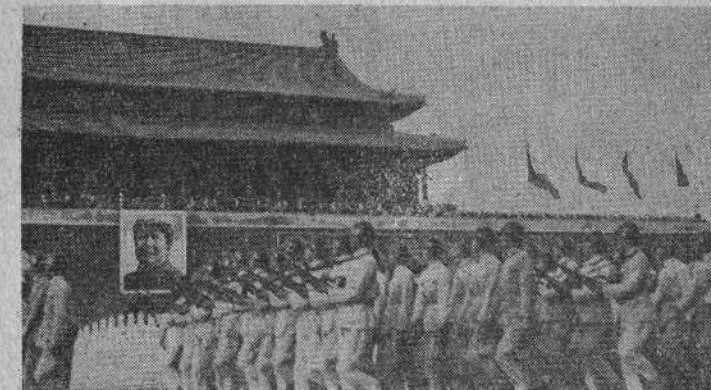
## A Nation Is Born

On the political front a preparatory committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was inaugurated on June 15. On September 21, the Chinese People's PCC was convened, which, representing the entire nation, adopted the Common Program, the Organic Law of the Central People's Government and the Organic Law of the Chinese People's PCC, and elected Mao Tse-tung as Chairman of the Central People's Government.

Prompt recognition was extended to the new-born Republic by the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies in the West and East.



In Peking, a mammoth rally of 300,000 celebrates the birth of the People's Republic on October 1.



Men of the PLA marching past the review stand at the October 1 celebration.



Soviet Ambassador N. V. Roshchin presenting credentials to Chairman Mao. On the left stands Premier Chou En-lai, concurrently Foreign Minister.

China In 1949(3)

## Struggle for World Peace

During the past three months, three conferences of international importance were held in Peking. They were: the China Conference for Defending World Peace, the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries and the Asian Women's Conference.

Liu Shao-chi, Honorary President of the All-China Federation of Labour, stands arm in arm with Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.



Saillant at a mass rally celebrating the success of the trade union conference.



Chinese youth presenting floral tribute at the China Conference for Defending World Peace on October 2.

## Wipe Out the KMT Remnants

As the year ends, the war also draws to a close on the Chinese mainland. The PLA has liberated the whole of Northwest China including Sinkiang, the whole of South China and Southwest China.



The Asian Women's Conference opens on December 10.



Procession in Chungking celebrating the city's liberation.

# 1949 — THE YEAR OF VICTORY

Liu Tsun-chi

1949 wound up China's long past of sufferings. It also wrote the first page of an entirely new history of the Chinese nation.

The days are gone when the Chinese people were trampled like ants under the heels of imperialist invaders. The days are gone when the students and hunger-stricken masses were mowed down on the streets by U.S.-made carbines. The days are gone when hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals were imprisoned and beaten in concentration camps.

Gone, forever gone, are those days of darkness.

Under the leadership of the great Mao Tse-tung, and of the Chinese Communist Party, one quarter of mankind have stood up. They have wrested into their own hands the power to shape their future.

The great victory of the Chinese people was achieved in a year when post-war international reaction, led by the American imperialists, had reached its high tide. By throwing off the shackles of foreign domination that had held them in bondage for more than a century, the Chinese people have defeated the American imperialists' plan for turning Asia, especially China, into a permanent colony and a large war base against the U.S.S.R. and all the peace-loving nations of the world. As a result of the birth of the People's Republic of China, the strength of the international forces of peace and democracy has been immeasurably increased.

It was in this decisive year that the heroic People's Liberation Army put an end to the last and most tyrannical dynasty in China's history, the Kuomintang regime sustained by American imperialism. With the annihilation of three million of Chiang Kai-shek's troops during the course of the past twelve months, virtually all organized enemy armed resistance has been stamped out on the China mainland.

Twelve months ago, on New Year's Day, 1949, the PLA was still at the ice-bound threshold of Peking. Today its victorious banners are floating proudly in the sub-tropical breezes of South Sea shores. After the people's mighty forces, with a series of well-timed blows, had knocked out the remaining strongholds of reaction in South, West and Southwest, the whole of China was liberated except for Taiwan, Tibet and several coastal cities on Hainan.

In fact, ever since the Battle of Huai-Hai, which ended early in January, 1949, with the annihilation of 600,000 KMT troops, the War of Liberation has been, in terms of strategy, purely a mopping-up campaign. The grand Yangtze crossing, the liberation of Nanking on April 23 and of Shanghai on

May 25 amounted to a *coup de grace* for the prostrate empire of the Big Four Families. Not since then has the reaction been able to form any real defence line. The reactionary forces crumbled before the advancing PLA like a house of cards. Uprisings of the KMT armies led by their commanders, notably Cheng Chien and Chen Ming-jen in Hunan, Tung Chi-wu in Suiyuan, Tao Chih-yueh in Sinkiang, Lu Han in Yunnan and Liu Wen-hui in Sikang, accelerated the downfall of the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Today the People's Central Government administers a vast territory covering nearly ten million kilometres. Never before in Chinese history has so much of China been under one unified administration. Not even at the apex of his power did Chiang Kai-shek exert real control over the Northeast, Sikang and the Northwestern provinces.

The unification of the Chinese nation was at long last achieved in 1949. This could only have been brought about through the sweeping victory of the People's Liberation Army under the correct leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Mao Tse-tung, with the support of the broad masses of the people.

In order to consolidate this victory, to carry the revolutionary war to the end, to suppress the remnants of counter-revolution within the country and to build a free and prosperous country, the Chinese people had to set up their own state power — the people's democratic dictatorship. As it was not yet possible to convene a national congress while the war was still on, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was convened in September, 1949, to create the People's Republic of China. The 662 delegates at the Chinese People's PCC, who elected the Central People's Government Council, represented all the democratic political parties and groups, the national organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural workers, as well as national minorities, progressive elements among the national bourgeoisie, the overseas Chinese and religious groups. Only a government with such mass representation could have the broad popular basis necessary for leading national reconstruction throughout the whole country.

The solid mass support behind the Central People's Government headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung was graphically demonstrated on October 1, 1949. On this historic day which marked the founding of a new People's Republic, the people throughout the nation gathered in huge rallies to raise their shouts of joy as the new national flag was hoisted, the Five-Starred Red Flag. In Peking alone, 300,000 people packed the square before Tien An Men (The

Gate of Heavenly Peace) to cheer their revered leaders.

The people of rejuvenated China are no longer disunited like a heap of sand. Nation-wide workers' organizations have rapidly been founded or expanded under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Labour. During the months prior to the convening of the Chinese People's PCC, hardly a day passed without some national congress being held in Peking. After the adjournment of the All-China Student Congress on March 6, the All-China Student Federation was formed, which now has a membership of ten million. Next came the First All-China Women's Congress, attended by 411 representatives coming from all over the country, which opened on March 24. The Congress formed the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, with a present membership of twenty million, which is the first national organization for Chinese women. The All-China Youth Congress that opened on May 4 culminated in the inauguration of the All-China Democratic Youth Federation. Professional workers, such as writers and artists, educators, scientists in various fields, engineers, journalists, etc., have all formed their own national associations. Marxist or non-Marxist, all are united by the common desire to build up a new, independent and democratic country.

