

People's 人民中国 China

July 16, 1951

ON THE CCP's 30th ANNIVERSARY

Liu Shao-chi

THIRTY YEARS OF THE CHINESE
COMMUNIST PARTY

Hu Chiao-mu

NEW CHINA'S CUSTOMS

Moh Ju-chien

2

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Portray the Revolution*

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Strive for a Peaceful Settlement of The Korean Question

An Editorial of the "People's Daily," Peking, July 3, 1951

General Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces in Korea, on June 30 made a statement that he desired to accept the proposal put forward by Soviet representative to the United Nations, Jacob Malik, that the two belligerent parties in Korea negotiate a cease-fire and an armistice and that he was prepared for such negotiations.

General Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and General Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese people's volunteers, in a joint statement issued on July 1 agreed to conduct negotiations for an armistice with General Ridgway.

A cessation of military action is indeed only the first step to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. But if the American Government and other governments that are taking part in the Korean war are really sincere about putting an end to the Korean war, and ensure that the negotiations for an armistice in Korea are carried out and successfully completed, then the negotiations will be an important step towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Such a peaceful settlement is what the peoples of Korea, China, the Soviet Union, and Asia and all peace-loving people everywhere have persistently demanded and continuously striven to secure.

Since the outbreak of the Korean war, the Chinese people and the Central People's Government have repeatedly advocated a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. In mid-July, last year, the Chinese people enthusiastically supported the proposals put forward by Stalin and Nehru regarding the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Since then, the Chinese people have time and again expressed their desire for a peaceful solution of the Korean question. Disregarding the desire of the peoples of the world for peace and the repeated warnings of the Chinese people, the American Government, however, went its own way, ordered its invasion troops to cross the 38th Parallel, and made a fierce headlong drive towards the Yalu and Tumen Rivers on the Chinese border. The Chinese people, of course, could not sit by idly in the face of such a serious situation, which directly threatened the security of their country. Consequently, they rose up to oppose America and aid Korea, and organised volunteer formations to help the Korean People's Army resist the aggression of America and her accomplices, in order to assist their neighbour and defend themselves.

But, precisely as the joint declaration of the various Chinese democratic parties stated on November 4 last year: "The Chinese people ardently love peace. We have always wanted peace in the past; and we shall always want peace. We want peace in China, in Asia. We want lasting peace for the whole world, for all humanity!"

The purpose of the Chinese people's volunteers taking part in the anti-aggression war in Korea was to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Thus it was that even after they had done this, the Chinese people still stood for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and more than once expressed their support of reasonable proposals by other countries concerning such a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. However, the United States Government still dreamed of conquering all Korea and of threatening Northeast China with its military forces. As a result of this, all efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question failed in the end. It was not until recently, after the peoples of China and Korea persisted in their heroic war of resistance and dealt severe blows to the American army, and, when the general demands for peace of the peoples of the world, including the American people, threw America's rulers into ever-deepening difficulties that the United States Government began to recognise that the Chinese and Korean peoples cannot be intimidated and the difficulties and dangers involved in trying to conquer the whole of Korea. Therefore, and for the first time, it expressed its willingness to consider accepting the reasonable peace proposal of Malik concerning negotiations for a cease-fire and an armistice.

The Chinese people completely support Malik's proposal and are willing to strive for its realisation. Malik said: "The people of the Soviet Union believe that it is possible to uphold the cause of peace. The Soviet people also believe that the armed conflict in Korea—the most acute issue of the present time—could also be settled. The readiness of the parties to take to the path of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question is necessary for this. The Soviet people believe that as a first step the belligerents should negotiate a cease-fire and armistice with the mutual withdrawal of troops from the 38th Parallel." There is little doubt that Malik's proposal, as the first step in the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, is just and reasonable. The whole body of historical facts in the Korean war, up to the present, has testified to the persistent desire for peace of the Chinese and Korean peoples. On the basis of this persistent desire for peace, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese people's volunteers replied to Ridgway's proposal regarding the initiation of armistice talks and made the completely reasonable proposals that the place of negotiations be at Kaisung at the 38th Parallel and that the time for the negotiations be between July 10 and 15. As the 38th Parallel will be the military demarcation line in this armistice, it is natural that Kaisung, which was formerly the ancient capital of Korea and is situated at the 38th Parallel, should be the most suitable place. Considering transport condi-

tions in war-devastated Korea and the need for proper preparations for the armistice negotiations, one may say that it is very quick for negotiations to take place between July 10 and 15. The question now is: Have the American Government and other governments taking part in the Korean war a really sincere desire—as we have—to end the bloody conflict in Korea? This can only be judged by facts and not by words. The negotiations for an armistice, though strictly military in character, must necessarily involve certain important questions, such as specific arrangements for a cease-fire, the determination of a demilitarised zone and so on. The handling of these questions will be a concrete test of the sincerity of the American and other governments to end the bloody conflict in Korea.

People the world over warmly urge, in the first place, the realisation of a cease-fire and an armistice in Korea on a just and reasonable basis as the first step to solve "the most acute issue of the present time" in the world and thereby to pave the way for the peaceful settlement of other Far Eastern problems.

The Chinese people love peace and they have constantly struggled for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Since there now exists the pos-

sibility for the first step to be taken towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, namely, an armistice in Korea, then let us first of all seriously struggle for the realisation of this step—an armistice.

Of course, it must be seriously noted that a cease-fire and armistice are at present not yet facts and that the fact is still war. Whether a cease-fire and armistice can be realised is to be decided by the negotiations between the representatives of the two parties. Before the genuine realisation of a cease-fire and armistice, all Chinese and Korean troops fighting on the Korean front must be ready in battle array to prevent the enemy from seizing the opportunity for a possible attack. This is extremely important and vigilance absolutely must not be relaxed. In the rear, the whole work of resisting America and helping Korea throughout the whole country must not be relaxed in the least before the genuine realisation of a cease-fire and armistice. And even after such an armistice, the building up of our national defence will continue to be extremely important. We must have a mighty national defence force in order to be able to oppose with strength any possible aggressive plot of imperialism in the future. Undoubtedly this is the iron will of the people of the whole nation.

The American People Against The War-Makers

In Truman's America, epicentre of the imperialist drive to war, the peace movement of the people, despite all difficulties, is steadily gaining in cohesion and influence. This is the meaning of the American National Peace Congress opened in Chicago on June 29. Here people of various political and religious beliefs and social strata, but all determined to frustrate the warmongers, met together to map out a national strategy for peace. The Congress is rallying all the democratic forces for peace in the United States. Its Declaration of Principles has given them a guide to united action.

The American peace movement is entering a new stage. This is a notable triumph for the American partisans of peace who are working in the face of the fascist terror that the rulers of present-day America are trying to clamp on the country.

The struggle for peace in the United States today is filled with hazards. The very word "peace" is denounced by the reactionaries as Communist "subversive propaganda." The staunchest fighters for peace have been flung into goal on one pretext or another. Eugene Dennis and other leading members of the American Communist Party are imprisoned because they champion peace and demand an end to Wall Street's policy of aggressive war. The FBI attempts to deceive public opinion as to the real purpose of these attacks on democratic liberties by drawing a red herring across the American continent. But all thinking Americans know that the persecution of the American Communist leaders, like the persecution of all real progressives, the bloody terror against the Negro people and the persecution of all those who fight for peace, is an attempt by the U.S. ruling clique to

suppress and destroy the movement for peace and democracy in the United States and silence all those who oppose its mad plots for aggressive war and world domination.

But the voice of the people will not and cannot be stifled. The dauntless partisans of peace and liberty will continue their struggle for their noble and truly American cause.

The American National Peace Congress speaks for the whole American peace movement. As the bankruptcy of Wall Street's reckless gamble in Korea becomes more obvious, more and more American people have come out against the war policy of the Truman administration and against its criminal production of weapons of mass destruction. They demand that real steps be taken to lessen the international tensions caused by aggressive U.S. imperialism, that American armed forces quit Korea, that peace be restored to the Korean people, and that immediate negotiations be started among the great powers so as to lead to a regulation of all unsettled differences.

These demands are identical with the interests of all peace-loving people the world over. They have their full support.

The Chinese people join with other peoples in condemning the persecution of the American Communist leaders who hold high the banner of the struggle for peace and liberty. They protest against the persecution of all those best sons and daughters of the American people, loyal to the finest traditions of their country. They are confident that the peace efforts of the American people as exemplified by the National Peace Congress will triumph over the dark forces of the Wall Street war-makers.

Address on the 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China

Liu Shao-chi

Member of the Secretariat, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

At a Peking rally on June 30, Liu Shao-chi gave the following address on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China on July 1, 1921.

COMRADES! Today is the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Thirty years ago when our Party was just founded, there were in China only some small groups, with very few members, which studied and publicised Marxism.

But today our Party has developed into a big party leading the great People's Republic of China. Our Party now has 5,800,000 members. Among these more than 2,700,000 are serving in the armed forces, state organs, factories, mines and schools and over 3,000,000 are distributed throughout the countryside. There are over 600,000 women members and over 1,200,000 young members under the age of 25. These members have built about 250,000 Party branches, the primary organisations of the Party.

Many members of our Party are shouldering leading tasks in various spheres of work of the State. Still more are engaging in various physical labours or mental work side by side with the labouring people and fighters in various factories, mines, villages, government offices, schools and army units. They are closely linked with the broad masses of the people. The great majority all possess a high standard of political consciousness, and therefore, too, a spirit of selflessness. Whether on the battlefield, in physical labour or in any other kind of work, they are full of courage, with no thought for themselves; they are intelligent and resolute and very capable in giving over-all consideration to things and in abiding by the discipline of the people. They are, therefore, able to win the trust of the masses and the masses treat them as their most intimate and trustworthy friends. In other words, our Party has already become a universally recognised leader of the people throughout the country and, at the same time, a public servant whole-heartedly at the service of the people.

This summarises the situation of our Party today.

OUR Party is the greatest, most glorious and most consistently correct party in the history of China.

Our Party, which started with a few individual Marxist groups, has traversed a superlatively brilliant path of historical development in the past 30 years.

However, in these 30 years of great revolutionary struggles, our Party has also been through unimagnably hard, complicated and circuitous struggles.

For 30 years, the enemies facing the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have included



Liu Shao-chi speaks at the rally.

almost all the imperialist countries in the world and the strong forces of feudalism and of the bureaucratic, comprador, big bourgeoisie of China. These have been most diabolical enemies. They did not give the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people any freedom of action. They dealt out savage slaughter and torture to the Communists, attempting to kill them all off. In the face of such enemies, if the Chinese Communists had not taken up arms and entered on a persistent and unswerving armed struggle against the enemy it would

have been impossible to carry on revolutionary activity. Because of this, the Chinese Communists and the revolutionary Chinese people long ago took to arms in the struggle against their enemies, waged four great revolutionary wars over the course of more than 20 years and finally overthrew the rule of these enemies on Chinese soil and achieved the victory for the Chinese revolution. This victory is of great significance in China's history and also in world history.

The winning of this victory must, first of all, be ascribed to those countless martyrs, whether Party members or not, known or unknown, who have bravely sacrificed themselves in the revolutionary struggles.

Comrades! It would have been impossible to defeat our powerful and vicious enemies and achieve the victory for the revolution without the struggle of the countless martyrs who kept up the fight and sacrificed themselves bravely. Our martyrs' selfless, courageous spirit of sacrifice on the execution grounds of the enemy, on the fields of battle and in all kinds of struggles crystallises the best traditions of our nation and our Party and provides the loftiest pattern for all our Party members and the people of the whole country. To liberate the people and fulfil the tasks entrusted to them by the Party, they shed their last drop of blood and exhausted their last energies without stint or hesitation. It is mete that we learn from their spirit and commemorate it forever. Eternal glory to the spirit of the martyrs!

I propose that we all stand and observe three minutes' silence in memory of the martyrs, both members of the Party and non-members, who sacrificed themselves bravely in the revolutionary struggles of the past 30 years.

Then again, in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we must not forget those comrades who have lost their health as a result of tortures in the enemy's lawcourts and of long,

grinding imprisonment, and those comrades who were maimed after being wounded on the battlefield and in the struggle. Here let us pay them our respects.

THE victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution is inseparable from the correct, Marxist-Leninist leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, leader of our Party. Marxism-Leninism is the sole correct ideological weapon to guide our Party and the Chinese people in uniting ourselves and triumphing over the enemy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is learned in Marxism-Leninism and is most adept in applying it properly to solving the diverse problems of China's revolution.

Thirty years of prodigious effort by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, step by step, integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. These efforts have thus built our Party, in ideology and organisation, on the example of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union. And they have, step by step, linked our Party with more and more of the masses of the people.

Moreover, at each of the stages of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward correct principles, tasks and policies for the revolutionary struggle for our Party and the people; and, in extremely complicated and difficult circumstances, he defeated the erroneous principles, tasks and policies put forward by the various kinds of opportunists within the Party and the various sects outside the Party. In this way, he fashioned and strengthened the People's Liberation Army as the cardinal instrument of the Chinese people's revolution. In this way, he formed, consolidated and expanded the United Front of the Chinese people's revolution.

It is only because our Party and the Chinese people have had this correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that we have been able, step by step, to defeat the strong enemy in serious, long and complicated struggles and gain the present victory. The correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has been decisive for the victory of our Party and the Chinese people in the revolutionary struggle. Without Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct leadership at each of these various stages, it can be said that it would have been impossible for our Party and the Chinese people to win the present victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct leadership guarantees that our Party and the Chinese people will continue to win more and bigger victories in the revolutionary struggle ahead.

Therefore, in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we must express our thanks to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our leader. We salute our leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

The victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution is inseparable from the gallant 24 years' struggle of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Founded and instructed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has fought for 24 years under his personal command. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the major instrument with which our Party and the Chinese people have triumphed over imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and have founded the People's Republic of China. Without the 24 years of gallant fighting and selfless work on the part of all the commanders, fighters and other personnel of

the People's Liberation Army, our Party and the Chinese people could not possibly have won their present victory. Similarly, without the brave fight of the Chinese people's volunteers alongside the Korean People's Army on the Korean front, it would be impossible to resist and repulse American and British imperialist aggression against China and Korea.

Therefore, in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we must express our thanks to the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea and the Korean People's Army. We salute all the commanders, fighters, workers in the rear services and other personnel in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea and the Korean People's Army!

The victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution is inseparable from the long-term, arduous work and brave struggle of our Party's numerous cadres and members; it is inseparable from the support for and trust in our Party and the People's Liberation Army of the broad masses of workers and peasants and revolutionary people of other strata and their heroic efforts in the revolutionary struggles; it is inseparable from the co-operation and assistance given to our Party by the other Chinese democratic parties and non-party democratic patriots in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and in the various kinds of work for building up the new China.

Obviously, without all these, our Party and the Chinese people could not possibly have won their present victory; nor could we possibly build up the new China after this victory was obtained.

Therefore, in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we should express our thanks to the numerous cadres and Party members who devote themselves to the work and have fought with courage! We should express our thanks to the labouring masses of workers and peasants and the revolutionary people of other strata who have supported and trusted our Party and the People's Liberation Army in the revolutionary struggle and in production. We should express our thanks to the democratic parties and democrats who have provided our Party with sincere co-operation and assistance in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction.

Finally, the reason for the victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution which is even more unforgettable to us is the influence on China of the Russian October Revolution, the influence on the Chinese revolution of the theories of proletarian Socialist revolution and Marxism-Leninism created and developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the sympathy and assistance to the Chinese revolution given by the Soviet Union and the proletariat and working people of the various countries of the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

"Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only unaware of Lenin and Stalin but did not even know of Marx or Engels. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the advanced people of China and of the whole world to adopt a proletarian world outlook as the instrument for looking into a nation's future and for considering one's own problems. To follow the path of the Russians was the conclusion."

