

October 1, 1959

39

# PEKING REVIEW

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報

**PEOPLE'S CHINA  
CELEBRATES  
TENTH ANNIVERSARY**

**The Victory of  
Marxism-Leninism in China**

*by*

**LIU SHAO-CHI**

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



## A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

by Ting Yi

**T**HE story of the birth and growth of modern Chinese literature from the May Fourth Movement in 1919 to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

The May Fourth Movement marked the start of the new democratic revolution in China, as well as the beginning of a completely new literature, a proletarian literature dedicated to the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

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314 pp.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

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## Ten Victorious Years

THE entire nation celebrates the tenth anniversary of New China with great joy and glowing enthusiasm. Throughout the length and breadth of our beloved homeland an inspiring festival mood prevails.

Ten years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung solemnly proclaimed at the cradle of the Chinese People's Republic that the Chinese people had finally stood up. For the first time in China's history, the Chinese people became the masters of their fate and set out to build an entirely new state along socialist lines.

The rapid development of events demonstrates that the Chinese people have not only stood up, but they are taking great strides forward. Immediately after the nationwide victory, a three-year period of economic rehabilitation (1950-1952) followed. By the end of 1952, industrial and agricultural production had reached or surpassed the peak levels of old China.

To push the revolution forward along the path of socialism, the Communist Party set forth the general line for the transition period — to achieve, step by step, the socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. It was on this basis that the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957) was put into operation. The successful fulfilment of the plan laid the preliminary foundation for China's industrialization. The Second Five-Year Plan (1958-1962) got started in 1958, the year of the great leap forward. As compared with 1957, the total value of industrial output rose by 66 per cent and that of agricultural output by 25 per cent. The emergence of people's communes quickened the tempo of socialist construction in the countryside. The whole nation is now working with supreme confidence to reach within this year the major targets fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan for 1962.

In the sphere of foreign relations, People's China has proudly taken her place in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and adamantly opposes the aggression and provocation of U.S. imperialism. China's sympathy and support goes to all movements for national liberation and people's democracy and to all struggles for peace. Her consistent policy is to develop broad contacts with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

New China's successes have been made possible by the correct leadership of the Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung. They represent victories for Marxism-Leninism, victories for the world's peace-loving people and progressive mankind.

People's China has grown in the course of bitter struggle with the U.S. imperialists and with the reactionaries at home and abroad. The Chinese people's resounding victories represent crushing defeats for these hostile forces. It stands to reason that the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries should howl and rave against China's brilliant successes as evidenced in their recent frenzied attacks on the big leap and the people's communes. But the march of events over the last ten years shows that no amount of malicious propaganda can stop People's China from forging ahead along the socialist road.

On this glorious tenth anniversary the Chinese people look back upon the past decade with pride and look to the coming years with high hopes. A great deal has been accomplished, but more remains to be done. The Chinese people are certain they will fulfil their historic task.



## Round the Week



# 10TH JUBILEE BEGINS

The illuminated red star in the ceiling of the Great Hall of the People cast its rays over more than ten thousand people conversing in every language of the world on the afternoon of September 28. At 3:30 p.m. sharp a hush fell over the festive hall when the buzzer signaling the opening of the proceedings sounded. The assemblage rose to its feet and broke into an ovation when Chairman Mao Tse-tung led the representatives of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world onto the stage. The gala meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China had begun.

The setting itself was an expression of China's big leap. The majestic, spacious, artfully designed assembly hall, with its many marble-floored corridors, was built in ten months. Here the deputies of the National People's Congress will gather in the future to discuss and determine the supreme affairs of state. Today leaders of the Communist Party and Government of China, representatives of all walks of life and nationalities, and friends and guests from all corners of the earth, were assembled to greet the progress the Chinese people have made in the first ten years of the people's rule.

Against the simple, impressive background of the red and gold Chinese national emblem flanked on either side by five red flags emblazoned in gold with the meaningful numerals 1949-1959, Chairman of the People's Republic Liu Shao-chi rose before the microphone, declared the meeting open, and the vigorous strains of the *March of the Volunteers*, China's national anthem, resounded through the hall. In his speech (full text published as a supplement to this issue of *Peking Review*), Chairman Liu Shao-chi thanked all the guests who had come to Peking to participate in the celebrations, the leading comrades of China's great ally, the Soviet Union, and all the other socialist countries, the delegations of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the friends from all the countries in the world.

He said that in the past ten years China had speedily achieved the great

victory of the socialist revolution, thus completely freeing the social productive forces of the country. Citing the great increases in industrial and agricultural production and the all-round rise in the living standards of the people, he pointed out that ten years is a short time and gigantic tasks still face China. During the past ten years the 650 million people of China have constantly been in the foremost ranks of the defenders of peace in Asia and the world. Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared: "We shall always unite with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp. We shall always unite with the working people, the democratic and progressive forces, and the Communist Parties of various countries. We shall always unite with all people and governments in the world who stand for the preservation of peace, strive for national independence and oppose the policy of aggression and war." His speech was frequently greeted with outbursts of applause.