Popular unity is the basis upon which not only the state apparatus but all the lower levels of the political structure are erected. It is true that popular elections by universal franchise, as stipulated in the Common Program passed by the Chinese People's PCC, have not been carried out in all the provinces, especially the newly liberated ones. Time must be allowed for the complete eradication of the reactionary forces, the carrying out of land reform throughout the country and the still more extensive organization of the people. Nevertheless, People's Representatives Conferences or People's Congresses have been held in most of the liberated cities and districts to elect their local governments. In the older liberated areas, for instance, throughout the whole of the Northeast, popularly elected governments have already begun to function.

The People's China did not wait until the end of war to embark on various projects of construction. The general policies for carrying out national reconstruction were laid down in the Common Program of the Chinese People's PCC. They are, as stated in this document, to "develop production and bring about a prosperous economy" by eliminating feudal and colonial exploitation, to build "a people's economy of New Democracy", and to "steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial one". For this purpose, the state-owned, cooperatively-owned and privately-owned enterprises shall be coordinated into an integrated economy under the leadership of state-owned economy. Land reform shall be carried out in all areas.

Efforts along these lines have already reaped noticeable results.

On the basis of the confiscated enterprises formerly belonging to the KMT bureaucratic capital, a state-owned sector of economy has emerged and is assuming an increasingly vital role in the economic life of the country.

In all the older liberated areas the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system has been transformed into a system of peasant land ownership by enforcing the principle of "Land to the Tiller".

Over 90 percent of China's railways, demolished by twelve years of almost constant war, have been put back into operation.

Out of the debris left by KMT destruction, the people in the Northeast have not only restored all the major branches of economy, but in many cases they already raised production above the level prevailing before Japan's surrender. The creativeness of workers who are conscious of being the new masters of the state has been spectacularly demonstrated in the restoration of railways. Two days after the Yangtze crossing, for instance, rail traffic was resumed between the extreme north of Manchuria and Pukow, on the northern bank of the Yangtze River across from Nanking, in spite of the fact that many bridges along the southern section of the railway had been destroyed by the retreating enemy.

Prompt resumption of inland transportation, plus the policy of "mutual aid between the cities and the countryside" had a revitalizing effect upon the towns rendered moribund by imperialist and feudal exploitation. A notable example is Shanghai. This fourth largest city of the world, in defiance of the American-supported KMT coastal blockade and bombing from the air, is being steadily transformed from a port which depended for its very existence on products and even foodstuff imported from abroad into a productive centre geared to the needs of a balanced and self-supporting economy for the whole of China.

On the cultural front, the achievements during 1949 were no less noteworthy than those on the political and economic fronts.

All schools in liberated cities have reopened while primary schools and village schools have multiplied. Special classes for workers have been opened in most factories for technical as well as for literacy training.

Popular dramas and moving pictures, based on realistic themes, have been substituted for the escapist nonsense with which Hollywood drugs movie-goers.

Books of Marxist classics, Mao Tse-tung's writings and novels telling stories of the Chinese revolutionary struggles were sold in millions of copies, only limited by the supply of newsprint.

These achievements could never have been made without the staunch determination of the Chinese people to stamp out imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, united and prosperous country of their own.

The Chinese people's great victory which culminated in the establishment of their Central People's Government were widely acclaimed by friendly nations. Immediately following the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, it established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Korea, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Germany and Albania. This, in turn, spurred the Chinese people to redouble their efforts in reconstructing their nation into a bulwark of the world peace camp.

Of especial significance in this respect is the tremendous unity achieved at the two international conferences held in Peking during the closing weeks of the year. These were the Asian and Australasian Trade Union Conference, under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the Asian Women's Conference, convened by the Women's International Democratic Federation. Both conferences came to a unanimous conclusion that the road which had led the Chinese people to victory was, in essence, the road to liberation for all the oppressed peoples in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Crowning the successes of the Chinese revolutionary struggles during the past year was the great event of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's visit to

Moscow. The news brought great exultation to all the Chinese people, who staged a nationwide jubilee in celebration of Stalin's seventieth birthday. The event signified the ever closer solidarity between the peoples of the two great nations, China and the U.S.S.R. It was a living expression of the change in the world balance of power in favour of the forces of peace and democracy, to which the victory of the Chinese people was undoubtedly a tremendous contribution.

On looking back, the year of 1949 will certainly be a monumental year in the history of China, as monumental as the year 1917 for the U.S.S.R. This was the year of Chinese liberation from five thousand years of feudal rule and more than one hundred years of imperialist domination. It was the year of defeat for the imperialist camp of war, and especially for American imperialism. It was the year of victory for the world camp of peace.

On the basis of the victory achieved, the 475 million people of China will follow their great leader, Mao Tse-tung, in carrying on their revolutionary struggles, in forging unity with the U.S.S.R. and all the peace-loving peoples of the world, and in thwarting all imperialist schemes for war or intervention.

The Chinese people face the new year ahead with faith in Mao Tse-tung's words: "If only we uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our international friends, we shall be everlastingly triumphant."



They (People's Army) are coming!

by Chang Yan-shih

# Wan Sui, Wan Wan Sui!

— Stalin's 70th Birthday Warmly Celebrated in China —

by Lao Duane

"It is a great event that mankind has Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well." So said Chairman Mao Tse-tung ten years ago when the Chinese people were celebrating Stalin's 60th birthday in Yanan, then citadel of Chinese democracy.

For the progressive humanity led by Stalin, things have been going on well indeed. As the world celebrated the great leader's 70th birthday on Dec. 21, 1949, lasting peace and people's democracy was closer to all mankind than ever. As China celebrated this historic day, she had freed herself from the clutches of feudalism and imperialism and embarked on the way to prosperity and happiness. That is why Dec. 21 was so much more than a formal occasion in China; it was a great popular festival of peace and democracy. Across the breadth and width of the nation, people joined their voices on this day in wishing "Stalin Wan Sui, Wan Wan Sui!" (Literally, "ten thousand years and a thousand million years to Stalin," which is the Chinese equivalent for "Long live Stalin.")

## A Gala Day

Peking, the people's capital, witnessed a multitude of celebration activities. The city woke up early in the morning of Dec. 21 to the beating of drums and gongs. Red flags and banners waved here and there in the hazy winter sun. The main thoroughfares were more crowded than usual. The city was in festive garb and holiday spirit reigned.

Processions of workers, soldiers, government employees and students followed one after another on the streets, heading for the Soviet Embassy to offer their greetings and present their gifts for Comrade Stalin. They carried huge portraits of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, national flags and scarlet

banners and placards. Many of them were clad in colourful costumes and did *Yangko* dances along the city's crowded avenues. Every now and then gaily-decorated floats were seen moving slowly through the streets.

The Soviet Embassy, in the former "Legation Quarters," was the centre of celebrations. The adjacent lanes were jammed with spectators from morning to dusk. The roof of the Embassy building was be-decked with red flags. Above the centre of the main entrance was a big portrait of Stalin topped with a shining red star. On either side draped long scarlet streamers.

The first group of congratulators arrived at the Embassy by nine o'clock in the morning. And after them, a steady stream of men and women, young and old, kept surging to the Embassy till four o'clock in the afternoon. Among them were white-haired elders and toddling children, peasants and labourers, renowned professors and scholars. Altogether some 20,000 people representing 200-odd organizations joined the greeting processions.