He has also said:

"The Chinese found Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth which is applicable anywhere. The face of China then began to change."

Clearly the theories of Marxism-Leninism brought to China by the Russian October Revolution are the most fundamental weapon with which our Party and the Chinese people defeated their enemies and achieved victory in the revolution. Without the October Revolution in Russia, without the creation and constant development of Marxism-Leninism by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, without the sympathy and assistance for the Chinese revolution given by the Soviet Union and the proletariat and working people of the various countries of the world, it would have been impossible for our Party and the Chinese people to achieve such a victory as the present.

Therefore, in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party, we cannot but express thanks to the heroes of the October Revolution, to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to the Soviet Union and the proletariat and working people of the various countries of the world who sympathised with and assisted the Chinese revolution.

Salute the heroes of the October Revolution! Salute Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin! Salute the Soviet Union and the proletariat and working people of the various countries of the world!

We have already said that the victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution has many profound and complicated causes in the development of the history of both the world and of China. Some of our comrades do not understand or do not fully understand these profound and complicated causes of the victory of our Party and the Chinese revolution; they think that this victory was simply due to their own individual efforts. They thus arrogantly plume themselves on their achievements and betray other wrong views. These comrades should be taught the history of world revolution and the Chinese revolution, so that their field of vision can be broadened and their arrogance and other wrong views corrected.

COMRADES! Through 30 years of hard, intricate and circuitous struggle, our Party and the Chinese people have gained a victory of great historical significance. But, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, the victory we have so far achieved is "only the first step of a 10,000-li march." The Chinese revolution is far from complete. The view that the Chinese revolution has been completed is non-proletarian and utterly wrong. The revolutionary war we have carried out is also not yet finished. China's



Chairman Mao on the rostrum. From right to left: Li Chi-shen, Chairman Mao, Chang Lan, Chu Teh, Chen Shu-tung, Chang Pai-chun, Kuo Mo-jo and Chen Yun.

Taiwan has not been liberated, the Chinese people's volunteers are still heroically resisting the aggressive army of the American and British imperialists on the Korean fronts, the feudal forces in China have also not yet been finally cleared out. The difficult but great task of national economic and cultural construction is at our feet and is waiting for us to complete it; but day by day the imperialists and their lackeys are plotting to sabotage our cause and resume their sway. Therefore we still have to carry on long-term, intricate and hard struggles to safeguard and consolidate the victory we have already gained, complete the task of New Democratic construction and enable China to transform itself from an agricultural country into an industrial country, and then later to go on to a Socialist and Communist society and ultimately abolish all classes and arrive at world Communism.

Because of this, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

"The Chinese revolution is great, but the path to be traversed after the revolution will be even longer, the work will be even greater and more difficult."

Hence Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls on us to

"make our comrades continuously maintain the modest, cautious, unconceited and patient style of working and to continue to uphold the spirit of hard struggle."

Only by heeding these precepts laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and by further studying Marxist-Leninist theory and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories and style of work can we draw in still broader masses of the people to fulfil the still greater and harder revolutionary tasks that lie ahead of us.

It is to this end that all of us Party members should exert our efforts as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party. We believe that the Party, tempered by the great revolutionary struggles of the past 30 years, and under the continuing leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party, with the sustained efforts of the whole Party and the people throughout the country, will surely be able to accomplish the still more arduous, the still greater and more glorious tasks ahead of us.

Long live the great, glorious and consistently correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung, creator and leader of our Party, organiser and leader of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution!

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China and the world!

Long live the great revolutionary solidarity of the Chinese people, the revolutionary United Front of all nationalities, all democratic classes, all democratic parties and groups and democrats of China!

Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China

Hu Chiao-mu

Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

The Communist Party of China which was founded on July 1, 1921, is now 30 years old. Its 30 years' history is the history of how Marxism-Leninism has attained a great victory in a vast country with almost a quarter of the world's population, in a country which was semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character. It is the history of how the Chinese working class has led the broad masses of the peasants and other democratic forces in waging heroic struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys, in finally overthrowing their reactionary regime after going through a long period of difficulties and traversing a circuitous course, and in founding a people's democratic republic led by the working class and based on an alliance of the workers and peasants, thereby opening a broad road for the future transition to Socialism.

The history of the 30 years' struggle of the Communist Party of China can be divided into four periods:

- (1) the foundation of the Party and the First Revolutionary Civil War, 1921-1927,
- (2) the Second Revolutionary Civil War, 1927-1936,
- (3) the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, 1937-1945, and
- (4) the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the foundation of the People's Republic of China, and the Period of Economic Recovery, 1945—.

The following is a brief outline of the history of these 30 years.

I. The Foundation of the Party and the First Revolutionary Civil War

The Communist Party of China is the product of the synthesis of the Chinese working-class movement with Marxism-Leninism. It is no accident that the Party was founded in 1921. This took place following World War I, the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and the patriotic May Fourth Movement of the Chinese people, which began on May 4, 1919, against the imperialist Treaty of Versailles and, in general, against imperialism and feudalism.

During World War I, China's feeble industries made relatively rapid strides, and correspondingly the Chinese working class increased numerically and the scale of its struggles developed. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the influence of Marxism-Leninism permeated China's revolutionary intellectual circles. The May Fourth Movement hastened the synthesis of the Chinese working-class movement with Marxism-Leninism and laid the basis for the foundation of the Party. A

year after the May Fourth Movement, small Communist groups had been formed in such major cities as Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, Changsha, Canton, Tsinan, Hangchow and others.

The process of the growth of the Chinese working class coincided with the process of the reduction of China to a semi-colonial status resulting from imperialist aggression and of the struggle of the Chinese people against the foreign aggressors and their lackeys—the Chinese feudal rulers.

In 1840, Britain's armed forces invaded China, began the Opium War, and compelled China to sign the first of the unequal treaties—the Treaty of Nanjing. This was followed by the Anglo-French War against China of 1857, the Sino-French War of 1884, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Eight-Power War against China of 1900, and the Japanese seizure of China's Shantung Peninsula in 1914. By means of these wars and other methods, the foreign aggressors grabbed Chinese territory, extorted "indemnities" from China, obtained the privileges of stationing troops on Chinese soil and opening banks, commercial houses and factories in China, controlled China's trading ports, communication lines and customs, and carved out "spheres of influence" by means of which they manipulated China's internal affairs and reduced China, politically and economically, to a semi-colonial status. Imperialist aggression threatened the very existence of the Chinese people and made China's economic development and political advance impossible. Thus, the fight against imperialism and the overthrow of imperialist rule in China became a most fundamental task of the Chinese revolution.

The penetration of foreign capitalism had the effect of breaking down China's feudal economy and stimulating the development of Chinese capitalism. China's modern industries began to emerge in the sixties of the last century but these national industries developed feebly over several decades owing to their two-fold oppression by imperialism and feudalism. In the last stages of feudalism, China's reactionary rulers instituted a reign of brutality over the various strata of the labouring people. The landlord class owned the greater part of the agricultural land, took the bulk of the peasants' income and enjoyed various privileges over them in addition to their economic privileges. Usurers, merchants, compradors, feudal bureaucrats and landlords jointly plundered the peasants and handicraftsmen. Of the industries, part belonged to the imperialists, part to the Chinese bureaucrats, and part to the Chinese capitalists, who were oppressed and squeezed by the other two.

The feudal-bureaucratic government had long relied on imperialist support and assistance in suppressing the revolutionary movement of the

This outline history of the Communist Party of China will be continued in the four succeeding issues of *People's China*.

Chinese people. After the defeat in the War of 1900, it completely surrendered to imperialism. This situation continued without any change under the successive warlord governments of the so-called "Republic of China" established in 1912. The only basic change that occurred after 1912 was that China's superficial unity became an open split. Backed by their respective imperialist masters, the warlords continuously fought among themselves. Both before and after 1912 the various factions of feudal rulers refused to carry out any real social reforms. Thus the fight against feudalism and the overthrow of the rule of feudalism in China became another most fundamental task of the Chinese revolution.

In the circumstances described above, the fundamental demands of the Chinese people were the overthrow of the oppression of imperialism and feudalism and the realisation of the country's independence, democracy and freedom.

Correct leadership was needed to realise these vital demands. From the time of the Opium War to the eve of the May Fourth Movement, the Chinese people had waged many struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The most significant of these were the Peasants' Revolutionary War of 1851-1864, which broke out ten years after the Opium War and gave rise to the "Taiping Kingdom," and the bourgeois revolution of 1911 which took place ten years before the Communist Party of China was founded. However, all these struggles and revolutions had failed. Being weak itself, the Chinese bourgeoisie feared imperialism and feudalism as well as the workers and peasants; far from being able to settle, it dared not even raise, the question of fighting against imperialism and feudalism. The peasants were extremely numerous and possessed the determination to oppose imperialism and feudalism, but because of the limitations of their obsolete and backward methods of production, they did not see the future of the struggle and were incapable of undertaking the task of leading the revolution to victory. A new class was needed to assume the responsibility of leadership. Such a class had to be capable of putting forward a correct and complete programme for the struggle, had to be capable of uniting all forces that could be united, both domestic and foreign, to carry on a consistent and stubborn struggle against the formidable enemy. The working class was such a class. Although the Chinese working class was small in number (about three million), it differed from the peasantry in that it represented the new productive forces; it differed from the bourgeoisie in that it was the victim of the three-fold oppression of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, and possessed, the resolute will to fight.

The Chinese working class began to demonstrate its strength in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and to accept the influence of Marxism-Leninism. The workers in Shanghai, Tangshan and Changhsintien called a political strike, for the first time in Chinese history, as their part in the nation-wide anti-imperialist struggle of the people, thus helping to bring the struggle to a speedy victory. The growth of the strength of the Chinese working class served as an impetus to the Left wing of China's intellectuals and helped them to make up their mind to carry on revolutionary work among the workers.

In the field of culture the May Fourth Movement raised the slogan of fighting for democracy and science, but under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia, the Left wing of this movement—revolutionary intellectuals who had acquired a rudimentary idea of Communism—began to disseminate the viewpoint that China must realise Socialism and that it was essential to use Marxism-Leninism to guide the Chinese revolution. They held this viewpoint and carried on propaganda and organisational work among the workers. In this way, the Chinese working-class movement and the Chinese revolutionary movement entered a new stage.

In his book *New Democracy*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung considers the year 1919 as the turning point at which the Chinese democratic revolution was transformed from a democratic revolution of the old type into a democratic revolution of the new type. This



was because from that date the democratic revolution in China had become a revolution led by the Chinese working class and constituted a part of the world proletarian Socialist revolution. In this historic treatise, Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically expounded the Leninist - Stalinist view that, following World War I and the October Revolution

in Russia, the national question had become a part of the world proletarian Socialist revolution, and he also stressed that the revolutionary movement of 1919 in China was an event that "occurred in response to the call of the world revolution, to the call of the Russian Revolution, and to the call of Lenin."

It must especially be remembered in this regard that as early as 1900 and particularly in 1912 and 1913, Lenin himself had already paid great attention to and written important articles on the Chinese question. During the period of 1918-1920, the most critical years following the October Revolution, Lenin and Stalin on many occasions gave the most profound guidance concerning the national problem in the East. It was precisely this guidance which formed the principal starting point of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *New Democracy*. At the Second Congress of the Communist International held in July, 1920, Lenin made a special report on, and put forward a programme on, the national and colonial question. These classic writings of Lenin charted the fundamental revolutionary course for the oppressed nations and for the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, laid down the basic policy that the Communists should adopt in national revolutionary movements, and in so doing immensely helped the Chinese revolution.

On July 1, 1921, 12 delegates elected by the small Communist groups that had developed in various centres after the May Fourth Movement, held the First Party Congress in Shanghai, a centre of China's industries and working-class movement. These delegates included Mao Tse-tung, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Tan-chiu, Ho Shu-heng and others, representing about 50 Communists. The First Party

Congress adopted the first Constitution of the Communist Party of China, elected the central organ of the Party and founded the Communist Party of China. From that time, there appeared in China an entirely new and united political party, a party of the working class, with Communism as its aim and with Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action. A representative of the Communist International was present at this Congress.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung was the delegate of the Party's organisations in Hunan Province, where prior to the May Fourth Movement, he had formed revolutionary organisations. In 1920 he had also organised a group to study Marxism and in the same year organised the Socialist Youth League. After the First Party Congress, Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Hunan to take up the post of Party Secretary for Hunan Province. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's work in that province enabled Hunan to become one of the most advanced provinces in the working-class movement and peasant movement during the First Revolutionary Civil War.

The First Party Congress elected Chen Tu-hsiu to lead the central organs of the Party. However, Chen Tu-hsiu was not a good Marxist. Before and during the May Fourth Movement he was well-known as a democrat of the most radical type; after Marxism came to China, he became a highly influential Socialist propagandist and a sponsor of the Communist Party.

In May, 1922, the Second Party Congress was held at West Lake (Hsihu), Hangchow. This Congress formulated a Party Manifesto in which it laid down the programme of the Party, criticised the various bourgeois reformist ideologies which were current, and defined the basic tasks of the Chinese people as follows:

"...to eliminate civil strife, overthrow the warlords and establish internal peace; to overthrow the oppression of international imperialism and achieve the complete independence of the Chinese nation; to unify the whole of China into a genuine democratic republic."

Thus, for the first time in history, the Party put before the Chinese people a slogan of genuine revolutionary democracy.

The shortcomings of the Manifesto were that it did not point out that the democratic revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it did not set forth the demand of the workers and peasants for political power or the demand of the peasants for land, and that it only called upon the workers and peasants to take part in the democratic revolution and to fight merely for their own rights. Later, during the Party leadership of revolutionary work in the period of 1924-1927, these shortcomings were developed by the opportunist group of Chen Tu-hsiu into a serious error in the general political line.

The Second Party Congress also resolved that the Party join the Communist International.

In the two years following its foundation, the Party concentrated its efforts on leading the working-class movement. It established the legal Chinese Trade Union Secretariat to lead the working-class movement throughout the country, and it also convened the first All-China Labour Congress

in May, 1922, in Canton. As a result of the effective work of the Party, the tide of the workers' struggle rose all over the country from January, 1922 to February, 1923. More than 300,000 workers took part in over a hundred strikes in the major cities and industrial centres throughout the country. These strikes were all carried out under the leadership of Communist Party members and the majority of them were completely successful. Communist-led trade unions were formed by the workers after these victories. The swift development of the working-class movement and the workers' organisations rapidly and clearly demonstrated the important role of the working class in China's political and economic life.

In February, 1923, however, the reactionary ruling class dealt serious blows to this first upsurge of the Chinese working-class movement. Wu Pei-fu, the leading warlord who controlled the provinces of Hopei, Honan and Hupeh at the time, used force to suppress the inaugural meeting of the General Trade Union of the Peking-Hankow railway workers. When the workers on this and other lines struck in protest, Wu Pei-fu called out his troops and on February 7, massacred the railway workers at Hankow and Changhsintien. In this incident, known as the "February Seventh Massacre," some 40 workers were killed and several hundreds injured.