Immediately afterwards, Li Chi-shen, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, spoke on behalf of all the democratic parties, the individual non-party democrats of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. He congratulated and thanked Chairman Mao and the Communist Party for leading the nation out of its pre-liberation darkness, and pledged to unite closely around Chairman Mao and the Communist Party.

The floor was then given to the leaders of the fraternal Party and government delegations from the countries of the socialist camp. First to greet the Chinese people was M. A. Suslov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation. He was followed by the heads of the Party and government delegations from all the other socialist countries.

After this the leaders of the delegations from other fraternal Parties spoke. As we go to press, the meeting is still in progress.

### **Under the Lights of Tien An Men**

For days before the meeting you could see, hear, and feel the holiday air everywhere in Peking.

Tien An Men Square, the heart of Peking, has a completely new festive look. From the Square extending eastwards and westwards along the entire Changanchieh Boulevard, government ministries and all major buildings have put up special portals of red and gold and silk bunting in a myriad of colours. Almost without exception the contours of the roofs and walls are lined with continuous strings of electric bulbs producing attractive silhouettes at night. The floodlighting of the buildings and the blazing illumination provided by the powerful new street lamps, give the Square and wide Changanchieh Boulevard the brightness of daylight after nightfall.

On the side of the Tien An Men rostrum these new street lamps, with a dozen or so bulbs to a post, are all installed with elongated loudspeakers to direct the parade and provide a flow of dance music and songs for the merry-making.

### **Fireworks, Flowers and Pailous**

A special committee to organize the tenth anniversary celebrations was set up on September 13 by decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress with Peking's Mayor Peng Chen at its head. The provinces are also helping in many ways to make this a specially memorable anniversary. They have sent some of the most famous flowering plants of the country—cassia from Kiangsu, peonies from Kwangtung, "Buddha's Hands" from Chekiang, etc.—for Peking's gardeners and horticulturists to dress up the capital florally.

Apart from these precious flowers there are many massive decorations this year, colourful slogan towers, oil paintings on street walls, *pailous* (traditional Chinese commemorative arches). Most of the government offices, factories, schools, universities, and hotels are already in holiday array. Besides the old regulars—the Peking, Hsinchiao, and Peace Hotels—which are receiving



visitors from the provinces and guests from abroad, two big brand new hotels opened just before National Day, the Hotel for the Nationalities, next to the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities in the west side of the city, and the Hotel for Overseas Chinese in east Peking. Thus, overseas Chinese and people of the national minorities now have hotel services specially catering to their tastes and needs. If they come by train to attend the National Day celebrations, the capital will bid them welcome at the new, large station, Peking's pride.

### There's Lots to Celebrate

The festive mood and holiday preparations are nationwide. From industrial Shenyang in the northeast to Lhasa in the southwest, from the herdsmen of the Tienshan foothills in Sinkiang to the fishermen on Hainan Island in the subtropical south, everybody is out to celebrate ten years of the people's rule and the impressive advances in industrial and agricultural production already registered in this year of the continued big leap.

From Tibet comes news that the 700,000 peasants are bringing in a rich autumn harvest—for the first time in their history for the benefit of the peasants themselves. It is estimated that an average increase of 10 per cent will be reaped from the three million *mu* of farmland, as compared with output last year. Ever since the government proclaimed the policy known as "harvest to the tiller" after putting down the rebellion of the reactionary big estate and serf-owners, Tibetan peasants have been working with new-found energy on the fields. Now the benefits are at hand and theirs. As a token of their gratitude to the Communist Party, the emancipated Tibetan peasants who had severed the shackles of serfdom ceremoniously placed the first stalks of *qingke* barley they reaped from the fields before the portrait of Chairman Mao.

Inner Mongolia is also harvesting its autumn crops. The peasants here are gathering 30 per cent more than last year from their 8.43 million *mu* of wheat fields and 50 per cent more output from nearly 7 million *mu* of oil-bearing crops.

Much the same can be said for Chinghai, Kwangsi and the other areas

inhabited by national minorities who have all prospered since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Ten years of the people's rule have brought them economic progress and cultural advancement far exceeding their wildest expectations, not to speak of the right to take part in governing the country which they have been able to exercise only since the birth of New China.

Reports of excellent autumn harvests have come in from the provinces, and this despite the fact that quite a few of them were severely hit by drought this summer. Shantung Province, on the east coast, which suffered two months of the worst drought in memory, is reaping a rich harvest from more than 30 million *mu* of land under early autumn crops. In neighbouring Anhwei Province commune members have followed up their bumper harvest of early rice with an equally good one of semi-late rice from 10.7 million *mu* of land. In the Wuhu area where the extent of the drought was less severe, output is rated as greater than last year.

### Cheers for the Communes

From their own experience the peasants of these provinces, of all provinces in fact, have come to realize that it was thanks to the people's communes that they were able to weather the worst drought and reap a rich harvest in spite of it. So in many parts of the rural areas commune members celebrate National Day with additional causes for rejoicing—good harvests and the anniversary of their communes falling in with the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic. This year, cheers of "Long Live the People's Communes!" are echoing through the countryside.