Songs, band music, the beating of drums and gongs, cheers and applause and shouts of "Wan Sui, Wan Wan Sui" filled the Embassy's open courtyard. A. P. Shibaev, Charge d'Affaires in the absence of Ambassador Roshchin, stood with other Soviet officials in a reception line to welcome the guests. In response to the greetings of "Long Live Stalin" and "Long Live the Friendship and Cooperation Between the Chinese and the Soviet Peoples," they often answered in Chinese: "Long Live Chairman Mao" and "Long Live the People's Republic of China."

A wide variety of gifts were piled up before the Embassy building. Among them were exquisitely embroidered Chinese satin scrolls with inscriptions such as "Wishing

you an age as long as the Southern Mountains" or with pictures of the god of longevity.

A Peking citizen presented a small jade seal on which he had engraved by hand the characters "Longevity to Stalin" on the bottom, while on one side he had carved a 240-character eulogy of Stalin and on the other, the 668-character messages exchanged between Foreign Minister Chou En-lai and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Gromyko when diplomatic relations were established between these two countries. "This is an article I dearly treasure, so I present it to Stalin, the man I love and respect," he said.

The All-China Federation of Labour presented a cane on which were varnished 100 of the Chinese character "longevity." The workers of a winery presented two 100-catty barrels of wine that had aged for one hundred years. The workers of a porcelain shop presented six specially-made "longevity bowls." One of the workers remarked that they planned to send Stalin six more bowls on his next birthday so that the great leader would see how they had improved the quality of their products.

Other gifts included an autograph with 200,000 signatures presented by the Peking Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a scroll presented by the National Peking University with a long verse titled "Stalin, to you belongs the most beautiful poem."

In the suburbs of Peking, a celebration rally was held by People's Liberation Army units stationed in the vicinity of the capital. After Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh delivered a brief speech, bouquets and gifts were presented in front of a huge portrait of Stalin. At the same time, a number of planes of the People's Air Force appeared in the sky and showered the crowd with coloured posters. Deafening cheers of

"Stalin Wan Sui" swept across the ground.

At 3:30 in the afternoon, a grand cocktail party was given by the Soviet Embassy which was attended by some 1,000 persons, including many ranking government officials and the Soviet nationals residing in Peking. An evening party was sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association at which speeches were made by a number of government leaders and gifts were again presented by various democratic parties and popular organizations.

Offices and institutions, public and private, also held celebration parties. Distant beating of gongs and drums and cheers of "Wan Sui" sounded late into the night.

## The Best Gift

Dec. 21, the day of so much popular rejoicing, came as the climax of a full week of celebrations. During this week, people throughout the nation had unrestrainedly demonstrated their love, respect and gratitude for Stalin, avowed their adherence to his teachings and displayed their profound interest in his theories. These were a gift by far the most valuable though less tangible.

In Peking, a series of six lectures on Stalin was sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, each drawing a huge audience. At the same time, an exhibition of Stalin's works and pictures was held by the SSFA. It also attracted large number of visitors. The magazine "Sino-Soviet Friendship" put out a special issue which contained many articles by prominent leaders on Stalin. These articles were widely reprinted throughout the country. One of the most salient pieces was a review of Stalin's guidance to the Chinese revolutionaries during the past decades, which was titled "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution." It was written by Chen Po-ta, an outstanding Chinese revolutionary theoretician. This article was assigned as the subject matter for study and discussion in many public and private organizations.

The press devoted the bulk of its space to dispatches reporting the

celebration activities at home and abroad as well as articles and verses written in commemoration of this grand occasion. Every newspaper front-paged Stalin's picture twice or even thrice in one week. The broadcasting stations also arranged special programmes everyday. In the movie theatres, Soviet films about Stalin were shown. Outside each box-office there was always a long queue waiting, as a schoolboy put it, "to congratulate Stalin on the screen."

The busiest place in the capital city was perhaps the big bookstores. All of them held a sale on works by and about Stalin. From morning to dusk the stores were thronged with customers. Many people waited for almost two hours before they were served and bought the books they wanted. The best-sellers were Stalin's biographies, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and "Problems on Leninism" by Stalin, and the "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)" The Hsin Hua Bookstore alone sold over 130,000 volumes of such books in the one-week sale.

In front of the Hsin Hua Bookstore a large piece of satin was laid on a table for the customers to sign their names as a birthday greeting to Stalin. A little boy picked up the Chinese brush and wrote his name in big bold characters. "Are they not too big?" somebody asked. "Comrade Stalin is now seventy, and that's pretty old. I want to make sure that he sees my name and gets my greetings," he explained.

In addition to all these celebrations, some people decided to offer their congratulations directly to Stalin by mail. Three hundred letters were sent to Comrade Stalin by a battalion of the People's Liberation Army. The soldiers rewrote their letters over and over again before they finally sealed the specially-selected envelopes which were addressed to "Comrade Stalin, Moscow." One of them wrote: "We are determined to intensify our own training and make ourselves well-prepared. As a greeting to you on your 70th birthday, we shall hasten the liberation of Formosa and all China."

Through newspaper columns, many common people paid their tribute to Stalin with plain but forceful words. They identified the great leader with peace, democracy, prosperity and happiness. They thanked him for his guidance which had rendered their emancipation possible. A junior high school student wrote: "Whenever I hear or see the word 'Stalin,' there emerges in my mind a picture of a kind old man just like my grandpa." A street cleaner wrote: "For the interests of the world's labouring people, for the happiness and peace of the entire humanity, I wish you (Stalin) an eternal youth." A peasant woman wrote: "Under the banner of Stalin, we women have acquired equal status . . . Stalin, your name lights up every corner of the world. We shall not leave you for a moment. We shall follow you for ever."

## The Voice of A Nation

People in other parts of the country celebrated as warmly as their compatriots in Peking. In Shanghai, a mass rally of 2,000 was held on December 21 and the Shanghai Branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association was inaugurated on the same day with a membership of 165,000. Among the gifts presented by the metropolis' populace, there was a huge portrait of Stalin embroidered with threads of eighty-odd different colours.

From Tsitsihar in the northern Manchuria to Canton in South China, from Nanking, Shanghai in the East to Lanchow and Tihua in the Northwest, mass rallies, parties and lecture meetings were held on this grand occasion. Even in newly liberated Chungking, the local populace had also organized celebration activities.

"Stalin Wan Sui, Wan Wan Sui" was the shout of the entire nation. It was, in fact, more than a greeting. It was a hope—the hope for a better world toward which mankind is marching under the leadership of Stalin. It was a determination—the determination to fight and defeat anyone who conspires against the cause which Stalin symbolizes.

## Three Different Asias, One Common Struggle

by Lung Men

For the first time in history, the voices of the women of Asia were able to join in one voice—in different languages, of course—to express their sufferings and aspirations. For the first time in history, the women of Asia, coming from homes in the far north and from tropical islands, from the Pacific and the Middle East, were able to gather together under one roof to exchange their combat experiences and to hammer out a program for concerted action against imperialism.