The heroic struggle of the Chinese railway workers showed the rapid development of the organising power and revolutionary enthusiasm of the working class, and greatly enhanced the political prestige of the working class and the Communist Party of China among the whole Chinese people. At the same time, it proved that without strong allies and without its own armed forces, the working class could not defeat the fully-armed reactionaries in circumstances where no democratic rights whatever existed. The new-born struggles of the workers ebbed temporarily as a result of the overwhelming pressure of the reactionary government. Facts taught the Party and the working class that in order to achieve victory in the Chinese revolution, they must form an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal alliance with the peasants, constituting 80 per cent of the country's population, with the scores of millions of urban petty bourgeoisie, and with those democratic elements of the bourgeoisie who wanted to oppose imperialism and feudalism, and also that they must oppose armed counter-revolution by armed revolution.

The Party then took positive steps to unite with the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, by which means it was hoped that the alliance of the working class and other democratic forces could be brought about. The Revolutionary League (Tungmenhui), predecessor of the KMT, was the chief organiser of the Revolution which overthrew the Manchu government in 1911. Politically, the Revolutionary League was a loose alliance of groups ranging from the radical elements of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and the liberal elements of the bourgeoisie to the anti-Manchu elements of the landlord class.

After the Revolution of 1911 was betrayed, most groups of this alliance surrendered to imperialism and the reactionary forces. The group headed by

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, however, persisted in carrying on the bourgeois-democratic struggle and continued to suffer reverses. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had relied on the warlords in Kwangtung to conduct activities against the reactionary government in Peking but he was driven out of Kwangtung Province by the warlord Chen Chiung-ming, thus adding to the disintegration within the KMT.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the just policy pursued by the Soviet Union towards China and other oppressed peoples in the East, the May Fourth Movement, and the rise of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese working-class movement after the May Fourth Movement—all gradually aroused the attention of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other members of the KMT and inclined them towards a revolutionary policy of uniting with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party.

The Third Party Congress of the Communist Party of China held in June, 1923, correctly evaluated Dr. Sun Yat-sen's democratic stand against imperialism and the feudal warlords as well as the possibility of transforming the KMT into a revolutionary alliance of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie.

The Third Party Congress criticised the two major deviations within the Party. One was the deviation represented by the capitulationism of Chen Tu-hsiu which was expressed in the view that the bourgeois-democratic revolution should be led by the bourgeoisie, that "all work should be turned over to the KMT," and that "once the democratic revolution has succeeded, all that the proletariat will gain will be some liberty and rights." Never for a moment did the exponents of this deviation try to enable the proletariat and the Communist Party to lead the revolution, so that the proletariat might gain the most from the victory of the revolution, become the nucleus of effective political power and use this political power to ensure the eventual advance of the state towards Socialism. They considered that in the first revolution the bourgeoisie should be allowed to establish a bourgeois republic in which the proletariat could secure only some "liberty and rights" and nothing else. Therefore they considered that in the bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat could only play a passive and supplementary role and not the role of a leader. They considered that the proletariat could only wait until the bourgeois republic had been established and until the capitalist economy had developed to a further point before overthrowing the bourgeois republic and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. They considered that only then could Socialism be realised. This was to be the second revolution. Thus their view was known as the "two-revolution theory."

The second deviation was the *closed-door* policy as represented by Chang Kuo-tao. The exponents of this view considered that the Communist Party should not co-operate with the KMT, that only the working class could carry through the revolution, and that the KMT could not carry through the democratic revolution. Therefore, they opposed Communist Party members, workers or peasants joining the KMT.

The Congress criticised the erroneous views both of the Right and of the "Left," and decided to co-operate with the KMT and to allow members of the Communist Party to join the KMT and to reorganise and transform the KMT into a democratic revolutionary alliance while at the same time preserving the organisational and political independence of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the Third Party Congress did not pay proper attention to the peasant question and the question of revolutionary armed forces.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung attended the Third Party Congress. He firmly upheld the correct views and opposed erroneous views. At this Congress, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Party.

The united front policy of the Party greatly accelerated the tempo of the Chinese revolution. Thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party of China and the important assistance given by the leading organs of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the KMT held its first National Congress in Canton in January, 1924, issued a Manifesto, laid down the programme of the democratic revolution, and formulated various measures for reorganising and revolutionising itself. This Congress which was attended and jointly led by Communist Party members was in reality the starting point of the revolutionary upsurge. The co-operation between the KMT and the Communist Party impelled Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Left wing of the KMT and the whole nation forward in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and their agents in the KMT—the Rightist elements. On the proposal of the Communist Party of China, and with its leadership and support, a revolutionary government and a revolutionary military academy were established in Kwangtung Province, an expeditionary war was launched against the reactionary forces in Kwangtung, and a nation-wide popular movement for the convocation of a National Assembly and for the abrogation of the unequal treaties was initiated. The working-class movement resumed its activities and the peasant movement was launched. The Fourth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, which was held in January, 1925, made organisational preparations for a new wave of mass struggles. Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in March that year. The grief of the whole nation for this great revolutionary was expressed in a widespread campaign of political propaganda.



Following the big strike of the Shanghai workers against Britain and Japan in May, 1925, a great nation-wide revolutionary storm broke out. On May 15 the capitalist owner of a Japanese cotton mill in Shanghai killed a Communist worker, Ku Cheng-hung. On May 30, Shanghai's workers and students held a demonstration in support of the cotton mill workers. When the demonstrators marched down Nanking Road, British police opened fire and many were killed or wounded. A wave of furious in-

dignation swept through Shanghai and the entire nation. In the next few days Shanghai's workers, students and other citizens continued to demonstrate against this imperialist massacre of Chinese people and many of them were fired upon and killed by British, American and Japanese police. The workers throughout Shanghai called a general strike, students refused to attend classes, and the merchants stopped doing business. The movement rapidly spread to the cities throughout the country where workers, students and citizens held many anti-imperialist demonstrations and downed tools, stopped attending classes, closed all shops and boycotted British and Japanese goods. After organising a general strike in Hongkong, the workers there went to Canton, blockaded Hongkong and turned it into a dead port. The striking workers from Hongkong together with workers and students in Canton, including the cadets of the military academy, held a demonstration on June 23 and were fired upon by British marines at Shamegn, Canton. Many demonstrators were killed or wounded. This aroused still greater resistance throughout the nation. In all these movements, the whole nation unanimously demanded among other things, the punishment of the murderers, payment of indemnities, apologies, the return of the foreign settlements and the withdrawal of foreign troops. But the warlord governments in Peking and in other parts of the country continued to surrender abjectly to imperialism and suppressed the people's movement. Only the revolutionary government in Kwangtung supported the striking workers and the people's struggle against imperialism and as a result the strikes in Hongkong and Canton lasted as long as 16 months.

The May Thirtieth Movement, as it became known from the bloody demonstration on May 30, greatly advanced the revolutionisation of Kwangtung Province and paved the way for a great revolution throughout the country. The "National Revolutionary Army" in Kwangtung rapidly unified the whole province and set out in July, 1926 on the Northern Expedition to overthrow the feudal regime which ruled the nation with Peking as its centre. Because of the heroic struggle of the Communists and of the revolutionary elements of the KMT, the Northern Expeditionary Army quickly defeated the armed forces of the reactionary warlords and won great victories. In September, 1926, the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied Hankow. In March, 1927, the workers in Shanghai rose up in co-ordination with the efforts of the Northern Expeditionary Army to occupy that city. The working-class movement and the peasant movement throughout the country expanded greatly. The total membership of the trade unions reached 2,800,000, and that of the peasants' associations grew to 9,500,000. The membership of the Communist Party of China increased from some 900 prior to the May Thirtieth Movement to 57,900.

But this swiftly developing revolution did not have firm foundations. Chen Tu-hsiu, then leader of the Communist Party, had assumed a passive and weak attitude throughout towards the fundamental tasks—that the proletariat must lead the democratic revolution, and that the Communists must lead KMT-Communist co-operation and the Northern Expeditionary War. Mass struggles were already taking

place, especially the struggles of the peasants for land in many localities. But Chen Tu-hsiu failed to adopt a resolute and positive policy to support and continue to develop the mass movements so as to meet the demands of the masses, and especially the peasants' demand for land. Nor had he organised the strength of the masses to reconstruct the organs of state power which were still in the hands of the reactionary elements, to create the masses' own armed forces and to expand the ranks of reliable revolutionary armies.

The revolution had already gained great prestige in the ranks of the massive Northern Expeditionary Army, but the Party remained without a correct policy for its work inside that Army. The Communists had carried on active political work in the Northern Expeditionary Army, but because the leading organ of the Party had overlooked the importance of controlling the armed forces, only an extremely small portion of the armed forces was actually under the control of the members of the Communist Party. Actual power in the Northern Expeditionary Army was for the most part retained in the hands of army officers of the old type and especially in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, the Right-wing KMT commander-in-chief of the "National Revolutionary Army" of that time. Chiang Kai-shek had already organised an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet conspiracy on March 20, 1926, even before his power had grown to any great extent. He created a pretext to attack the Communist Party in the army and in the leading organs of the KMT. Faced with such attacks by Chiang Kai-shek, Chen Tu-hsiu made opportunist concessions, and satisfied Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary demands to limit the activities of the Communist Party in the army and in the leading organs of the KMT. At the end of 1926, Chiang Kai-shek turned his headquarters at Nanchang into a centre of opposition to the Left wing of the KMT at Hankow.

By the beginning of 1927, Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous tendencies had already developed into a Right opportunist line. The landlord and bourgeois elements in the KMT had become extremely apprehensive of the great development of the mass movement of the workers and peasants and their revolutionary resoluteness as displayed in the struggle. Threatened by the peasant movement in the countryside, the landlords fled to the cities in large numbers. They spread all sorts of rumours against the peasants, put out the story all over the cities that "excesses are being committed in the worker and peasant movements," and made use of this to attack the Communist Party. The petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements showed great vacillation. At this critical moment Chen Tu-hsiu was overwhelmed by the overbearing attitude of the reactionaries. He not only dared not rely on the worker and peasant movements, which were then on the upsurge, so as to unite the revolutionary groups, win over the intermediate groups and repel the reactionaries; he also followed at the heels of the reactionaries in reproaching the worker and peasant movements for "excesses" and restrained the mass movement, especially at that time the peasant movement.

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New China's Customs Administration

Moh Ju-chien

In 1950, for the first time in 73 years, China showed a favourable trade balance. The value of exports surpassed that of imports by 9.34 per cent. At the same time, the volume of foreign trade considerably surpassed the annual average of China's pre-war foreign trade. New China's Customs Administration played a leading role in the achievement of this impressive economic victory.

Before liberation, the Customs Administration in China was a corrupt and bureaucratic organisation completely in the hands of the foreign imperialists and their bureaucratic capitalist puppets. They used it as an effective instrument to strangle China's home industry and agriculture, to enslave China economically and turn her into a dumping ground for foreign goods. Vast sums were squeezed from the country by imperialist manipulation of the customs.

Today all this has been changed. The customs has been turned into an efficient and powerful instrument of the people's state, protecting its industry and agriculture, serving the interests of the people, consolidating their independence, aiding the development of New Democratic construction and the transformation of China from an agricultural into industrial country.

To understand how the Customs Administration was once controlled and manipulated by foreign imperialism, it is necessary to go back to the Opium War of 1840, when the British imperialists compelled the Chinese people to buy opium at the point of their guns. Defeated in this war, the Manchu Government was forced to accept the disgraceful Treaty of Nanking in 1842, which led to the free traffic in opium and the surrender of customs sovereignty. Shortly afterwards, the United States also took advantage of China's weak position to secure similar privileges for herself.

The Treaty of Nanking opened wide five ports including Shanghai to such imperialist "trade." The

consulates of the various imperialist powers in China became the masters of China's customs. In 1858, a British subject, H. N. Lay, was made the first Inspector of China's Customs Administration.

Under the unequal treaties which China was forced to sign, the customs tariff rate for imports could not exceed 5 per cent *ad valorem*. That meant that, on the one hand, a pound of Chinese tea exported to England, for example, was taxed 465 per cent of its value, while on the other, a pound of opium imported from British territory to China could not be taxed over 5 per cent.

Gradually the customs took over other responsibilities which had no direct connection with its original duties. River conservancy, coastal patrol by armed vessels, administration of harbours, waterways, light houses, buoys, weather reports, disposal of the customs revenue and procuring of loans from foreign powers and the collection of indemnities vastly broadened the scope of the Customs Administration. Under the imperialists, China's customs revenues were held as security against the payment of indemnities and loans by the Chinese Government.

Enjoying many extraterritorial prerogatives, the imperialists were free to dump their commodities on China's market and at the same time buy China's own raw materials and labour at the lowest possible prices. This was one of the means by which they succeeded in keeping China a backward and semi-colonial country for more than a century.

While abrogation of the unequal treaties was nominally accomplished in 1943, in actual fact all that happened was that the sovereignty of the customs merely changed from British to American control. In March, 1943 L. K. Little, who had been connected with the former U.S. War Department, became the Inspector-General of China's Customs Administration. Little lived like a king in a luxurious mansion in Shanghai with a garden as large as a public park. He had more than ten servants to look after his slightest needs. Besides his US\$33,600 annual salary, all his expenses, from his social entertainment to his daily necessities, had to be paid for by the Chinese people.

The Inspector-General of the Customs Administration controlled over 12,000 employees, including 234 Europeans and Americans, who held all the key positions. Twenty per cent of the customs revenue was spent for administrative expenses, and half of this was for the salaries and living allowances of the non-Chinese staff. But all this was insignificant, compared to what the Customs Administration under the control of Wall Street's agent, L. K. Little, did to the national economy of the country. With the key to China's front door in his pocket, the Inspector-General set to work ruthlessly and systematically to intensify imperialism's exploitation of the Chinese people. Through the terms of the so-called "Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Navigation," concluded in Nanking on November 4, 1946,



When the Day's Work Is Done

Woodcut by Yu Pai-shu

wider and more extensive economic concessions were given by the reactionary Kuomintang to the U.S. imperialists in return for supplies of arms and ammunition to carry on the counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese people.

This treaty, for example, provided for the dumping on China's markets of more than 80 separate American items, chiefly surplus or luxury commodities unessential to China such as fruits, coffee, toilet paper, breakfast cereals, tinned milk, radios, etc. The customs duties on these items were drastically reduced. On American coffee, for example, it was reduced from 50 per cent to 30 per cent; on cereals, from 60 to 20 per cent; on pickles, from 60 to 25 per cent. Goods such as these, and matches, cigarettes and plastics poured in to swamp the market and drive the Chinese producers out of business.

Liberation threw this system of imperialist customs control into the sea. The one-time Inspector-General made a quick getaway. He tried blackmail by cable from Hongkong and Taiwan, informing the employees that if they would promise to sever connections with the people's Customs Administration, he would return their pensions to them.

Serving the People

Since its inauguration in late 1949, the new Customs Administration has operated on the principle of protecting and nurturing China's industry and agriculture. No longer can the imperialists dump goods to destroy China's home production or drain off her raw materials. The *Provisional Customs Law* of the People's Republic of China which went into effect on May 1, 1951 outlines the three fundamental tasks of the Customs Administration: to control imports and exports; to collect revenue; and to prevent smuggling.

In controlling the flow of imports and exports, the first responsibility of the Customs Administration is to see that the regulations are strictly observed. These regulations are primarily designed to develop home production and construction. Their successful implementation is clearly reflected in the changed import situation. In 1936, for example, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods constituted 76.32 per cent of China's imports, while machinery and tools essential to industrial production accounted for only 6.37 per cent and chemical raw materials, 9.37 per cent. In 1950, the picture was reversed—imports fell mainly into the categories of industrial raw materials, machinery, equipment of various kinds, fertiliser and packing materials, all essential to the nation's industry and agricultural production, and raw materials that facilitate the growth of home industry.

Secondly, with regard to the collection of customs revenue, duties levied on imports are designed to protect state and private production in competition with foreign trade. Cigarettes, for example, can be produced in China in large quantities. To protect this industry the customs duty on imported cigarettes has been raised from 200 per cent before liberation to 400 per cent now. Rice, a product exempted from all import duties before liberation, now has a 20 per cent duty levied on it because China is growing sufficient rice for her needs and is in fact exporting it. The customs duty on sewing machines (now being made in China) which was 15 per cent before liberation, has been

raised to 60 per cent; on cotton blankets, from 70 to 120 per cent; on rayon piece goods, from 150 to 250 per cent.

In fixing the rates of customs duties, the following principles have been laid down by the Central People's Government:

1. In the case of industrial products and semi-finished products, produced on a wide scale internally or those which have the possibility of development in the future, customs duties imposed on such foreign products shall be more than the difference between their cost of production and that of the same categories of goods produced domestically, thus protecting China's home production.
2. Still higher duties are imposed upon non-essential and luxury items.
3. Imports of capital goods and equipment, industrial raw materials, farm machinery, grain, seed and fertiliser, which are produced on a small scale or not produced at all within the country, are subject to low duties or exempted from duties.
4. The imports of essential scientific books, insecticides against agricultural pests and medicines, which can neither be produced in the country nor be replaced by local substitutes, are subject to low duties or exempted from duties.
5. Two sets of tariff rates are imposed upon imports. A favourable rate is placed on commodities imported from countries which have concluded trade treaties or agreements with the People's Republic of China. Higher rates are imposed on commodities imported from countries which have no such treaties or agreements.
6. To develop the production of goods for export, low duties or exemption from duty apply to the export of semi-finished products or refined raw materials, the production of which has been encouraged by the Central People's Government.

The third important task of the Customs Administration is the prevention of smuggling. For many years, the imperialists used a double-barrelled method of economic aggression against China—rapacious trading and piratical smuggling. Since their expulsion from China, their rapacious trading has come to a stop. But smuggling still exists, because their agents are still anxious to infiltrate their non-essential goods into China and absorb raw materials in return. Over the past year, however, the Customs Administration has increased its vigilance with the result that smuggling has been drastically curtailed.

Efficient and Honest Customs

Great success has been achieved in transforming the overlapping bureaucratic machinery of the old customs into a unified, centralised and efficient organisation. Of the total of 173 customs houses, branch offices and sub-offices before liberation, 103 have been closed. This has meant a great saving in terms of money and personnel. No longer are businessmen forced to pay customs taxes at several points on cargoes moving inland from the coast. Customs duties are paid once at the port or place of entry. The irrational and complicated process of customs inspection of the old days is thus greatly simplified.

The principles governing the establishment of customs houses, issued in December, 1950, stated that customs organisations were to be set up at

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Impressions of New China

Arthur Clegg

Member of the British People's Delegation to China

It happened at Shanghai. We were visiting our first textile factory there. Just as I sat down by the table in the assembly hall prepared for our delegation I noticed an old woman, her face radiant with happiness, her eyes shining with joy. I was so interested I could hardly stop looking.

Later, when we returned again to the hall after going through the spinning and weaving sheds, examining the processes and products ("as good as Lancashire or better," said our textile worker delegate), the old woman spoke to us.

She had been chosen by her fellow workers, men and women, to tell the story of the factory under the Kuomintang, under the Japanese, again under the KMT and now, after liberation a state-owned concern. Not only her words but also her face told us that story. The cruelty of Japanese beatings, the suffering of KMT starvation and then, again that look of intense happiness, the coming of liberation.

And there she was—an old woman, a worker—speaking to us before her fellow workers, before the factory manager and other officials, in herself typifying the liberation of China.

Then we went to the Huainan mining area and visited the China Institute of Mining. We were greeted by the students—and by the Young Pioneers. Sometimes it had seemed to us Chinese children were rather shy of our strange faces, but not so these children. They came up to us as we got out of our cars, shook our hands, smiled at us and stood close beside us. When we went to a meeting in the Assembly Hall of the Institute, the Young Pioneers stood in front and when the speeches were finished they proudly sang us a song. When we left they sang to us again and danced and, looking back, we could see them dancing and waving and cheering.



Jock Kane, head of the British People's Delegation to China, and two of his colleagues, Dr. Michael Rappaport (centre) and Betty England (extreme left), receive farewell bouquets.

That is a memory, a happy memory, which will remain in the minds of us all.

Previously we had read of New Democracy but lacked knowledge of its practice. Here in China we felt the sense of active, vital democracy at every turn. In factories, whether publicly or privately owned, we were greeted on behalf of the workers by the elected trade union chairman who spoke with an air of authority about conditions. In Britain the chairman of a factory trade union would be about the last person to be expected to greet visitors and tell them about conditions of work. Here in China we saw working class leadership in action. At universities it was the same student representatives, many of them from the working class, spoke to us alongside the professors.

Both in the factories and in other places we were impressed with the confidence and ability with which ordinary people—workers, peasants, and students with working class and peasant backgrounds—spoke to us, telling us about their own lives and hopes and those of their fellows. And we were surprised no less with the sense of purpose which animated them and factory managements and Communist Party and other representatives.

In Britain we are proud of the democratic rights won in revolution and struggle by our forefathers but here in China, where the working class leads, we discovered that democracy had reached a new, higher level.

We were able to learn something of how this democracy is being deepened and widened daily.

When one considers how in old China for centuries people were oppressed, exploited and denied political rights, that trade unionism, when it did begin, was rapidly made illegal; that under the KMT open terror was the instrument of rule and enforced ignorance its main accomplice, then one can judge how great is this New Democracy which has awakened and is constantly awakening fresh millions of people to full and conscious political life. Here is one of the greatest accomplishments of the People's Republic of China.

In Tientsin we learnt how the dockers, numbering many thousands, had entered into political life in the developing struggle against their exploiters and former absolute rulers, the gang masters. Now they had built their own trade union and organised their own work in the docks themselves.

Outside Paoting we learnt of New Democracy in the countryside, of how the peasants had awakened to political life first in the struggle against the Japanese invaders and later against the landlords, and of how democracy was still growing amongst them not only in their own elected conduct of village affairs but in co-operative struggle against nature through their mutual-aid teams.

In factories and pits we learnt of strikes under the KMT, of liberation struggles, of democratic man-

agement, of developing team work and the growth of planning and the formation of actual production plans through a discussion which, in one way or another, included everyone concerned.

Here in China many things spoke to us of peace and peaceful desires. It was partly what people were saying and especially what they were doing.

Local reception committees showed us with pride new hospitals that had been built, new schools just finished or just going up, spoke of their plans for housing schemes, for town planning, for the beautifying of cities.

Doctors spoke to us of their health plans, what had been done and the greater things that lay ahead. Co-operators showed us with pride their stores, spoke of their recent foundation and rapid growth and how, in the future, they would be able to achieve this or that further growth.

In the factories workers and management showed us the new health precautions, spoke of the spare-time schools that had been established, how illiteracy was being eliminated and wages and standards of living were now constantly rising.

Peaceful construction is the theme of New China—and on that she is an example to the world.

We heard of the great Huai River conservancy scheme and talked to representatives of the people of the town of Pengpu about the floods of last year and the difference that the scheme would make to the lives of all those who dwell in that valley in the future. We heard of reforestation projects, of plans for a new national, improved wages structure, of schemes for developing new industries, and a thousand other projects, big and small, for improving the life of the people.

Peaceful Desires

And whenever we heard people talk so, or whenever we saw some new building finished or begun, a new sports field opened, or peasants busy working on some irrigation project, then we saw and understood the peaceful desires and hopes of the Chinese people.

These peaceful desires and hopes arise from no weakness, for the people's China is not weak, but from the nature of the new society and because it is a people's democracy which cannot do other than express the desire of the people for a peaceful world.

The China that we saw was not the weak and divided China of the KMT, which one of us had known and others had read about. It was a new China, strong in its people, strong in the unity of its people and their confidence in their people's government, in Chairman Mao and in their People's Liberation Army.

The Chinese people are unafraid of American threats of war. They wish peace, and are not afraid to say so. But they are also prepared to defend themselves and are confident of their ability to rout anyone who attacks them. Two years ago the Chinese people stood up. Now, every day their economy develops, every day they stand still more erect, shoulder to shoulder, with firmer muscles and yet more tempered will.

During our trip in China, the Americans coerced other countries, including Britain, into joining their economic blockade of China. Why should China care since her industries and agriculture are developing and there are plenty of other friendly countries with

whom she can trade? We were impressed with the indifference which this American war measure met on all sides, from Chinese industrialists as well as workers. The only effect of this American measure is to destroy British trade with China and also to annihilate British business houses there, another one of which went into liquidation while we were in Shanghai.

This is one of the oddities of the present world situation, that every American war measure hits Britain hardest of any country, but we have not yet as a nation gathered up our courage to oppose them.

In Britain we had read of the Chinese people's assistance to the people of Korea fighting against American efforts to conquer their country and turn it into a base for further war. In China the meaning of this friendship for the Korean people took on flesh and blood.

Travelling round we saw parts of the record of American aggression against China in recent years—machines that had been left derelict or idle after 1945 because the American government not only did not want any industrialisation in China but was economically squeezing out what industry there was, factories which had been stormed by American tanks because in pre-liberation days their workers dared to strike for better conditions, places in Shanghai that had been bombed last year by American bombers flown by KMT pilots from Taiwan. We heard citizens of the Chinese city of Antung describe the American bombing of their town by planes based on Korea. Their city had been raided many times since the Americans began their war in Korea. Just before we arrived in China it had been raided again. We listened to the moving stories of women who had lost their husbands and children, and of children who had lost their parents, and we understood, far better than through any reading, why the Chinese people were determined that Korea should not remain a base for American bombers.

And we understood much more than this, that to resist America and aid Korea is not only to save China but to save Britain too and the peace of the world. We British people want no part in American wars and American war bases. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all British forces from Korea and a peace in Korea based on the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

The Chinese people too want a peaceful settlement in Korea based on the withdrawal of all foreign forces. Here the British and the Chinese people have a great common interest which merges into a still greater one, namely, to struggle together, shoulder to shoulder, to build a peaceful world from which aggression has been finally and fully banned.

In two years the Chinese people have travelled far, much farther than we had ever expected. We have seen some of the difficulties that they have already overcome and are confident that they will continue to overcome difficulties with ever greater rapidity and success. But perhaps the chief impression with which we return is that, by standing up themselves, the Chinese people have raised the stature of humanity and have helped to give other peoples, including the British people, still greater confidence in their ability to overcome problems, break the forces of aggression and build a new, peaceful and happy society.



Comrade Mao Tse-tung lectures to one of the small Communist groups in 1920.

by Ai Chung-hsin



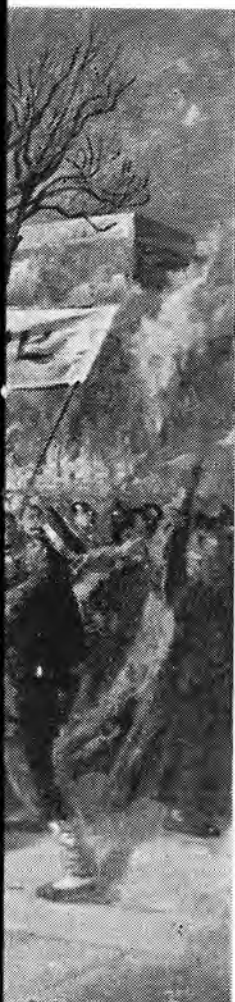
The May 4th demonstration in Peking, 1919.



While the Central Red Army was on the Long March, the late Liu Tse-tan maintained the Shensi-Kansu revolutionary base in 1934. *by Ku Yuan*

Crossing the Golden Sand River on the
of the famous 25,000-li Long March.





by Chou Ling-chao



Chairman Mao working in his cave study at Yanan in 1937.

by Hsin Mang

Sikang-Tibet border in 1936—an incident
by Chang Yang-hsi and Chuang Tse-men



CHINA'S ARTISTS PORTRAY THE REVOLUTION

Recent Oil Paintings

Under the auspices of the Preparatory Office of the Central Revolutionary Museum, scores of China's foremost artists are preparing a series of paintings and sculptures, depicting the history of the Chinese revolution. We here reproduce some of the oil paintings.



Peasants join the people's army during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-45).

by Wang Shih-kuo

The Huaihai victory during the Third Revolutionary Civil War.

by Wang Liu-chiu



How the Tillers Win Back Their Land—VI**SUNSHINE AFTER THE STORM**

Hsiao Ch'ien

A few days after the final classification of classes, the Huilung hsiang peasants saw the year 1950 draw to a close. Ordinarily, the solar new year had been a matter of utter indifference to them, but this year spring scrolls were pasted up on the doors and a huge party was held jointly by the farmhands and poor peasants. Yes, the year 1950 had been an unprecedented one—a year that the peasants would recall for generations.

It was at the party that the problem of reorganising the Peasants' Association was taken up.

The plan was first to get the masses to investigate the Association from the top down and then to examine the leadership of the Peasants' Association. Not only was this important for the healthy growth of the Peasants' Association but it would lay a sound foundation for the coming election of officers.

Altogether 12 officers were elected, and the chairmanship of the Association devolved on Peng Hsin-wu, who was publicly acknowledged to be militant and advanced in his political awareness, impartial and friendly in his dealings, with the additional advantage of having had some education, so that he could write and do arithmetic and was especially adept at making out lists and charts. He had under him four sections: militia, organisation, culture and publicity, and the women's group. A temporary "Committee on Requisition, Confiscation, Custody and Distribution" was also set up in order to facilitate the completion of land reform.

After this sifting process, the Hsinlu Village Peasants' Association emerged as a new body with all the activists picked out and marked down for certain duties. Lo Shu-min of the Big-house Lo, who was concurrently head of the women's group, and Peng Kuo-chang, a teacher at the Lo Primary School, both found themselves in the Requisition Section. Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing were in the Con-

This is the sixth instalment of a seven-part reportage-novelette dealing with the agrarian reform in Hunan Province. The fifth instalment described how the class status of the various peasants was discussed and differentiated. The next and final instalment will be a panorama of the countryside after the land reform, showing how the peasants themselves organise production and cultural study, and ending with the wedding of two militia couples.

The illustrations are by Chiang Chao-ho.

fiscation Section and to Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien were entrusted the work of taking over and transportation. As a rule, each section had four people. The Distribution Section, however, could boast of 16, including seven farmhands, five poor peasants and four middle peasants, all elected from the small groups, since distribution is the most complicated and difficult process in land reform.

* * *

Faced with the peasants' final offensive, the landlords, though shorn of their old glory and prestige, were yet unwilling to give in docilely. They retaliated with such tactics as the dispersion and hiding of properties and the instigation of factional conflict among the peasants.

Lo Meng-hsiung, nephew of the landlord Lo Pei-jung who was serving a seven-year sentence, had several pine trees on his land felled while the Peasants' Association was busily engaged in classification work. He got a carpenter from the Seven Star Slope, Liao San, to make two coffins for him, and sold the rest of the timber. However, he was smart enough always to appear in a shabby gown, and his wife would pretend they were poor and rush around borrowing

rice from others. Actually, scarcely a day went by without their killing a chicken or a duck and eating their fill. The ruse was soon discovered by the Confiscation Section. Lo was forced to cough up the cash and the coffins and all the left-over timber was promptly confiscated in accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law.