Assembled in Peking, capital of New China, were 165 delegates from fourteen countries representing nearly 500 million women in Asia. Also present at the Conference were 33 fraternal delegates from France, Czechoslovakia, Algeria, Holland, Cuba, Great Britain, the United States, Ivory Coast and Madagascar. During the 7-day session between December 10 to 16, 1949, four reports were given and forty speeches made by various delegates.

The climax of the meeting came when Nadejda Parfenova, head of the Soviet delegation, described the happy and contented life that the Soviet women and children have been leading since the great October Revolution of 1917. "The women of Central Asian Soviet Republics along with all women of the Soviet Union," she said, "are building hand in hand with men Communism which is the finest form of human society. They take part in the work of the government. They work at Socialist enterprises and collective farms. They create their own culture which is national in form and Socialist in contents. . . . They have for their children a network of crèches, kindergartens, children's clubs, palaces, theatres, sanatoria and health resorts." Her speech was repeated

ly interrupted by long bursts of applause. The delegates who heard her were enthralled with the prospect of a society in which the majority live in joy and happiness. This is one of the three Asias, the Asia of the Soviet Union. There are two other Asias, the Asia of People's Democracies and the Asia still under colonial oppression. To the women still under the yoke of feudalism and imperialism, the Soviet Asia is the Asia of tomorrow.

The women of New China, Mongolia, North Korea and the Liberated Areas of Viet-Nam, having freed themselves from imperialist domination and feudal clutches, are now masters of their own destiny. The delegates from these four countries took the floor, one after another, to tell the Conference how the women in their respective lands fought or are fighting with their enemies on the battlefield and on the production front. They told how, after victory has been won, they are shaping a new society of abundance for all with the same hands that had hitherto toiled merely for the comfort of a few wealthy families. This is the Asia of the People's Democracies. This is the Asia on the march towards progress and civilization, leaving behind it a nightmarish past.

The picture of the third Asia was depicted by delegates from such colonial or dependent countries as India, Indonesia, Burma, Iran, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Malaya and Siam. The many stories of starvation, slavery, degradation and ignorance they enumerated revealed the ruthless exploitation of the foreign imperialists, who thrive on the blood of the oppressed women. When the audience learned how the Indian peasant wives starved in the midst of bountiful

harvests, they demanded the reason. When they heard of the premature death of the toiling women in Iran caused by overwork in filthy tanneries or in dusty wool-scouring shops, they seethed with anger. When they were informed that fifteen percent of the young Japanese women were sold to the brothels and gambling houses, they were intensely indignant. And when they learned how poverty-stricken mothers in colonial countries were forced to watch helplessly as their beloved children died of hunger and illness, many mothers in the audience could not restrain their tears. This is the fate of the present-day women living in a medieval Asia. But the colonial Asia will soon become a thing of the past, an Asia of yesterday.

And so, the three different Asias decided to meet in Peking to unite themselves in a struggle against their common enemy—imperialism. The consensus of the Conference was that it is the imperialists, especially those of America, who have been agitating for a reactionary war against the Soviet Union, so as to wipe out all hope of progress. It is they who are plotting for a comeback in China, and who are still attempting to obstruct the complete liberation of Viet-Nam. It is also they, as all delegates pointed out time and again, who contrive to hold the colonial Asia in perpetual subjugation. It follows, the Conference declared, that the imperialists must be driven out from Asia once and for all, for only then can all the people of Asia live and grow prosperous together as one big family.

The Conference has immeasurably strengthened the unity among the women of Asia in their common



struggle for a decent life and a better to-morrow.

The presence of fraternal delegates from countries outside of Asia, as well as the hundreds of congratulatory messages pouring to the assembly from every corner of the earth, testified to the fact that the women of Asia are not fighting a solitary battle against the camp of aggression and imperialism headed by Wall Street.

No, they are by no means alone. The women delegates from the United States in unequivocal terms condemned the imperialist forces in their own country "which constitute the greatest threat to the peace and happiness of the world." The fraternal delegate from Great Britain demanded that British imperialism should be held responsible "for the anguish and suppression of countless generations of people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries."

There were many vivid demonstrations of mutual friendship and affection that ignores national boundaries. Delegates from warring nations clasped each other warmly and gave pledges of mutual support. Indonesian and Dutch delegates exchanged gifts as a token of their friendship, as did the Viet-Nameese and French delegates. Dutch fraternal delegate Lips Odinot told Lillah Suripno from the fighting Indonesia: "It is our duty and task to strengthen our activity against colonial war and to support the Indonesian women and people in their struggle for freedom." French fraternal delegate Jeannette Vermeersch's voice quivered with emotion when she declared: "The people understand how unjust and criminal the war against the people of Viet-Nam is." She added: "People who oppress others cannot themselves be free." With tears in her eyes, Ho Thi Minh from free Viet-Nam thanked the French women for their support to the liberation war of her people.

All those present at the meeting were deeply moved by these touch-

ing scenes. They saw national barriers collapse and racial prejudices melt away in the face of true internationalism. They saw the line-up of the enslaved, ir-

respective of race, colour and belief, against the sadistic imperialists. And they heard the footsteps of mankind marching towards freedom and a lasting peace.

## Cultural World

### The Birth of New China

— A Documentary Film

The documentary film entitled *The Birth of New China* is a production of the Peking Film Studio. It is the work of forty cameramen, and, as edited by Kao Wei-tsin, runs forty-five minutes. It provides a true record of a great historical event—the "ten days" in 1949 that once more "shook the whole world".

The film begins on September 21, 1949, the opening day of the Chinese People's PCC. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, is shown making the opening address at the conference. His voice is powerful and the sound recording is excellent.

The camera traces the events of those historic days in which a new China was created. From the conference hall it takes us to the ceremony held in Peking on October 1st to inaugurate the new government. The spacious square before the Tien An (Heavenly Peace) Gate is densely crowded with three hundred thousand persons gathered to celebrate the historic occasion, turning the area into a sea of red flags. Before this vast hushed audience, Chairman Mao reads the Proclamation on the founding of the People's Central Government.

This film occupies a unique position in the history of Chinese filmdom, and it will also remain one of the few treasures of the world. If the birth of the new China is an event of first magnitude, then this film, a living record of that event, will inevitably become one of the treasures handed down to posterity. It has recorded also the rejoicing of the millions of Chinese people throughout the country, in the distant Mongolian grasslands and in Harbin, Changchun, Mukden, Tientsin, Tsinan, Hankow, Nanking, Hangchow and Shanghai. Those who worked on the film can indeed take pride in the fact that they have ably reflected the feelings of the broad masses of the Chinese people, a difficult task which required the highest artistic and technical skill.

### Magazines of Verse

Two magazines in Chinese devoted to poetry are appearing this January: the *People's Poetry* published by poets in Shanghai and the *Poetry Of The Masses* published by poets in Peking. The latter incorporates the *Poetry & Bugle Call*, a small but militant poetry magazine which had a wide circulation even before Peking was liberated.

### Scientists Annual Meeting

On December 10, 1949, ten academic societies, including astronomy, geology, physics, chemistry, meteorology, zoology, botany, soil science and medicine, held a joint meeting in Nanking lasting for two days. Various papers were read and research projects discussed. The central topic of the meeting was how to popularize science among the people.