Practically all landlords tried to perform a few sleight-of-hand tricks in addition to perpetrating a certain amount of wilful destruction. They would extract the inner mechanism out of a merrily ticking desk clock. It was almost as though they all believed that a thing destroyed is a thing gained. Another landlord was caught by militia members while emptying sackfuls of grain into a pond at night.

Before going to Lo Meng-hsiung's house, Fu-chuan first made a trip to the Seven Star Slope and got hold of Liao San, the carpenter. From the latter he got a piece of valuable information. It seemed in addition to making two coffins, Liao San had also been asked to construct a double wall for Lo. Armed with this information they entered the Lo house. According to a careful plan, the confiscation officers immediately divided up. Some stood by on guard. Some searched the rooms and some inventoried the various articles. Chun-hsing was entrusted with the job of forcing Lo Meng-hsiung's wife to hand over the title deed to her husband's property.

Well, the deed was produced and the implements and animals were correctly inventoried. Then, placing his hands on his hips, Fu-chuan asked Lo Meng-hsiung, "Anything more?"

"You've taken away almost everything my ancestors left me. Are you still dissatisfied?" mumbled the landlord; then pointing at the baby nestling in the arms of his wife, he added, "I swear by him, my only precious offspring,

that all my properties are here before you."

"All right," said Fu-chuan, nodding imperceptibly to the militia members. They made their way straight towards a chicken-roost at the corner of the house. Lo Meng-hsiung's face turned pale as he watched them dragging it aside. Then the pick-axe Fu-chuan had brought along with him began to resound through the yard. The landlord's family trembled, and the militia, leaning on their spears, stared at the wall fascinated. A few bricks were finally worked loose, and a plank was visible behind. With that hacked open, a shining padlock fastened on to a huge camphor-wood trunk came into view.



A camphor-wood trunk came into view

The complete inventory list for Hsinlu Village was made out, checked by the Confiscation Section, and passed on to the take-over people. Then it was for Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien and others to see to the transportation. Farm implements and foodstuffs were concentrated in the various homesteads, where a few rooms confiscated from the landlords were specially set aside for storing them. Draught animals were temporarily kept by individual peasants to ensure their safety. Then the complete inventory, with detailed explanations as to where each item was kept, went around to the Distribution Section for general computation.

There were cases of landlords who requested to pay the amount of their foodstuffs in terms of other "movable properties." The

Association granted them permission to do so, and in no time at all the Pengs' Ancestral Temple was turned into an odd kind of department store. All kinds of ornaments, tonics, drugs and cosmetics, things hitherto unknown to the peasants were gathered together there. Glancing over them, Hsin-wu made the ironic comment: there's enough stuff for an exhibition showing "the way the landlords lived."

The first job that the Distribution Section busied themselves with was discovery of "black land*." If some of the lands listed were not complete, then fair and judicial distribution would be impossible. As far as the landlords were concerned, all their properties had

been brought out into the open during the period of class differentiation.

There was practically no problem there. But some middle peasants, especially tenant-middle-peasants, still proved intractable. It was because of this that Lu Yang decided to call an informal conference for tenant-middle-peasants.

"Talk of land reform! It left me even worse off than before!" grumbled Uncle Kuang-lin. "They are dividing up my land and struggling against me!"

Uncle Kuang-lin was by no means the only person who held those sentiments. Some of the tenants, who had shown themselves unusually courageous and active in fighting the landlords, began to sulk also when they saw the land they had cultivated for years marked down for redistribution.

Lu Yang listened patiently to the tenants "blowing off steam"; then he pointed out to them the indisputable truth that unless the landlords were brought down and the gigantic millstone of land rent and usury shaken off, no good living was possible for any of the peasants. So far everybody was in agreement. Then he expounded the necessity of "taking the

long view." Unity among the peasants must be taken as the basis for everything. It was wrong to haggle over some immediate personal matter at the expense of the future welfare of all. That, too, was unanimously accepted. Then Lu Yang got down to brass tacks and did some actual figuring for the tenants. After land distribution, they would each have their own land and no one would need to pay exorbitant rent (from 50 to 90 per cent of the produce) anymore. Apart from crop payments to the government, all that was left could be enjoyed by themselves. At the same time, while giving up a portion of their land to be distributed, they also saved on human and animal labour and fertilizer. They could cultivate what land they had with greater care and they would have time left to develop other forms of production on the side.

Thus, the essential points were all cleared up, and the Work Team and the Peasants' Association went on with propaganda work on a more general scale in order to dispel the last vestiges of selfishness still harboured by some of the peasants.

Hsin-wu then emphasised the principle of "the plenty making up for the few and the fat for the thin" in land distribution, taking care however to point out the mistake of "equalitarianism." Those who were especially poor and helpless, like Grandma Li, and those who were especially strong in labour power, like Fu-chuan, ought to get up to 200 per cent more.

Tu Yu-chen was nursing her baby when an idea occurred to her. Addressing Hsin-wu, she said, "You'll soon have a baby too. I suggest we reserve a portion of land for him." Many peasants applauded the idea. Hsin-wu, however, was firm in his refusal. The others were equally firm in pressing the land upon him. Finally Lu Yang stood up.

"In principle, land distribution goes per head. Suppose a person is very sick and dying. He still gets his portion if he is breathing on the day the land is distributed. The same rule applies to a baby.

* Black land—land, the ownership to which has been hidden to avoid pooling for redistribution.

If he hasn't yet come into the world at land distribution, we shouldn't count him in. Therefore, land or no land, it all depends on how fast the baby can run and catch up with us."

Owing to the difference in soil and location, two pieces of land of approximately the same size could vary a great deal in value. Moreover, the rice fields in Hunan are mostly of irregular shapes and don't lend themselves to exact measurement. Since measuring the land itself involved so many complications, the only reliable standard was the average productivity. Thus each peasant was asked to "appraise" his own land.

The correct procedure was for each peasant to write down the productivity of each plot of his land on a flag. Land that he owned himself had a red flag while a white one signified land rented from some landlord or rich peasant. Distribution officers would come around and make the final assessment.

On the eve of the planting of flags, the peasants all held family meetings. Each racked his memory and tried to think back how much his land used to yield in the past. Then the amount which was believed to be accurate would be written down on the paper flag. Landless peasants had a lot of work to do also. They hacked bamboo sticks and pasted paper flags for the others.

The next morning countless small flags fluttering in the wind appeared on the Hsinlu Village fieldpaths. Often a peasant would bring his whole family along to witness the grand ceremony of flag-planting. One was heard to mütter while sticking up his flag, "I couldn't dare look Chairman Mao in the face again if I made the amount too small." Another pointed at the Peasants' Association Membership Certificate pinned on his breast and swore that he had put down the absolutely correct amount. "I'm willing to forfeit this red silk insignia if I'm found to have cheated."

Around nine o'clock, the four small groups of Hsinlu Village and a few appraisal officers specially invited for that purpose appeared on the scene to conduct an actual investigation piece by piece. There was a secretary in every group with a ledger and a copper ink box. When the final amount for a piece of land was decided after due de-

liberation, he would write it down on the flag and also enter it in his ledger.

Most of the appraisal officers were peasants in their fifties or sixties. Standing there on fieldpaths, they would run their eyes expertly over the land lying at their feet, just like old cowherds judging the age of a cow by looking at its teeth.

An exhibition was held at the same time by the Association of all the "fruits of struggle" they had confiscated from the landlords. Peng Yin-ting's old mansion, now also confiscated, was turned over temporarily for that purpose. A piece of red cloth, on which were written the characters "Exhibition Showing the Way the Landlords Lived" was hung over the entrance to the huge, sumptuously decorated sitting room where Peng Yin-ting used to entertain passing Japanese military officers, including Brigadier-General Shirakawa. Inside the room, on the long sideboards under the shuttered windows were displayed gold and silver ingots of the Manchu regime, Buddhas and bracelets of gold, carved ivory fans, silver chopsticks, jade rice bowls, a huge closet with ingenious carvings and gold lettering and a four-poster bed with a row of small drawers on the side where delicacies and candies could be kept.

The peasants were ignorant with regard both to the names and the uses of these fancy articles. However, by contrasting them with what they themselves possessed, they could not help feeling angry and bitter. Hatred surged up in their breasts as they made the rounds, viewing each article, cursing as they went. Among them was also Yueh-lien. To her these were familiar sights, but she also paused and thought back on the way the owner of these beautiful things used to treat her.

Meanwhile, Comrade Chao Chieh-min called all Work Team cadres of the nine villages to a Land Distribution Meeting in the temple. First, they went over together the conditions of land distributed among the three divisions. As a result, it was found that the Third Division had comparatively less land than the other two. Thereupon he decided that the First Division should transfer 23 *tan* and five *tou* of land to the Second Division, which, in turn, should transfer 17 *tan* and four *tou*

of land to the Third. Thus the three divisions would all have an average of 2.4 to 2.5 *tou* for each person entitled to receive land.

Adjustment was thus made on the *hsiang* basis. Next they had to investigate the problem of land owned by each village. The average of Hsinlu Village, for instance, was .04 *tou* higher than that of Shihchiao Village, and .07 *tou* higher than that of Yunhu Village. The three villages, therefore, got together and discussed the best method of readjustment. It was not merely a job for the mathematicians. In adjusting land, you have to think about the peasants' domestic problems and the problem of housing. Finally they decided to follow the way of the old liberated area. Yunhu Village, which adjoined Shihchiao Village, would have a tract of land pared down equal in size to what Hsinlu Village should allocate. Then Hsinlu Village, in its turn, would also rule out the corresponding amount of land where it touched Yunhu Village.

* * *

It was almost 50 days now since land reform started. The peasants of Huilung *hsiang* had risen early and gone to bed late, and one by one they had pulled the landlords down. They had achieved so much simply because they had refused to compromise, ignored temptation and threats and kept on struggling to the very end. Undoubtedly, the last month or so had been a stormy period.

On the eve of land distribution the whole of Huilung *hsiang* seemed to brighten up. The storm was over, the sun had come out and joy was in every heart. From now on, a peasant would be able to enjoy fully the fruits of his own labour. He could brace his shoulders and, waving a hand at the land he cultivated, say with honest pride, "This is my land." A new, rational state of things had risen like a fresh, golden dawn breaking over the horizon.

And for three days and three nights, the main hall in the Pengs' Ancestral Temple swarmed with people—people on whose faces were written happy expectations.

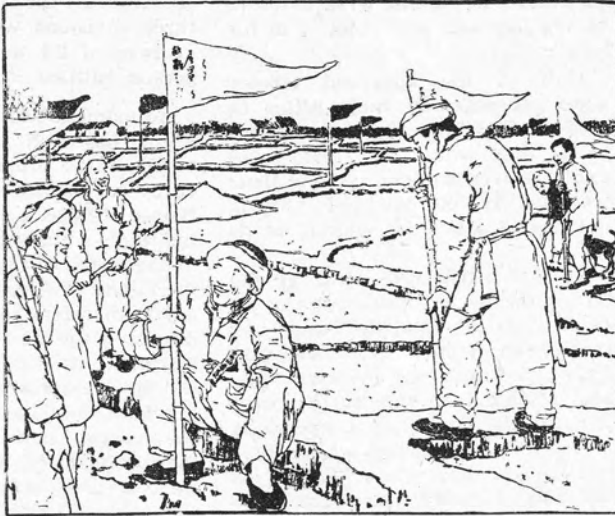
Peng Yu-chang, Lu Yang, Hsinwu and other distribution officers of the Association clustered around a square table beneath Chairman Mao's portrait. The time was

already nearing the end of January, 1951, and the overthrow of the feudal land system was then all but completed. Inside the gloomy temple, an icy wind whistled down people's necks. A few peasants had brought along bundles of hay from their homes and built a huge fire in the middle of the hall. Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming sat one on each end of the haystack

and fed the fire when it got low. The dry rice stalks crackled and the flame leaped up and down. Shadows played on the peasants' smiling faces, and warmth and harmony and deep-felt joy pervaded the whole gathering.

Each peasant would step up beside the fire and report on the number of people he had in his family. (Actually, in most cases, they were also there with him.) Then how much land and farm implements he owned. The Distribution Section would then open their ledger of "land to be divided" and select a share of land according to the amount the peasant was entitled to. Opinions from the masses could be offered on the spot. The peasant himself was also allowed to make suggestions. Aged people would get land that was located conveniently near. Those who owned water-wheels were given land higher up. Those who lacked certain implements could report and get new ones. Draught animals were shared, one among several families. In order not to overwork the animal, a three *tan* maximum of ploughing was set for each ox.

When Fu-chuan's turn came, he handed over his bundle of hay to Chun-hsing. Family? "One—myself." Land? "No land." Implements? "No implements." The crowd insisted that he should have two portions. Hence he was given a plough, a hoe, a big piece of land near the Big Graveyard valued at five *tan* and 2 *sheng* and a share together with three other families of a three-year-old calf that used



The paper flags told the yield of the land

to belong to Peng Erh-hu. For living quarters, he was given Peng Erh-hu's study.

While people applauded and edged up to shake hands with a slightly dazed Fu-chuan, Yueh-lien rushed into the room, brushing off snow flakes from her shoulders and sleeves. "Brother Hsin-wu, Brother Hsin-wu!" Hsin-wu, who was bending over the table busily registering, raised his head.

"Go home quickly!" she cried, gesticulating wildly, her mouth open. "Hurry and get the midwife. Your wife is in great pain!"

Hsin-wu instantly pushed his papers over to another distribution officer and threaded his way out through the crowd.

Tu Yu-chen also stood up. Momentarily forgetting her turn in land distribution, she thrust her own baby into the arms of her mother-in-law and followed Hsin-wu to help.

At around two o'clock in the night, the land distribution work was still in full swing when Chun-hsing entered carrying a steaming cauldron of glutinous rice. Placing it on the square table, she said, "You must all be tired out. Have a little something to eat!"

The officers did not think they should, since they knew Grandma Li was not so well off that she had a lot to spare, but the old woman herself was insistent. Leaning on her crutch, she urged them. "Go and eat! Otherwise we won't feel happy. This is the rice we specially saved for the lunar New Year.

But now for the first time since the world began the poor folks have their own land. Isn't that better than a hundred, a thousand New Years?"

The men gave in. Someone went and got a whole stack of bowls from the back of the temple, and Chun-hsing started ladling out the rice.

In the midst of this tumult, Tu Yu-chen again appeared, slightly out of breath. Planting herself squarely before the table, she shouted:

"Attention everybody. Sister-in-law Hsin-wu has just had twins. A boy and a girl!"

The applause that greeted this announcement was nothing short of deafening. Tu Yu-chen was immediately surrounded by a crowd of curious people who wanted to know more of the details.

Then a radiant Hsin-wu showed up, bowing right and left in response to people's congratulations. A moment later, he was back in his seat, once more buried in the intricate registration work.

* * *

The next morning, all the peasants got up early and trudged through the snow to have a look at their newly acquired land. Standing on the fieldpath, they surveyed the snow-covered fields, in their minds figuring out the amount of fertilizer and seeds needed and also imagining the ocean of lush green that would come with the autumn. Some of the fields already had markers on them saying proudly "Victory" or "Liberation" with careful notations on the side of the new owner's name and the date.

The Emancipation Meeting—the climax of land reform and an unparalleled joyous event for the peasants—was set for two o'clock on that very afternoon. Once more the scene was laid in the open ground in front of the Pengs' Ancestral Temple. The meeting was under the auspices of the three villages that came under the First Division; for several days all the village activists had been busily preparing for it. The stage was lit up by a pair of bright red scrolls, one saying "Earth and heaven overturned and feudalism destroyed!" and the other, "Resist America and

aid Korea; defend our homes and country!" On a horizontal tablet were written the words, "All peasants everywhere are brothers."