# From Beggar To District Leader

Fu Lien



"In Liberated China, it does not matter whether you were formerly a beggar or a scholar. Your position in society only depends upon how well you serve the people."

When Han Shiu-tsung made this comment, she was not expressing some abstract principle. She was stating a fact—a very concrete fact embodied in the experiences of her own life.

Han Shiu-tsung herself had been born to a beggar family and for the first twenty years of her life, she had lived chiefly by begging. Today she is the deputy district leader of Chen Wu district, Po Hsin county, in northwestern Shantung province. The people she serves in this capacity have shown her their affection and gratitude by heaping many honours upon her—they have elected her a model district leader, made her a member of the county government council and sent her to Peking as a delegate to the First All-China Women's Congress.

If Han Shiu-tsung's district had not been liberated back in 1940, she would probably have starved to death long ago.

Shiu-tsung's mother had been brought up as a slave girl in a landlord's family, and her father was a landless peasant labourer who generally could only find work during peak farming seasons. As a child, Shiu-tsung never knew what it was to taste wheat flour or meat, not even at New Year's. In the best of times, the family lived on a diet of bran with a few vegetables. In the worst of times, the family lived by begging from door to door, getting hand-outs from peasants only slightly better off than themselves.

Looking back, it seems to Shiu-tsung as if most of her childhood consisted of the bad times. For instance, there was the time of the big flood when she was eleven. Her mother fled with her three daughters to a neighbouring region where they resumed their begging.

But since the whole area was suffering from the effects of the flood, the peasants had little to share with the streams of refugees pouring over the countryside. After twenty-one days, the four of them had become so starved that their heads swam and their eyes blurred. In desperation, Shiu-tsung went to the riverbank and dug up weeds growing in the water. When she returned, her mother and sisters were so hungry that they consumed the whole basketful of weeds without waiting to cook them. Seeing the children wolfishly stuffing the slimy plants into their mouths, the mother turned aside and wept. Shiu-tsung was not old enough then to understand what had suddenly made her mother start to cry.

A poor family cannot afford to feed a grown-up girl. When Shiu-tsung was sixteen, her mother sold her as a bride to a family in Bien Chia village. Her husband was mentally deranged, a man twenty-one years her senior.

When Shiu-tsung heard that she had been sold into marriage with an idiot, she burst into wails of horror and grief, insisting that she would rather die. Her mother tried to comfort her, saying:

"Do not think your mother has no feelings and doesn't love you. You will have a much better life in another home, and you will never have to hold a beggar's staff in your hand again."

Shiu-tsung understood the choice confronting her and her family. Seeing her mother begin to weep, she bit her lip and walked out of her home.

But when Shiu-tsung entered her husband's household, it seemed as if she had leaped into hell. The

mother-in-law had died long before. The father-in-law was an old man with little authority in his own household. An elder son and his wife ruled the home, and both were mean and selfish tyrants. They piled all kinds of work on the new daughter-in-law without even giving her sufficient to eat in return. If any small matter aroused their displeasure, they goaded the idiot husband into beating her. On many an occasion, her body was one mass of bruises and welts.

The husband himself was not a bad sort, in his stupid and childlike way. He beat her only because he dared not disobey his brother and sister-in-law. If the beating caused her to cry, he would cry too. Sometimes he even refused to beat her, which brought the elder couple's rage down on his own head. Three times in the course of such scenes, he leaped into the well in an attempt to commit suicide.

Finally the day came when Shiu-tsung rebelled against working as a slave in a family where she did not even get enough to eat in return for her labours. When the husband and father-in-law tried to stand up for her, the enraged couple drove all three of them from the house. By way of dividing the household, the elder brother gave them two *tou*\* of coarse grain and 1.9 mow of worn-out land.

Han Shiu-tsung made up her mind to earn a living for her husband and father-in-law. She could not till the land because she had no seed or implements, much less any knowledge of farming. Her field would also have required a great deal of fertilizer, and how could she afford to buy it? So she borrowed two silver dollars as capital to get started in spinning thread and weaving cloth. But in the old society, even though there might be one hundred ways to earn a living, not one was open to the poor. By the time spring came, the money she had earned could

\* A *tou* is one-tenth of a picul.

hardly pay the interest on the loan. She turned to the left and then to the right, but she only sank deeper into debt. Finally there was nothing to do but take up her stick and start begging again.

Misfortunes continued to sweep over the land. The Japanese invaded North China, penetrating into her area. Then drought followed by floods brought famine in their wake. With her husband and father-in-law, she fled to the south.

"Up until this time," Shiu-tsung later remarked, "it seemed as if I had never had one good day in my life. Begging is terribly degrading, and I often went for days without eating."

## II

In the spring of 1940, Bien Chia village was liberated by the Eighth Route Army. When the news reached Han Shiu-tsung, she returned to the village with her family, which now included her infant daughter.

Not long after Shiu-tsung's return, several cadres of the people's government called upon her. They helped her get seed and farm implements to till the 1.9 mow of land which she had received from her husband's family.

"In the old days," one of the cadres told her, "the poor toiled all their lives and when they died, they could not even afford to have a grave-mound. Today, if we work hard, we shall have enough to eat and wear. No one need become a beggar. If you have any production difficulties, the government will help you solve them."

When the planting season was over, the government also helped her resume spinning and weaving. This time she was not shackled by a burdensome interest rate and so she started to save up some money. Most important, as she later remarked, she was given the opportunity to buy back her sense of dignity with labour. The day finally came when she felt such confidence in the future that she took her old dog-bitten beggar's staff and used it as kindling for the stove.

In 1942, when the democratic government called upon the people to increase production, Han Shiu-tsung threw herself into the task of organizing the village women into a production group to do spinning, weaving and shoe-making. At first she could only persuade six women to join her in this enterprise. The government loaned them cloth with which they made fifty pairs of shoes. When the finished shoes were turned back to the government, the women received a profit of twenty-odd catties of grain per pair. This stimulated so much general interest in the village that the shoe-making section soon increased to seventeen members.

When a Women's Association was formed in the village, Shiu-tsung was elected its first president. Not long afterwards, she was elected a labour heroine at a district-wide mass meeting, held at the nearby county seat.

In the autumn of 1944, the women's production group which Shiu-tsung had organized joined the Ta Shing Cheng cooperative in a body. At first they wove canvas cloth and material for army leg bindings. By the end of the first month, the group had netted a profit of \$170, enough to distribute sixty catties of grain to each member. This was graphic evidence to show the other poor women in the village that they could improve their livelihood through production. Many of these women came to Shiu-tsung for help in planning their own production projects. Meanwhile she also went about the neighbouring villages and publicized the advantages of organized production.

From this time on, the prestige of Shiu-tsung's production group increased steadily. Six months later, in the spring of 1945, the membership had risen to seventy persons, organized into sub-sections of twelve persons each. And by this time, three-quarters of the village women had joined the Women's Association.

Women's social status in the community already showed marked improvements. As Shiu-tsung noted:

"Daughters-in-law were formerly the most oppressed of women. But now, since they could support themselves by their own production, the attitude of the men and their mothers-in-law became quite different. Now daughters-in-law were treated very politely. The mothers-in-law sometimes even asked them for money and clothing."

In 1945, Han Shiu-tsung was named a region-wide labour heroine and attended the Congress of Model Heroes of Pohai Area (the area covering northwestern Shantung).

## III

One afternoon in April, 1946, when Han Shiu-tsung was at home weaving, the village head brought her a paper with a large red seal on it. To this day, Shiu-tsung has not forgotten a character written on that sheet of paper. The document read:

"Comrade Han Shiu-tsung is hereby appointed deputy district chief of Chen Wu District of Po Hsin county."

Below was the big official seal and the signature of the Commissioner of Pohai Area. She was speechless with pleasure. To think that she, a woman who had begged for twenty years, could become a district leader!

The last few days before Shiu-tsung left her village for her new post were filled with a round of meetings. All the various village organizations celebrated her appointment and wished her every success. Some of the women, however, could not bear the thought of parting from her and complained that the higher authorities had deprived them of their pillar of strength. Whenever Shiu-tsung heard such a remark, she severely criticised the speaker for being narrow-minded and for not considering the interests of the district as a whole.

In accepting the congratulations of her fellow-villagers, she said:

"I have been chosen as a district leader because all of you have supported me in our mutual undertakings, and therefore the higher authorities have promoted me. Since our people have laid

this heavy burden upon me, I must bear it bravely and make my work more beneficial to us all. If no one were willing to leave his home, then there would be insufficient cadres and the work of the revolution could not be carried out. We must all train ourselves to do better in the course of our work. I pledge to you that I shall learn to improve my work."

When she left on April 27th, all the inhabitants of Bien Chia village gathered to see her off. A long procession of people accompanied her all the way to the district office. They turned this into a gala occasion, beating drums and gongs and breaking into spontaneous yangko dances as they wound through the countryside. At the head of the procession were carried the three "Heroine of Production" banners which had been awarded to Han Shiu-tsung.

#### IV

Han Shiu-tsung quickly mastered her new tasks and became an able administrator. She proved to be very skillful in grasping the essence of every new movement, in explaining new tasks to the masses in such a way as to stimulate their political awareness, and in organizing the masses to carry out these tasks efficiently and promptly. Thus she was of great assistance to all the district cadres in conducting the land reform movement.

But no matter how busy Shiu-tsung was with her administrative work, she managed to find time for self-study. Within a relatively short time, she had taught herself to read and write. From that time on, she was able to delve into the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other great Marxist leaders.

In the autumn of 1947, the Kuomintang reactionaries mobilized their forces along the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway and drove northward. They overran Cheng Wu district, occupying more than fifty of its seventy villages as well as the county town of Po Hsin.

Although Shiu-tsung was then in poor health, she indignantly turned down all suggestions that she withdraw from the area to safety.

Accompanied by five armed orderlies, she continued her task of administering the district with its 35,000 inhabitants. She hid herself during the daytime, and at night went from one village to another to hold mass meetings, to organize guerrilla warfare and to mobilize support for the People's Liberation Army.

In September, when the people's troops were counter-attacking, she personally led a stretcher corps to a village about one mile from the enemy's stronghold. With this village as its base, the stretcher units went out to give first-aid along the battle-front.

When the Kuomintang campaign had been broken up and their forces driven back to the major rail centres, Han Shiu-tsung again received high praise for her work under combat conditions. Not long afterwards, she was elected a model district leader.

When preparations were under way for the Battle of Hsuehchow in the autumn of 1948, Han Shiu-tsung was assigned the job of arranging the collection and transportation of 240,000 kilograms of grain for the front. She immediately convened many mass meetings to explain the importance of the army grain shipment.

"In these days," she would tell the people, "we have plenty of land. We eat well. We have good clothes to wear and have bought plow

animals with loans from our government. We are very well off because we have liberated ourselves. Now everyone in the area must work night and day to support the People's Liberation Army so that we can bring the same prosperity to the whole of China."

The people responded to her call with such enthusiasm that the entire amount of grain was collected, loaded onto sixty large ox-carts, and sent off on the long route to the south within nine day's time. The higher officials had expected the task to take one month.

This was the way in which Han Shiu-tsung and the people of Chen Wu district made their important contribution to the great victory on the Huai Hai front, which paved the way for crossing the Yangtze River and liberating the whole of China.

Although Han Shiu-tsung's labours have brought her nationwide renown and many honours, she is fully aware that all her achievements were due primarily to the power of the masses and the leadership of the Communist Party. She has never forgotten her life under the old society. She worked just as hard then as now, yet her former efforts only resulted in a life of hunger and poverty. Thus her own experiences have proved what a world of difference lies between the old society in China and the new.



Spinning Instructor

by Li Chuin

## THE UNITED FRONT IN LITERATURE AND ART

(Continued from page 12)

During the last thirty years, the literature and art of feudalism representing the landlord class has been rejected, and the Kuomintang fascist literature and art, representing the bourgeois class, has all the time been scoffed at by writers, artists and the people throughout the country. Aside from these the main controversy in Chinese literary and artistic circles during the last thirty years occurred between the two trends: the one, representing the weak, liberal bourgeois class, being the trend of 'art for art's sake' and the other, representing the proletarian class and all revolutionary people, being the trend of 'art for the people's sake'. As a result of thirty years' struggle between these two trends, the theory of 'art for art's sake', influenced by the moribund literature and art of the capitalist countries of Europe and America has gone completely bankrupt; works based on that theory have lost their audience, and writers and artists who once were under its influence have gradually changed their outlook on life and art, and have accepted the leadership of proletarian ideology. On the other hand, literature and art under this leadership and serving the people, has grown in stature day by day, its direction has become more and more definite, and it has received warmer welcome and support from the broad masses of the people.

These historical facts explain that the Chinese bourgeois class, though bent on contesting leadership of literature and art, failed miserably because it could not unite with the people. They explain furthermore that any writer or artist, refusing to accept the leadership of the proletariat, will achieve nothing. This profoundly demonstrates the new democratic nature of the Chinese literary and artistic movement of the last thirty years.

From last thirty years' history of Chinese literature and art there is this lesson to draw which every serious writer and artist would do well to heed. Now, the great victories of the Chinese Revolution

have shaken all those who in the past were not involved in the revolution. Hence there emerges the possibility of a literary and artistic united front on a scale even more extensive than that of the past. In his speech at the Preparatory Committee Meeting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "The Chinese revolution is a revolution of the masses of the whole nation. Except for the imperialists, feudalists, bureaucratic capitalists, KMT reactionary clique and its accomplices, everyone is our friend. We have a broad and consolidated united front. Our united front is so broad that it includes the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie."

The same applies to the literary and artistic united front. Writers and artists should first of all be united politically within the scope prescribed by Chairman Mao. In the literary and artistic united front, as in the political one, there are naturally as many different viewpoints in regard to literature and art as there are different classes. The differences in outlook can by no means be immediately overcome, so they must be tolerated. First, however, in addition to achieving political unity, we must strive to unite our writers and artists on the basis of serving the people. This common goal of serving the people is to be reached through criticism and self-criticism within literary and artistic circles, and through the efforts of the writers and artists themselves.

In literary and artistic circles, just as in politics, the united front cannot be consolidated with unity alone, there must also be criticism. A healthy, democratic attitude is necessary for the literary and artistic circles. The harmful tendency of allowing oneself to criticise others but of not permitting others to criticise oneself is an expression of authoritarianism which should be scorned by our writers and artists.