The celebration started in the morning around ten o'clock. Groups of peasants carrying spears or beating gongs and drums could be seen making their way along labyrinthine fieldpaths towards the Peng Chu Homestead. The primary school students led the procession. Some of them were got up in multi-coloured clothes, with towels tied around their heads, lightly skipping along doing a harvest dance. Some were members of the Young Pioneers with flowing red ties. A few had their faces heavily rouged and bounced among the procession, waving wooden swords.

The handicraftsmen on the Seven Star Slope had constructed two sedan chairs tied together with bamboo sticks and wrapped in red silk. Each chair bore four pictures framed against a background of heavy colourful brocade. On the first chair were portraits of Chairman Mao, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman Liu Shaoyi and Prime Minister Chou En-lai. On the other were portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Some of the workers acted as chair-carriers. Some were beating gongs and drums and some were blowing bamboo flutes.

Before the meeting started, Peasants' Association cadres of the three villages had already collected all the title deeds the landlords had handed over and piled them up in the centre of the meeting place in neatly tied bundles. Some of the deeds had turned yellow around the edges, having first been drawn up in the Manchu period. Some were wrapped up with layer after layer of silk. A great variety of seals were affixed to those deeds, representing the Manchu emperors, the warlords, the Wang Ching-wei puppet government and the KMT government. And some of the conditions stipulated in the deeds were cruel beyond belief. For example, a "big-headed contract" meant you must write down the five *tau* of land you rented as seven *tau* and pay your rent accordingly. "Fixed rent" meant the amount of rent you had to pay remained the same even in exceptionally bad or dis-

astrous years. "Flexible rent" meant the tenants could get the landlord to come over to a banquet in a bad year; if upon looking at the crop, he should decide to cut down the rent, all right and good. But it all depended on his whim, and very often the amount discounted was not even sufficient to cover the banquet expenses. There they were, all written down in black and white on those deeds. As the peasants looked at them, their eyes flamed with pain and hatred.

A string of firecrackers about five feet long, especially made for the occasion by the Seven Star Slope workers, was hung up right beside the pile of deeds.

The noise made by the gongs and drums grew louder as more and more people flowed in. Those who had a part in theatrical performances were already made up. The item offered by the peasants of Shihchiao Village was a dragon dance. The fabulous animal was over 50 feet in length, with its head painted gold. Its jaws moved up and down and its copper wire whiskers twitched most realistically. Yunhu Village put on a drum dance—"the Third Scholar Keeping Company with His Lass." The one who played the Third Scholar did not put his beard on right; so it kept falling off, to the great amusement of the audience. The dance performed by Hsinlu Village peasants was copied from the dance of fishermen around Tungting Lake. Chun-hsing in a pink blouse and a baby-blue skirt was "the oyster." She had two huge pieces of stiffened cloth tied to her arms, red on the outside and white inside, which represented the two halves of her shell. She was fleeing from a young fisherman, played by Yueh-lien, who followed behind her with a fishing net, acting out gestures of casting and drawing in the net.

The national anthem was sung, with the fresh voiced primary school students in the lead. Next everybody bowed to the national flag and the picture of Chairman Mao. Then the presidium, formed by the three Association Chairmen, Chairman of the Women's Association, Captain of the Militia, leader of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants and the three

Village Chairmen, mounted the stage and the meeting began.

Great promises and solemn declarations were made during the meeting by peasants who never before in their lives had spoken in public. Li Chen-nan pledged that he would work hard at production and dyke repairing. Lo Shu-min demanded that women be allowed to take equal part in dyke repairing since in land distribution women received equal treatment with men.

Finally Fu-chuan also pulled himself together and ran up the stage. Nervously twisting his hat in one hand, he made a stiff bow to the audience and began:

"I only know how to meddle with mud and I can't talk. But, when we drink, we don't forget the well-digger; in emancipation, let us not forget the Communist Party! Without Chairman Mao, without the Communist Party, where would I be today? Wouldn't I still be trampled underfoot by Peng Erhu?"

With arms raised, the peasants sent out shouts like roaring tides.

"Long live the Communist Party!"
"Long live Chairman Mao, the peasants' saviour!"

When the slogans gradually quieted down, Fu-chuan went on:

"I understand now very well that landlords and imperialism cannot be separated. Look at the Peng family, Peng Yin-ting and Peng Er-hu! Didn't my father die at their hands? But we were then all 'sealed up in a drum,' since the Communists hadn't yet come to help us open our eyes. Now it's different. If America should want to do what Japan did and try to push us around, we'll get up and smash them all—American imperialists as well as all the Taiwan traitors!"

Shouts and applause shook the quiet fields of Hsinlu Village, echoing the rise of China's new peasantry.

Then a crackling sound was heard. The firecrackers were lit and bundle after bundle of deeds began to catch fire and burn. They were the weapons of the landlord class, by which they sucked the blood of the peasants. Now they were all in shreds and ashes and the wind carried them away.

Archive

One Year of the Korean War

The following is the slightly abridged text of the editorial which appeared under the above title in the Peking "People's Daily" of June 25, 1951.

The Korean people's war against the aggression brought about by the American imperialist invasion of their country is one year old.

What is the over-all and fundamental character of the changes which have taken place in the Korean war situation during the past year? It is as follows: The American aggressors, at the outset, had the wild idea of destroying Korea in a quick war, but as it finally turned out, they were forced to conduct a drawn-out war of attrition. The Korean People's Army, advancing along a circuitous path and guided by a long-term and highly mobile war strategy, is continuously annihilating the enemy's manpower in large numbers, thus dealing serious blows to the American plan to expand their war of aggression. An important factor which brought about the change in the war situation was the appearance on the Korean battlefield of the heroic Chinese people's volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Korean People's Army, securing a decisive victory.

The Chinese people have always stood for and still stand for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Even in the early days of the Korean war, on August 20, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Central People's Government sent a telegram to the Security Council of the United Nations supporting in its entirety the proposal brought forward by the Soviet delegate on August 4 concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The subsequent statement of Premier Chou En-lai, on October 1, 1950; the statement of the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on November 11, 1950; the proposal of China's delegate Wu Hsiu-chuan, as embodied in his speech made in the Security Council on November 28, 1950, concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean question; the statement of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on December 22, 1950; the telegraphic reply of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai to the First Committee of the United Nations

of January 17, 1951; the statement of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai on February 2, 1951; as well as the Joint Manifesto issued by the various democratic parties of China on November 4, 1950—all firmly upheld that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea and that the Korean people should be allowed to settle the Korean question themselves. It was only because the U.S. Government unscrupulously and repeatedly refused to accept this, continued to extend the aggressive war in Korea, directly threatened China's security and jeopardised China's peaceful construction, that the Chinese people could tolerate the situation no longer. They volunteered to resist America, aid Korea and defend their homes and Motherland, an act which was in complete conformity with justice.

On June 23, Soviet delegate to the United Nations, Jacob Malik, in a broadcast speech, once again put forward proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The Chinese people fully endorse his proposal. This is another test for America, to see whether she accepts the lessons of the past and is willing to settle the Korean question peacefully.

As is generally known, America's war of aggression against Korea is an unjust one—hostile to the Korean people, the Chinese people, the peoples of all Asia and of the world. The Korean people's war against American aggression is a just one. It represents the desire of the whole people of Korea for independence and the desires of all peoples to oppose aggression and defend peace. The character of this war determines its law of development.

Let us now recall how the American aggressors instigated the war. During the year before the outbreak of the war, the paid agents of American imperialism, the Syngman Rhee gang, carried out 1,274 armed provocations and probing actions on the 38th Parallel in Korea. Later, John Foster Dulles, Special Consultant to the

U.S. State Department, "personally visited the 38th Parallel." Then Syngman Rhee launched his puppet troops acting on a "top secret order" in a sudden, all-out attack northward across the 38th Parallel. On the third day after the outbreak of the war, Truman ordered the despatch of American naval, land and air forces in a large-scale invasion of Korea, attempting to wipe out the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in one thrust. At the same time, Truman openly announced the seizure of China's territory, Taiwan, and the intensification of the armed intervention in Viet-Nam in an attempt to carry out aggression against and threaten China from three directions. Because the Wall Street billionaires were dissatisfied with the great weakening of the imperialist camp which was an outcome of the Second World War and were dissatisfied with the fact that the results of the civil war against the people started by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang had led to the ruin of American imperialist rule in China, they were anxious to engineer a new aggressive war to restore their rule in China, whereby they could go on to enslave the two continents of Europe and Asia in their craving for world conquest. The invasion of Korea was only one step in the aggressive plot of U.S. imperialism.

However, the people of the world, having passed through the Second World War, have experienced victory in the anti-fascist war, and have the incomparably powerful and mighty strength of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, and particularly the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people. Imperialism has lost the position of superiority in which it could dictate to the whole world. American imperialism wants to take the old fascist path and incite a new aggressive war against human justice, but all its wishful thinking will inevitably come to nought. At the very outset of America's attack on Korea, it suffered the courageous counterblows of the Korean People's Army.

Because it stands on the side of justice, the KPA not only rapidly routed the enemy's attack but immediately carried out a counter-offensive. The KPA drove the enemy to the southeast corner of Korea and secured victory in the first stage of the war.

The American aggressors, furious at their loss of face, used superior numbers of armed forces to land in Inchun, disregarded numerous warnings given by the Chinese people and unscrupulously rejected the repeated Chinese proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The American invaders crossed the 38th Parallel and announced that it no longer existed. They frantically strove to destroy Korea in one thrust and fanned the war flames directly to the bank of the Yalu River on the border of Northeast China, preparing to go further and invade China. The Chinese people consequently launched the movement to resist America, aid Korea and defend their homes and Motherland, organised the Chinese people's volunteers and joined in the Korean people's war against aggression. As a result, with the powerful aid of the Chinese people's volunteers, the KPA, which was temporarily placed in a gravely unfavourable position during the second stage of the Korean war, scored great victories in five successive campaigns during the third stage of the war.

Since October 25, 1950 when the Chinese people's volunteers first took part in the fighting, more than

200,000 enemy troops have been wiped out on the Korean battlefield within a period of seven and a half months. Of this number, American troops sustained approximately 100,000 losses. This shows how heavy was the blow dealt the aggressors by the KPA and Chinese volunteers. The *U.S. News and World Report* weekly admitted on April 13, 1951, that in the first year the U.S. entered World War II—from December, 1941 to December, 1942, the loss of men suffered by the American naval, land and air forces was only 58,547.

At first the American aggressors, who are outwardly strong but inwardly weak, were unwilling to admit their failure. Now they are forced to admit it. On May 3, MacArthur admitted in his testimony that his troops had suffered 250,000 losses.

This figure is far less than the total losses of the aggressors in Korea and approximates their losses for only eight months. What was to be done? MacArthur's answer was to take the risk of expanding the war at once. The answer of Marshall and others, however, was to go slower. Although Truman dismissed MacArthur for the purpose of shifting his responsibility for the defeat in Korea, there was still no ray of hope by which they could retrieve their failures.

Facts have proved that although the American imperialists are intensifying preparations for a new world war, their actual experiences

in the Korean war have demonstrated that their strength is inadequate. When Lyndon B. Johnson, a Democrat Senator, asked Marshall on May 10 in Washington, "Do you think we are presently prepared to meet a world struggle?" Marshall replied, "I am quite certain we are not."

The Korean war has clearly pushed the United States right into a hopeless crisis. The war burden for each American citizen reached 300 dollars in 1951, or 100 times more than in 1938. The income of three-fourths of the American people is not enough to maintain a bare livelihood and hundreds of thousands of people starve to death every year (according to *Trud* of the U.S.S.R., April 9). This serious situation did not take place in the United States even during the course of the Second World War. This will widen the contradictions between the American people as a whole and the Wall Street billionaires and make the American people demand, more strongly with each passing day, the withdrawal of American troops from Korea and oppose new aggressive wars. The American Government's war mobilisation, therefore, will certainly encounter difficulties. Marshall admitted in his testimony on May 12 that the total number of troops they could hastily get together at present and put into action is 18 divisions and 18 regiments. Inadequate manpower is a fatal weakness determined by the unjust nature of their war. Precisely because of this, they desperately aim to remilitarise Japan and West Germany. But this cannot halt the crisis of the United States; on the contrary, it will only isolate American imperialism still further.

Republican Senator Henry Lodge complained that "only a handful of nations were supplying men to the U.N. Command in Korea." And the rulers of the "handful of nations" are afraid of the future and disappointed in the United States. The gallant Chinese and Korean peoples' forces punctured the American paper tiger during the Korean war. So the people of the whole world have seen clearly its desperate look and even rulers in other capitalist countries with a little insight have also seen through it.

Although the rulers of Britain, France, Italy and some other nations are unable to cut adrift from American domination, they have

중국의 피리를 붙잡은 늑대같은 적으로 아오하임
은 군사적 모험에 눈뜬 미국의 마제



He Took Hold of More Than He Could Take

By a Cartoonist in the "Arrow," People's Korea

already demanded a more neutral policy.

Eisenhower is in great distress because the Western European aggressive forces have not been built up yet. But what is more important is that the manpower resources for aggression in Korea have been gradually exhausted. Therefore Wedemeyer stated gloomily in his testimony on June 12 that the Korean war was a "bottomless pit, with no foreseeable victory for the United Nations."

In the course of the fighting, the KPA and the Chinese people's volunteers have achieved great victories which have changed the course of the war and have created a situation that will secure certain victory for the Korean people in their war against aggression. This, the further efforts of the American aggressors can never change. If America still turns down the proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, then the armed forces of the Korean and Chinese peoples are certainly able to complete the vanquishing of the enemy invading Korea provided they continue the fairly long and hard war with persistence.

The armed forces of Korea and the Chinese people's volunteers have behind them the strength of the camp of world peace and democracy, which has gained a position of superiority in the whole world, and in particular the strength of the over 500 million Chinese and Korean people on whom they directly rely. They are serving a cause of the greatest world historic significance — the smashing of the mad plot of American imperialism for world domination, the safeguarding of world peace and people's democracy—and are thus changing the face of world history. Their victories are stimulating a new wave of struggles of the peoples all over the world for peace. The Korean people's victorious experiences in their war against American aggression during the past year have also taught the peoples of all colonial and dependent countries that only by standing up heroically and waging armed struggle against the armed aggressors can they make a reality of the independence and liberation of their own countries and peoples.

LI SUN IM—"MOTHER OF THE WOUNDED"

Li Sun Im, head nurse of the medical corps of a unit of the Korean People's Army, is hardly out of her teens. First woman in the KPA to be awarded the glorious title of "Heroine of the Korean Democratic People's Republic," she is widely known among the fighters as "Mother of the Wounded."

Born in Myungchun, North Hamkyung Province, Li Sun Im grew up and went to school in Northeast China where, after Japan's surrender, she joined the Chinese People's Liberation Army and became an army medical worker. From the beginning she showed a selfless spirit in her work. In 1947 she was elected a model worker, and in 1949, a people's heroine.

When U.S. imperialism unleashed its attack on Korea last June, she returned to her homeland with many other Korean comrades, joined the KPA and soon became head nurse in her corps. She distinguished herself in service at the front. Her guiding slogan—"We are mothers to the wounded. None of them shall die!"—inspired everyone with whom she worked.

When Choi Man Su, a KPA platoon leader, was heavily wounded and had lost so much blood that the doctors feared he would die, Li Sun Im not only offered her own blood but insisted on transfusing the blood to him. This saved his life and five days later he was out of danger. Soon afterwards, she gave her blood to two other wounded fighters.