The Chinese people, under the persevering and correct leadership of the Communist Party of China, has experienced during the long

period cruel struggles armed and otherwise and finally has gained nationwide victory. The remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries are being rounded up and the Chinese revolution is entering into a new historical era in which constructive political, economic, cultural and defence work will be carried out on an extensive scale. This is the time for us to consider and reconsider our tasks as writers and artists in the new era. With such an extensive united front before us we have the question of how to strive in common from now on.

1. We shall strengthen our unity and together with the people of the entire nation shall struggle for the complete defeat of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and for the construction of a new democratic People's Republic of China. We shall, by means of our literary and artistic weapons, intensify both the struggle and the construction.

2. We shall plunge deep into reality, give expression to and praise the industry, ingenuity and bravery of the masses of the people. We shall create a people's literature and art rich in thought and moral content but which the people shall dearly love to read, to look at and to listen to and through which our great mission of educating the people can be achieved. Attention shall be paid to the literary and artistic activities of the masses in the factories, in the countryside and in the armed forces, so that new writers and artists are recruited from among the masses.

3. We shall exterminate the remaining influence of obsolete, semi-imperialist and semi-feudal literature and art and oppose the influence on literature and art of the capitalist countries and of Chinese feudalism which exists among us. We shall critically accept all our literary and artistic heritage, develop all fine and progressive traditions, and absorb so far as possible the valuable experiences of the U.S.S.R., earnestly developing the organic relationship between patriotism and internationalism.



We have seen that the Chinese literary and artistic movement has long upheld the valuable tradition of uniting itself with political movements. Since the May Fourth Movement, in each historical period the main current of the Chinese literary and artistic movement has invariably been an important fighting unit in the revolutionary political movement of the time. Together with the ingenious and courageous Chinese people, many writers and artists have sacrificed their blood and lives. In the period of the Agrarian Revolution, a number of left-wing writers were slaughtered by the KMT reactionaries. In the Anti-Japanese War and the Liberation War, still more of them sacrificed themselves on the battlefield, in the prison cells and in the hands of the landlords and the secret police. We must inherit their self-sacrificing spirit, and join in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and in the construction of a new China.

Our field being literature and arts, we should take part in the struggle and in construction work not only by political action, but also with our literary and artistic productions. For thirty years, Chinese new literary and artistic movements with regard to the social status they have gained, the influence they have won over the broad progressive masses, and the contributions they have made to the Chinese revolution, have without doubt been magnificently triumphal. Nevertheless, compared with the great struggle and creativity of the Chinese people, and measured against what the people expect of us writers and artists, our achievement is hardly adequate. In order to reflect the struggle and creation of the people still better and in order to satisfy their demands, writers and artists must plunge deeper into reality and must also intensify their study. The masses of the people are the ever flowing source of literature and arts. We must be familiar with the masses of the people to be able to reflect them. We must indeed

be their students first so that we may be their teacher later. To plunge deep into reality is certainly the primary duty of every creative writer and artist. But to plunge into reality does not mean to apprehend it fully. Chinese society today is undergoing a tremendous and violent transformation. The reality confronting us is more complex than any faced by our writers and artists in the past. On the other hand, we must now assume a more responsible and serious attitude towards our readers and audience than ever before. Hence, it is imperative that we should study revolutionary theory and policy, as well as progressive theories in literature and art. Only through studying these can we grasp reality accurately and profoundly and raise the ideological level of the works we produce. We need also to improve our artistic quality and technique though all such improvement must be under correct guidance and in the direction of popularity. In improving our artistic quality and technique we must critically accept the literary and artistic heritage of China and of other countries. At the same time we must absorb what can easily be accepted by the people and what can best express them. We must leave aside whatever does not serve these purposes. We must not blindly disregard our literary and artistic heritage, domestic or foreign, nor should we blindly worship and imitate it.

In addition, there is another important thing which we must not overlook, namely, the obsolete, semi-colonial and semi-feudal literature and art and that of feudalism which has remained practically intact. They still hold sway among the backward masses of the people. We ought to penetrate into the reactionary front and wrest from them the fields which they now occupy. This must be achieved by various means. One of the effective means we have seen in liberated areas is that of writers and artists going into the countryside to reform both the obsolete forms of literature and art and their performers. Nor should we deny the fact that the influence of

the literature and art of the imperialist bourgeois countries and of Chinese feudalism still exists. These are to be combatted with criticism and self-criticism. We have to sweep all these backward influences out and away from our new literary and artistic movement. We should also pay great attention to developing literary and artistic activities among the masses in factories, in the countryside and among the armed forces. And all this is to be done for the sound development of our new literature and art, the establishment of an intimate union with the people and for the purpose of serving the people.

The main defect of the 'new literature and art created since the May Fourth Movement' is its failure to establish a sufficiently close union with the people. In the past, whenever we made mistakes we always blamed the objective conditions. Today we have everything at our disposal except the puff of east wind to start with. That east wind is nothing but our own efforts. We must create literary and artistic works which are worthy of our great nation. We must meet the demands of the broad masses of the Chinese people.

Great indeed are our tasks! But we have set our course, and are assisted by many important and successful experiences. The most important of them all is that our writers and artists must tread all possible paths to unite with the people. This should be a conscious movement of our writers and artists. Those who have in some way or other already united with the people must remember Chairman Mao Tse-tung's often repeated warning: "Do not be conceited and self-satisfied." Those writers who hitherto have not achieved such unity must attain sufficient knowledge and resoluteness to do so—do not feel dismay. Study hard with modesty and industry; and with the help of our leadership, we believe that the historical task of the writers and artists of this generation will be achieved. The works of literature and art which we create will be warmly welcomed by the people, and will be of educational value to them.

## 1949: A Chronology

### JANUARY

10th. The Hsuechow-Pengpu Area Campaign successfully concluded, with 60,000 KMT troops annihilated.

14th. Chairman Mao Tse-tung issues 8-point terms for peace talks with either the KMT government or local governments.

21st. Chiang Kai-shek announces his "temporary retirement"; his "presidency" succeeded to by Li Tsung-jen.

31st. Peiping Liberated.

### FEBRUARY

25th. Cruiser S.S. Chungking with a crew of 450 sneaks out of Shanghai for liberated China.

### MARCH

During the middle of the month, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, successfully concluded in Shihchiachuang. It is decided in the session that the centre of gravity of the Party's work should be shifted from the countryside to the cities.

1st. The All China Student Congress opens in Peiping, following which, the All China Student Federation is established.

24th. The All China Women's Congress inaugurated in Peiping, following which, the All China Democratic Women's Federation is established.

25th. The CC of the CPC and the HQs of the PLA both move into Peiping.

26th. The CC of the CPC appoints delegation of five members, headed by Chou En-lai for the peace parley beginning April 1; the KMT is notified to send delegation to Peiping for negotiations.

29th. The China Delegation, headed by Kuo Mo-jo, leaves Peiping for the World Congress for Peace in Paris.

### APRIL

1st. 6,000 student demonstrators attacked by KMT troops in Nan-king on the day of the departure of the KMT peace delegation to Peiping; 3 students killed.