Her selflessness has been an example which the other nurses have followed enthusiastically. She herself has given 1,700 cubic centimetres of blood to the Korean fighters during her months of service.

After the liberation of Tanyang last year, Li Sun Im and her team were nursing some 500 wounded soldiers in a small village when 12 enemy planes attacked and set the village on fire. Under heavy strafing, she and her team rescued all the wounded by getting them to a dugout 200 metres away. Li Sun Im herself made the dangerous trip with 80 of the men.

No matter how dangerous and difficult the conditions, Li Sun Im's first concern has always been the safety of the wounded. For this spirit some months ago she was awarded the Order of the National Flag, First Class.

When the main force of the KPA withdrew to the North, Li Sun Im remained with her unit in the enemy's rear, carrying on the struggle under very trying conditions. Although she was in occupied territory, she and the other nurses succeeded in continuing their work of nursing the wounded and even managed to organise entertainments and discussions for them which kept up their morale and confidence in victory. This courageous woman and other brave nurses brought supplies over the mountains at night.

Since the joint counter-offensive by the KPA and the Chinese volunteers, Li Sun Im has come to be known and loved by the Chinese volunteer fighters for the maternal care which she has given to them as well as to the Korean fighters. She has organised training classes to teach others all that she has learned about nursing the wounded under such conditions as she has faced.

Recently when she was congratulated on her latest award, she replied: "The glory belongs to the Party which educated me and to the heroic Korean and Chinese fighters at the front. I shall redouble my efforts for the liberation of my country and work hard to become our Motherland's good daughter."

—Hsinhua Special Correspondent

THIRTY YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Continued from page 12)

He vainly hoped to placate the landlord and bourgeois elements of the KMT by compromises and concessions so that they would not desert the revolutionary front, and hoped thereby to "save the revolution." The result was that the more compromises the Communist Party made, the stronger the reactionary forces became while the strength of the masses was seriously undermined and sustained severe losses as a result of the vacillations and restraint of the Communist Party.

In this situation, the imperialists quickly entered into collusion with Chiang Kai-shek. The feudal landlords and the big comprador bourgeoisie also made Chiang Kai-shek their new political representative and urged him to crush the great but still inexperienced Chinese revolution from within.

At that time there were possibilities that the Communist Party of China could avert or, at least, mitigate the subsequent defeat. For, as early as November, 1926, Comrade Stalin had already served a timely and pertinent warning in his well-known speech. *On the Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution*. In this speech, Stalin pointed out with perfect correctness the feebleness of China's national bourgeoisie, the serious danger that the imperialist powers would make use of the Chinese counter-revolutionary forces to carry out intervention against the Chinese revolution. He pointed out with perfect correctness that in the Chinese revolution it was extremely important to have genuine revolutionary armed forces, for the Communists to study military science and be able to handle armed forces, develop the revolution in the countryside and satisfy the demands of the peasants; for the proletariat to rise and gain the leadership. Later, Comrade Stalin and the Executive Committee of the Communist International continued to give detailed guidance regarding the policy which the Chinese Communist Party should adopt in the Chinese revolution. If these valuable opinions of Comrade Stalin and the Communist International had been successful in awakening the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in time, it would not have been possible for the enemy to have defeated the revolution at a single stroke.

At this first crucial juncture of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung first showed his great revolutionary genius. Comrade Mao Tse-tung first employed the methods of Marxism-Leninism to analyse the class relationships in China and recognised that the ability or inability of the working class to exercise leadership over the peasants was the key to the success or failure of the Chinese revolution. This was the problem which had not been solved at the previous Party Congresses—including the Third Party Congress. At the end of 1924 Comrade Mao Tse-tung set out to study rural conditions in Hunan and to lead the peasants' revolutionary struggles. In 1925 and 1926, he headed the National Peasant Movement Institute in Kwangtung, directing his efforts to the training of cadres to lead the peasant struggle. In March, 1926, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his Marxist-Leninist work, *An Analysis of the Various Classes in Chinese Society*, formularised

his observations on the Chinese peasants and other classes. He pointed out in this work that to distinguish true friends from enemies is a problem of primary importance in the revolution. Only in this way "could we unite our true friends to attack our real enemies." Then Comrade Mao Tse-tung proceeded to make a penetrating analysis of the economic and political position of the five main social forces in China—the landlord and comprador classes, the bourgeoisie, the middle peasants and other petty-bourgeoisie, the poor peasants and other semi-proletarians, and the proletariat. And he reached the conclusion that, "All the warlords, bureaucrats, and comprador and big landlord classes in conspiracy with the imperialists, and that part of the reactionary intelligentsia attached to them are our enemies.



The industrial proletariat is the leading force in our revolution. All the semi-proletarian classes and petty bourgeoisie are our closest friends. Regarding the vacillating middle classes (Note: here Comrade Mao Tse-tung refers to the national bourgeoisie), their Right wing is our potential enemy, and their Left wing our potential friend,

but we must be constantly on guard, lest they disrupt our front." Thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung opposed the Right opportunism of Chen Tu-hsiu which recognised only the bourgeoisie and the KMT but failed to see the peasants, as well as the "Left" opportunism of Chang Kuo-tao which recognised only the workers but failed to see the peasants.

In order to support the peasant struggles which had already arisen and were still arising during the Northern Expeditionary War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in January, 1927 made an investigation into the energetic struggles of the Hunan peasants to overthrow the landlords' rule. He then wrote the most important work of the Party during the whole period of the First Revolutionary Civil War—*Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan*. Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely denounced all those inside and outside of the Party who doubted and reproached the peasants. He emphatically pointed out that if the Party would only adopt the policy of mobilising the masses to the maximum extent, then "within a very short time, several hundred million peasants will rise in China's central, southern, and northern provinces. Impetuous as a hurricane, they will sweep along with such force that no power, however great, will be able to stop them. Racing towards the goal of liberation, they will break all bounds and drive all imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, and bad gentry into their graves."

The main value of this work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is that: (1) It gives a complete estimate of the role of the peasants in the Chinese revolution; (2) It points out the necessity of establishing peasant political power and peasant armed forces in the rural areas; (3) It analyses the various strata of the peasantry and points out that the poor peasants who constitute the majority of the Chinese population are the most revolutionary force among the peasants;

(4) It emphatically advocates the revolutionary principle of mobilising, organising and relying on the masses without restraint. For these reasons, this work has become a classic document for the Chinese Communists in leading the peasants' struggle. But, at that time, although Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct views gained the support of a section of the Party membership, they were nevertheless suppressed by Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunist leading clique and were not adopted by the decisive leadership of the Party. Therefore, the revolution could not be saved at that time.

Exactly as Comrade Stalin had foreseen, the imperialists intensified their intervention against the Chinese revolution. On March 24, 1927, after the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied Nanking, the



Wading Across an Icy River on the Long March

Woodcut by Kuan Fu-sheng

fleets of Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy bombarded the city. Under the instructions of the imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai on April 12, massacred large numbers of workers and members of the Communist Party and declared his opposition to the Communists. Although the Left-wing KMT at Hankow publicly declared a punitive campaign against Chiang Kai-shek, the reactionary tendencies within that clique nevertheless developed rapidly.

In this critical situation, the Chinese Communist Party convened its Fifth Party Congress in Hankow on April 25. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was present at this Congress, but he was completely excluded from the leadership of the Congress by Chen Tu-hsiu and was not permitted to vote at the Congress. Certain comrades like Chu Chiu-pai and Jen Pi-shih criticised the opportunist leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu, but they lacked positive measures. Although the Fifth Party Congress accepted the correct guidance given by the Communist International regarding the Chinese revolution, although it passed resolutions condemning opportunism and calling for the implementation of agrarian reform, it still elected Chen Tu-hsiu as General Secretary of the Party. And in fact, Chen Tu-hsiu was still persisting in his inveterate opportunist viewpoints. Thus, the Fifth Party Congress actually did not solve any problems. Immediately afterwards, the reactionary army officer Hsu Ke-hsiang staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Changsha on May 21

and massacred many revolutionaries. On July 15, the KMT at Wuhan formally decided to break with the Communist Party and thus betrayed the revolution. In this way the First Revolutionary Civil War met with defeat.

Although the First Revolutionary Civil War failed, it taught the young Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people very great and very important lessons. The First Revolutionary Civil War bore out the following fundamental principles regarding China's democratic revolution:

(1) the democratic revolution in present-day China must be undertaken by a united front led by the working class; the victory of the revolution could not be achieved without this united front, and the united front would fail if it were led not by the working class but by the bourgeoisie;

(2) in China's democratic revolution, the central problem of the leadership of the working class was the peasant problem; only when the peasants were won over as a revolutionary ally could the revolutionary victory be achieved;

(3) the main form of the revolution in China could only be that of an armed revolution opposing armed counter-revolution; everything would be lost without revolutionary armed forces.

These lessons proved to be correct not only during the First Revolutionary Civil War but also in the subsequent periods.

The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War demonstrated that the strength of counter-revolution in China, and first of all, the strength of imperialism, far surpassed that of the revolution; that in order to defeat powerful international imperialism, which had for many decades invaded China, and its lackey—Chinese feudalism, we must undergo a serious struggle; and that in order to lead this serious struggle to victory, reliance must be placed not merely on revolutionary zeal, but also on the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese Communist Party, soon after its foundation, plunged into the tremendous nation-wide revolutionary struggle, during which many Communists displayed boundless loyalty to the working class and to the cause of the people as well as a high degree of organisational ability. But, with the exception of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and a limited number of others, they failed to study Marxism-Leninism seriously and to comprehend the spirit and substance of Marxism-Leninism. This weakness of the Party resulted in the failure of the leading organs of the Party to grasp the revolutionary guidance given by Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International, and to overcome opportunist mistakes and bourgeois betrayal in the midst of intricate, critical and fast changing revolutionary struggles. The inadequacy of theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in the Party indicated that, the Party, as a whole, was still in its infancy at that time.

The Chinese Communist Party entered into a difficult period after the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War. But it was during this difficult period that the Party reached both political and military maturity.

(To be continued)

CULTURAL



With the vacations of the second summer since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the people of Peking have plunged with enthusiasm into the delights of sport.

Swimming has become one of the most popular recreations in Peking today. The *plage* at the Summer Palace is always crowded and so is the newly opened People's Swimming Pool at Shihshahai Lake. Only a few months ago this was a noisome body of water. Now it has been transformed into one of the largest and finest municipal swimming pools in the world. Modern dressing and shower rooms, restaurants and a first-aid station look out on tiled paths, gardens and four large basins of different depths, one a special, extra deep diving pool. The entrance fee is equivalent to about the cost of half-a-bottle of lemonade. A useful precaution is that tickets are sold only upon presentation of a certificate signed at regular intervals by a doctor. On the opening day 4,000 bathers crowded in. Thousands of spectators looked over the railings from the nearby Peking Summer Fair. A team of instructors has 1,000 swimming fans in training.

Athletics in general have "caught on" in New China in an astounding way. The people's government, as no other government before it, fosters physical culture to create a healthy, happy nation. The young people, too, seeing the wide horizons opened out before them, know that a well-developed physique is the passport to living the new life fully and well.

The Peking Athletic Association has planned a full programme of athletic activities. Inspired by the famous Soviet sports movement "For Labour and Defence," it has set standards for the 100-metre dash, the high jump, grenade throw-

PEKING'S SUMMER RECREATIONS

ing, swimming and other sports. Anyone successfully completing these standard tests can claim the medal "For Successful Completion of Summer Athletic Training, 1951."

Sports groups have been formed in schools, factories and government offices to train for the tests. And there is widespread new interest in athletic events. Two courses with 1,000 trainees have been started for special coaching in track and field events and gymnastics. Peking Radio devotes a period every Monday afternoon to sports news. On Tuesdays and Thursdays special sports lectures are given at various places with public demonstrations by experts. Volley and basketball games are among the favourite group games mainly because of the ease with which courts can be set up. A considerable fillip to basketball was given by the recent visit of the champion Soviet team. In the All-China championships held in May, it was a joint workers and peasants team from Central-South China that carried off the prize.

In the Parks

Like every great city in the long hot days of summer, Peking, when work is done, seeks the trees, shade, flowers, water. And Peking abounds with these key ingredients of healthy recreation. The great pleasure grounds of the former Emperor and nobility have been taken over by the people. Within the Forbidden City, Chungshan or Sun Yat-sen Park was the former Imperial Altar to the God of Earth and Grain; the Working People's Palace of Culture was the Emperors' ancestral shrine; Peihai and Yi Ho Yuan were the Winter and Summer Palaces of the Emperors. Tien Tan, the Temple of Heaven, is a cool beauty spot amid a great grove of cypresses. The zoological gardens outside the West Gate was once a resort reserved only for the Imperial Court. In the month of June alone, over half a million people visited these historic parks, with their works of art, their splendid vistas and lakes where people love to row or rest in picnic boats.

The whole aspect of these parks is utterly transformed. They have become the heritage of the masses and are being restored to all their former glory.

In the huge halls of the Working People's Palace of Culture, in the Historical Museum, in the pavilions of the Winter Palace, in the long gallery of the Chungshan Park, thousands of workers and peasants, people's fighters, students and cadres find enjoyment. There are numerous exhibitions: "New Czechoslovakia," an exhibition of treasures from an ancient tomb of the Yin Dynasty of 3,000 years ago, collections of photographs, of modern Soviet Art in reproductions, an exhibition on modern agricultural methods, etc. There is a collection of mementoes of the May Fourth Movement, of materials on Korea's war of liberation.

There is entertainment as well as instruction. In the garden of the Working People's Palace of Culture, the North China Circus gives "an amazing exhibition of skill and daring" trick riding on horses, balancing, juggling, clowning.

When night falls, the cinemas open their doors in parks and theatres. The playhouses unfold their worlds of phantasy or realism. There is a concert of records at the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries — *The Swan Lake*, *The Queen of Spades*. The All-China Troupe of Jugglers and Acrobats, recently returned from a tour of the Soviet Union, are performing at the Workers' Theatre. There is a recital by the famous Korean dancer Choi Sung Hi and her group. On a Saturday night there are the usual dances for cadres in their club rooms. In the parks, dramatic groups present plays written and acted by the workers, *yangko* dramas and dances.

With a book under the shade of willow trees, cool in the breeze from the spacious lake in the Winter Palace, a Peking worker says to his companion: "I am resting. Yet I am learning."

CURRENT CHINA

June 26—July 10, 1951

Korean Front

Cease-fire Talks: General Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and General Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese people's volunteers, on July 1 notified General Matthew Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces, that they agreed to meet the latter's representative to hold cease-fire talks. This was their reply to General Ridgway's statement of June 30 following the cease-fire proposal made by Jacob Malik, Soviet delegate to the United Nations, on June 23.

After several exchanges of messages, a preliminary meeting of the liaison officers was held on July 8 at Kaisung. On July 10, the first session of the cease-fire talks began at the same city, with Gen. Nam Il as chief delegate from the people's forces and Vice-Admiral C. Turner Joy as chief delegate from the U.N. forces.

At the meeting, Gen. Nam Il briefly defined the attitude of the Korean and Chinese peoples towards the talks and put forward three proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question: (1) cessation of all hostilities on all fronts; (2) withdrawal of the armed forces of both parties to 10 km. from the 38th Parallel, and the exchange of prisoners of war; (3) withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea in the shortest possible time.

Enemy Losses: The Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers wiped out 7,513 enemy troops along the 38th Parallel from June 16 to 20, states a report from that front. Of these, 1,920 were American troops and 5,285 puppet Syngman Rhee troops, and 308 were taken prisoner.

Air Atrocities: U.S. planes bombed Pyongyang for three successive days from July 1 to 3. During the bombing, hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded. U.S. strafing planes killed more than 500 civilians, of which most were farmers working in the fields, when they raided Wonsan, Hamhyng, Anchu, Sariwon, Namchun and other districts on July 1 and 2.

In Defence of Peace

A total of 2,068 planes, 112 guns and other equipment has been contributed by the nation to aid the volunteers in Korea and strengthen the nation's defence, states a July 10 press report.

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The China Peace Committee announced on July 10 that 341,884,283 people, or 71.9 per cent of the entire population, had signed in support of a 5-Power Peace Pact and 337,811,201 people, or 71.1 per cent of the population, had voted against the U.S. rearmament of Japan.

Peace Committee's Call

Pointing out that the Korean war has not yet stopped, and that the Korean question has not yet been settled, the China Peace Committee has called on the people not to relax their vigilance for a single moment. In its July 4 statement, the Committee urges all its branches and sub-committees to extend the campaign for contributing planes, tanks and other heavy equipment to the national defence.

Planes Convey Fry

A plane load of 60,000 fry has been flown from Hankow to Chungking to increase the stocks of fish there. This is another unprecedented event in China, in keeping with the recent use of planes to kill locusts. The airlift saved the fry from a 20 to 50 per cent loss which would have taken place had the transport been by ship.

Wheat Ousts Opium

The chief crop in Sikang Province today is wheat. Before liberation 70 per cent of the land in certain localities of the province was planted to opium poppies whose cultivation is now prohibited. The change in crops is reflected in the people's lives. Now for the first time people in these areas have enough food to eat.

Price Stability

Prices in China continued firm in April and May, the former "fluctuation season," especially on the pre-harvest grain market. Price indices showed an increase of only 0.8 per cent in April and 0.5 per cent in May.

Gifts to Martyrs' Families

The provincial local government and military authorities in Kwangsi sent a joint delegation to Tientung, Tienyang and other counties of the province in June to visit the families of martyrs and army-men who sacrificed their lives during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36). Gifts worth one billion yuan were presented to the dependents of these heroes.

In mid-June, the Kiangsi provincial government also sent a total of 7,500,000 catties of rice to be distributed among the families of local martyrs and army-men.

Minorities' Education

In Kwangtung Province alone, 862 elementary schools have been set up for the national minority peoples since liberation. These schools now have an enrolment of over 28,000 pupils.

To subsidise the Northwest's schools for national minorities, the People's Government has provided nearly eight billion yuan to five institutions of higher learning and 2,400 middle and primary schools.

Summer Health

Inoculations against cholera, typhoid and dysentery are being carried out all over China as part of the summer health programme.

Some 3,500,000 people in Shanghai and 1,300,000 in Tientsin have already been inoculated. Canton reports that in 20 days 460,000 people have been inoculated.

Chinese Films Abroad

A delegation of film producers has taken five Chinese films, including the famous *White-Haired Girl*, to Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, for showing at the International Film Festival. The festival which is scheduled to open on July 14 will include a competition of films from various countries.

The Nation Hails CCP's 30th Anniversary

A united and jubilant nation hailed the 30th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party. On June 30, the eve of the Party's birthday, the celebrations were at their height in every part of the country. Meetings were held in every city, town and village to discuss the 30-year history of the Communist Party's struggle in leading the Chinese revolution to victory, the development of Marxism-Leninism in China, and the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Together with Party and Youth League members in factories, government offices, army units, schools and villages, non-party democrats also participated actively in the celebrations.

More than 40,000 people gathered in Peking's Sports Stadium for a rally on June 30 to celebrate the occasion. On the rostrum where, flanked by four huge Party flags, hung portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh were leading Party workers, representatives of the Central People's Government, the various democratic parties, people's organisations and the national minorities. Among the guests were members of fraternal Communist Parties and of the Korean People's Delegation to China.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Party were greeted with prolonged cheers which saluted the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Stalin and the solidarity between China and the Soviet Union.

Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, opened the meeting. Comrade Liu Shao-chi then made a speech outlining the reasons for the victory of the Communist Party and the Chinese revolution. (For the full text of his speech, see page 5 of this issue.)

On July 1, the birthday of the Party, the Chinese People's PCC and the various democratic parties jointly gave a banquet attended by Chairman Mao, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and numerous other prominent guests in honour of the occasion.

At a meeting in Shanghai, birthplace of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) said:

"The wide-spread celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of China show the breadth of support for the Communist Party by the masses and how strong is the inspiration they have derived from the self-sacrifice and firm faith of the Communist Party."

Celebrations were held with similar enthusiasm at Juichin and Yen-an, former headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party. At Yen-an, on the eve of the anniversary the entire village of Yangchialing sent a letter to Chairman Mao on how production there had risen. To honour the occasion industrialists and merchants in the city of Yen-an alone contributed within a three-day period over 100 million yuan to buy planes to aid Korea.

There were numerous instances of workers raising their production targets to salute the Party's birthday. Workers constructing the Chungking-Chengtu Railway completed the 164-km. section from Chungking to Yungchuan before July 1, thus overfulfilling the target they had set themselves early in June to honour the anniversary. Typical of the zeal with which the workers welcomed the Party anniversary, the blast furnace department of a North China steel mill on July 1 announced that it had fulfilled its target for the first half of 1951, 25 days ahead of schedule. Coal miners of the Fushun mine, one of the biggest open-caste collieries in the world, fulfilled their production targets in five months instead of six.

People's organisations and numerous individuals throughout the country have sent letters and telegrams of congratulations to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union cabled its fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of China, stating that under the leadership of the latter's leadership "the Chinese people have made a historic contribution to the cause of consolidating the whole peace-loving and anti-imperialist camp." Salutations were also received from other fraternal parties both in the People's Democracies and in capitalist countries.

U.S. Peace Congress Greeted

The China Peace Committee cabled greetings to the American National Peace Congress which met in Chicago from June 29 to July 1. It urged the Congress to strive for a speedy peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the signing of over-all peace treaties with a democratic Germany and Japan and for the conclusion of a 5-Power Peace Pact.

A great part of the Chinese press has editorially hailed the recent success of the U.S. Peace Congress and the growing strength of the forces of peace in America.

All leading newspapers in the country have carried the news of the intensified persecution of Eugene Dennis and other leading members of the American Communist Party by the U.S. government.

Support for Felton

President Tsai Chang of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation has sent a message of sympathy to Mme. Monica Felton protesting against her persecution at the hands of the reactionary British authorities. Tsai Chang has also protested against the persecution of Mme. Felton to Premier Clement Attlee.

MAJOR EVENTS IN CHINA

(JANUARY 1 — JUNE 30, 1951)

JANUARY

- 3 First agreement to send 50,000 tons of Chinese rice to India concluded.
- 14 A nation-wide campaign launched for donation of food, clothing and money for relief for the Korean people and gifts for the KPA and Chinese people's volunteers.
- 17 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai cables U.N. on the peaceful solution of the Korean and other Far Eastern questions. (Vol. III, No. 3, p. 30.)
- 22 Sino-Hungarian trade agreement for 1951 signed in Peking.
- 24 National Committee of Workers' Spare-time Education established.
- 29 Sino-Polish trade and postal agreements signed.

FEBRUARY

- 1 Liu Ning-I, Vice-President of All-China Federation of Labour, leaves Peking on behalf of WFTU to participate in 7th session of U.N. ECAFE (Feb. 28-March 7).
- 2 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai issues statement denouncing illegal U.N. resolution slandering China as an "aggressor." (Vol. III, No. 4, Supplement.)
- 4 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai replies to U.N. First Committee regarding discussion of the Complaint of U.S. Aggression Against China. (Vol. III, No. 4, Supplement.)
Directive issued on confiscation of assets of war criminals, traitors, compradors and counter-revolutionaries.
- 19 All Chinese democratic parties and people's organisations issue statements supporting Stalin's Feb. 16 interview on current international situation and defence of peace.
- 21 Regulations for punishment of counter-revolutionaries promulgated.
- 22 Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese delegation, speaks at 1st session of World Peace Council.
- 26 **Labour Insurance Regulations promulgated.**
National Agricultural Work Conference ends after deciding to launch nation-wide patriotic production campaign for 1951.

MARCH

- 5 Nanning-Laipin Railway in Kwangsi Province completed and opened to traffic.
- 6 Measures prohibiting inflow and outflow of national currency across China's borders promulgated.
The Relief Committee for Overseas Chinese Refugees of Malaya established on March 5 issues statement proposing dispatch of investigation party.
Li Shun-ta Mutual-Aid Team issues challenge to mutual-aid teams throughout China to produce a bumper 1951 harvest.
- 14 Sino-Soviet Railway Through-Traffic Agreement concluded.

- 15 Directive issued on spring water conservancy projects for 1951.
- 17 International Medical Team of China Red Cross goes to Korea.
- 20 Directive issued on unification of local currencies in Northeast China and Inner Mongolia with the national currency.
- 21 Chang Wen-tien appointed ambassador to U.S.S.R.
- 30 Provisional regulations on the operation of private enterprises issued.
- 31 First National Secondary Education Conference ends.

APRIL

- 3 Sino-Polish agreement on cultural co-operation signed in Warsaw.
- 6 Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, awarded the International Stalin Peace Prize.
- 10 National Anti-Epidemic Conference opens.
- 16 A Chinese delegation headed by Lin Po-chu, Secretary-General of the Central People's Government Council, leaves Peking to attend May Day celebrations in Moscow.
Provisional Customs Law promulgated.
- 18 Vice-Foreign Minister Chang Han-fu protests against seizure of China's oil tanker "Yung Hao" by British Government in Hongkong.
- 22 Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme, head of the delegation of the Local Government of Tibet, arrives in Peking.
- 25 Second agreement to send another 50,000 tons of Chinese rice to India concluded.
- 26 Executive Meeting of International Students Union opens in Peking for five-day session.
- 27 Panchen Ngoerhthehni, Tibetan political and religious leader, and his staff arrive in Peking.
- 28 British People's Delegation, headed by Jock Kane, arrives in Peking for 45-day tour.
- 30 Requisitioning of properties of British-owned Shell Company in China, excluding its head office, branches and sales-agencies, ordered.

MAY

- 1 200,000,000 participate in May Day demonstrations held throughout China.
- 10 National conference on rural finance opens.
- 15 First Conference of National Anti-Flood Headquarters opens.
- 16 Provisional regulations for customs tariffs come into force.
- 21 Exchange of ambassadors with Pakistan announced.
- 22 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai supports the Soviet Remarks Regarding the U.S. Draft Peace Treaty with Japan. (Vol. III, No. 11, Supplement.)
Foreign Ministry spokesman condemns illegal U.N. embargo resolution. (Vol. III, No. 11.)

Agreement to send a third consignment of 400,000 tons of rice to India concluded. National Conference of All-China Federation of Co-operatives opens.

- 23 **Agreement on Measures for Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed in Peking.** (Vol. III, No. 12, Supplement.)
- 28 Panchen Ngorhtehni and his staff issue statement supporting peaceful liberation of Tibet. (Vol. III, No. 12, Supplement.)
- 29 Chinese People's Delegation to Korea return to Peking.
- 31 Chinese People's Delegation for Germany-China Friendship Month, headed by Shen Chun-ju, President of the People's Supreme Court, arrives in Berlin.

JUNE

- 2 Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression calls on compatriots to develop patriotic pact movement, raise funds for purchase of planes and heavy equipment for the Chinese people's volunteers,

and pay greater attention to dependents of volunteers and revolutionary martyrs.

- 8 Provisional state security regulations promulgated.
- 13 **Collection of 258,963,871 signatories for a Five-Power Peace Pact and 258,715,809 votes against U.S. rearming of Japan announced.**
- 15 Sino-Soviet Trade Agreement for 1951 and agreement on Soviet supply of equipment and materials to China signed in Moscow.
- 21 Sino-Czechoslovak trade agreement for 1951 signed in Peking.
- 22 An 88-member Korean People's Delegation, headed by Won Tong Gun, arrives in Peking.
- 25 **Annihilation of 222,302 enemy troops (including 104,873 U.S. troops) in Korea announced.** This total covers the seven and half months period between Oct. 25, 1950, when Chinese people's volunteers joined in the fight against American aggressors, and June 10 this year.
- 30 The 30th Anniversary of Chinese Communist Party which falls on July 1 celebrated at a big rally in Peking and throughout the country.

NEW CHINA'S CUSTOMS

(Continued from page 14)

approved foreign trade ports, at railroad stations and at international border railroad stations at approved exits and entrances for travel and cargoes on land borders, at international mail and parcel stations and at approved exits and entrances for import and export cargoes.

The system of foreign commissioners and an Inspector-General has been done away with. This over-all simplification has greatly reduced the red tape and paper work involved and cut the time for cargoes and passengers to pass through customs inspection by half.

The system of inspecting and evaluating cargoes has also been simplified and unified, and a unified statistical method has been set up. Customs workers have established "Service Departments" and "Inquiry Offices" to help travellers and merchants. This has facilitated the movement of cargoes and been much appreciated, particularly by private businessmen, for whom customs inspection before liberation was endlessly bound up in red tape and bribery.

The new efficiency of the Customs Administration has reduced administrative costs from 20 per cent of the annual revenue before liberation to 2.5 per cent. In Shanghai, the efforts of customs workers to avoid waste by saving on water, fuel for ships, stationery, light and so on, has reduced overhead expenses by two-thirds. Customs workers in the 26 customs houses, nine branch offices and 35 sub-offices have drawn up patriotic pacts to raise administrative efficiency still higher.

In this reorganisation the Customs Administration has been relieved of all those functions it once had which had nothing to do with customs services. For example, the administration of harbours, waterways, light-houses and buoys, agencies for weather reporting, together with their personnel, material and equipment, have been turned over to the Ministry of Communications or the municipal har-

bour bureaux of the various cities and ports. The duty of patrolling the coastline, the direction of all armed vessels, except those small boats necessary for customs officers to combat smuggling, have been transferred to the Ministry of Public Security.

New Attitude of Staff

The elimination of corruption among customs workers is all the more impressive when one considers that 90 per cent of the present customs staff are old customs workers. Their reformation was accomplished through political education, anti-corruption, anti-waste and anti-bureaucracy drives, through criticism and self-criticism and an equitable staff system. First and foremost, the customs workers are today fully conscious that they are working for their country and not for foreign imperialism and its corrupt agents.

At a meeting held in May, 1950 among the customs workers in Canton, 92 per cent admitted that they had engaged in corrupt practices before liberation and said that this had been part of their regular working method. In Amoy, 101 of the 169 employees in the Customs House admitted to similar practices. Yet through discussions at meetings, among themselves, through the exchange of opinions in wall newspapers, corrupt practices have been eliminated. Today's fair staff system replacing the old system of complicated gradings, which actually depended upon arbitrary favouritism, is based on the workers' ability and faithful attitude towards the new people's customs, and with due consideration to seniority. This new staff system has raised the workers' morale tremendously.

The customs workers, like the Customs Administration itself, today conscientiously and proudly serve the Chinese people. When the imperialists were driven out of China, their prerogatives, including their century-long manipulation of the customs, were abolished forever. The policy and method of work of the Customs Administration follow logically from a foreign trade policy that guards the development of the country's industry and helps to raise the people's standard of living.

People's China



The Alliance of Workers and Peasants

Sculpture by Hsiao Chuan-chiu

經中國人民郵政登記認爲第一類新聞紙類
及北京郵政管理局登記執照第一三三號