1st. Peace negotiations between the delegations of the CPC and the KMT begin in Peiping.

10th. The 1st All China Congress of the New Democratic Youth League attended by 364 delegates inaugurated in Peiping.

15th. Li Tsung-jen, KMT Acting President, refuses to sign the peace agreement drafted during the negotiations in Peiping.

20th. By order of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and C-in-C Chu Teh, three columns of the PLA cross the Yangtze.

20th. British warship "Amethyst" shells the PLA positions during the river-crossing operations.

23rd. The PLA takes Nanking, the capital of KMT government.

30th. General Li Tao, spokesman for the HQs of the PLA, issues a statement on the Amethyst Incident, demanding apologies and indemnity from the British government.

### MAY

3rd. The PLA takes Hangchow, provincial capital of Chekiang.

4th. The All China Youth Congress opens in Peiping with 430 delegates, following which, the All China Federation of Democratic Youth is established.

16th. Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang, provincial capital of Hupeh, liberated.

20th. Sian, capital of Shensi Province, liberated.

22nd. Nanchang, provincial capital of Kiangsi, liberated.

27th. Shanghai liberated.

30th. The All China Federation of Labour appoints a delegation of 26 headed by Liu Ning-yi to attend the 2nd World Trade Union Conference to be held in Milan.

### JUNE

2nd. Tsingtao, last seaport of the KMT in North China, liberated.

9th. Circulation of foreign currency banned by the Military Control Committee of Shanghai.

15th. The 1st plenary session of the Preparatory Committee for New Political Consultative Confer-

ence, attended by 134 members from 23 representative units, inaugurated in Peiping.

19th. After a 5-day meeting of the 1st plenary session of the Preparatory Committee for New PCC, the Organizational Statute of the Committee and the complete list of delegates to the Conference are passed and Standing Committee is elected.

21st. The KMT government declares total "blockade" of the China Coast.

30th. PLA HQs issues communique: 3,050,000 KMT troops annihilated during the 3rd year of the Liberation War (July, 1948 — June, 1949); Liberated Areas enlarged to 2,962,800 square kilometres (more than 30% of China's total area) with a population of 279,274,000 (more than 58% of China's total population); PLA has been expanded to 4,000,000 compared with 1,500,000 KMT troops.

### JULY

1st. "On People's Democratic Dictatorship" by Chairman Mao Tse-tung published on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the CPC.

1st. The All China Railway Workers Provisional Conference convened in Peiping.

2nd. Opening in Peiping of First All China Conference of Writers and Artists, following which, the All China Association of Writers and Artists is established.

10th. First through passenger express leaves Peiping for Shanghai.

10th. Chiang Kai-shek arrives at Baguio to confer with E. Quirino, President of the Philippines, to "thrash out mutual problems concerning Communist threat in Asia."

13th. Serious floods in Central and South China.

16th. Ichang and Shasi, vital Yangtze River ports in west Hupeh, liberated.

22nd. China's Delegation to the Second Congress of World Democratic Youth and the World Democratic Youth Festival leaves Peiping for Budapest.

## AUGUST

1st. Northeast China and U.S.S.R. Trade Agreement announced.

1st. Changsha, provincial capital of Hunan, liberated.

13th. The 1st Peiping All-Circles Representative Conference convened.

17th. Foochow, provincial capital of Fukien, liberated.

21st. The Northeast China All-Circles Representative Conference convened in Mukden.

26th. Lanchow, provincial capital of Kansu, liberated.

## SEPTEMBER

5th. Sining, provincial capital of Tsinghai, liberated.

19th. The entire province of Suiyuan including provincial capital Kweisui liberated.

21st. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opens in Peiping.

23rd. Yinchuan, provincial capital of Ninghsia, liberated.

25th. Sinkiang, one of the largest provinces of China, liberated.

27th. The Chinese People's PCC adopts the Organic Law of the Chinese People's PCC and the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; establishes Peiping as capital and re-names it Peking.

29th. The Common Program of the Chinese People's PCC passed by the People's PCC.

30th. Mao Tse-tung, elected Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi, Soong Ching-ling, Li Chishen, Chang Lan, Kao Kang, elected vice-chairmen; 180 members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's PCC elected.

## OCTOBER

1st. The formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, officially proclaimed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at a gigantic mass rally of over 300,000 in Peking.

1st. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai officially delivers Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proclamation to the governments of foreign countries, with an official letter regarding the

establishing of normal diplomatic relations.

1st. The Soviet cultural delegation headed by Alexander Fadeyev arrives at Peking.

2nd. China Conference for Defending World Peace inaugurated in Peking.

2nd. Andrei Gromyko, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., informs Foreign Minister Chou En-lai by telegram, of the Soviet Government's decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

3rd. The China Committee for Defending World Peace formed in Peking with Kuo Mo-jo as Chairman.

3rd. Diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Rumania established.

4th. Diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Korea established.

6th. Diplomatic relations with Mongolia established.

14th. Canton, KMT refugee capital No. 1, liberated.

16th. N. V. Roshchin, first Ambassador of the Soviet Union to China, presents credentials to Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government.

17th. National Railway Conference opens in Peking.

27th. Diplomatic relations with German Democratic Republic established.

## NOVEMBER

9th. 4,000 personnel of the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Air Transport Corporation in Hong Kong repudiate KMT reactionaries and declare allegiance to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

15th. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sends telegram to the President of the United Nations General Assembly denying legal status of the bogus KMT delegation, affirming that the Central People's Government is the sole legal government of China.

15th. Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow Province, liberated.

16th. The Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries inaugurated in Peking.

22nd. Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi Province, liberated.

23rd. Diplomatic relations with Albania established.

29th. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai issues statement warning that foreign governments which shelter KMT forces must bear responsibility for consequences.

30th. Chungking, KMT refugee capital No. 2, liberated.

## DECEMBER

1st. The Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries concluded, after establishing WFTU Liaison Bureau for Asia.

2nd. The Central People's Government Council unanimously passes resolution on the issuance of People's Victory Bonds and adopts national budget for 1950.

4th. KMT Acting-President Li Tsung-jen flees to America.

5th. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, issues directive calling on the men of the PLA to take part in production and reconstruction during the coming year.

8th. The National Agricultural Production Conference opens in Peking.

8th. Chiang Kai-shek together with his "refugee capital" move to Taipeh.

9th. Lu Han, KMT governor of Yunnan Province, and Liu Wen-hwei, KMT governor of Sikang Province, renounce relations with KMT and accept the leadership of the Central People's Government.

10th. The National Postal Service Conference opens in Peking.

10th. The Conference of Women of Asia opens in Peking.

16th. Chairman Mao Tse-tung arrives at Moscow and meets Marshal Stalin.

20th. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai lodges protest against the infringement of China's air sovereignty by the French imperialists on the 14th.

21st. Marshal Stalin's birthday celebrated by mass rallies and lecture meetings throughout the country. On the same day, Chairman Mao Tse-tung speaks at the Moscow Celebration, on behalf of the Chinese people and the CPC.

23rd. The National Education Conference opens in Peking.

經華北郵政總局登記認爲第一類新聞紙類登記證第一〇一號

國內總經售：北京、上海、天津及各埠三聯書店  
每冊基本定價二一元