Turning from the countryside to the towns and cities, the workers have a long list of achievements which they are proud to report to the nation on this tenth anniversary. The iron and steel workers are reaping the nation's thanks: in ten years they have increased China's steel output 75-fold, from 1949's 158,000 tons to 1959's planned 12 million tons. This is a graphic illustration of the spirit of China's big leap. This is high-speed development possible only under socialism, a feat which no capitalist country can ever hope to achieve. But the steel-workers throughout the coun-

try are not content with their present triumphs; they are adding to their laurels by making September a month of still higher and better output as a birthday gift to the People's Republic.

The coal-miners have done the nation proud, too. At the time of liberation, it may be recalled, China's coal output was only 32.43 million tons, 14.8 per cent of Britain's annual production. But by 1958 China had turned out 270 million tons of coal, some 50 million tons more than Britain, and took third place in the world's coal production. By pursuing the policy of "walking on two legs" and by introducing technical reforms, the country has been able to make still greater strides ahead. By September 20 total coal output reached 245 million tons, which is 73 per cent more than the corresponding period last year. At this rate the 335 million tons set as this year's target will certainly be overfulfilled.

### Ganbei and Wansui

The thousands of athletes from all parts of the country here in Peking for the First National Sports Meet add colour and life to the holiday mood of the capital. In the streets of Peking you hear the dialects of all the provinces and autonomous regions. The great cultural cavalcade has begun, too. The theatres are packed every night with audiences enjoying local operas and drama troupes from the provinces and autonomous regions now performing in Peking. The festival of new films released in honour of the anniversary is attracting large crowds. A rich cultural harvest inspired by the new heights scaled by China's industry and agriculture is on display in Peking. A hundred flowers are in full bloom (see page 29).

The shops are full of holiday specialties and the selection of wines and liquors is truly representative of China's regional diversity.

A joyous nation toasts "Ganbei!" ("Bottoms up!") and a double set of three "Wansui!" ("Long live!")—Long live the general line for socialist construction! Long live the big leap! Long live the people's communes! Long live the People's Republic of China! Long live the Communist Party of China! Long live Chairman Mao!



# The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China

Written for the journal *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism)  
in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China

by LIU SHAO-CHI

**T**EN years have passed since the founding of the great People's Republic of China.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the great October Revolution. The great October Revolution opened up a new era in human history and began to change the face of the world. The success of the Soviet Union in building socialism, the victory of the anti-fascist world war in which the Soviet Union was the main force, and the founding of many socialist states in Europe and Asia, all demonstrate the irresistible historical law of the rise of socialism and the decline of capitalism. The victory of the Chinese revolution further changed the face of the world. The Chinese revolution made a very big breach on the imperialist front in the East and dealt a fatal blow to the imperialist colonial system. New China joined the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries form the big socialist family of unity and friendship which embraces one-third of the world's population and extends over a vast, compact land mass in Europe and Asia. The Chinese revolution has a great attraction for peoples in all the backward countries that have suffered, or are suffering, from imperialist oppression. They feel that they should also be able to do what the Chinese have done. All this clearly shows that there has been a new change in the relative strengths of capitalism and socialism in the world.

The victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about the thorough liberation of China's social productive forces and has enabled China's socialist construction to advance at top speed, thus effecting rapid changes in the poverty and backwardness of China.

In the first three years following the liberation of the whole country, from 1950 to 1952, China successfully completed the task of rehabilitating the national economy and raised its industrial and agricultural production generally up to and beyond the highest levels ever achieved in old China. From 1953 to 1957 the Chinese people carried out the First Five-Year Plan, which increased the total value of industrial output by 141 per cent, of agricultural output by 25 per cent, and raised the proportion of modern industry in the national economy from 26.7 per cent in 1952 to 40 per cent in 1957. The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan laid the preliminary foundation of China's industrialization. In 1958 we began to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. The big leap in the national economy took place in this year. The total value of industrial output rose by 66 per cent and the total value of agricultural output increased by 25 per cent over 1957. On the basis of last year's big leap forward, this year is witnessing a continued leap forward. Compared with 1958, it is planned that this year the total value of

industrial and agricultural production will increase by 20 per cent, the total value of industrial output by 25.6 per cent and the total value of agricultural output by 10 per cent. The planned output of major industrial and agricultural products such as steel, coal, metallurgical equipment, electric power generating equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, cotton yarn, timber, grain and cotton will all fulfil, overfulfil or nearly fulfil their respective 1962 targets originally set in the Second Five-Year Plan. China's lightning speed in developing its social productive forces cannot be matched by any capitalist country and it certainly could never be dreamed of in old China.

Marx's saying that "revolutions are the locomotives of history" is absolutely correct. In China, without the democratic revolution that overthrew imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, without the socialist revolution that abolished the capitalist system, there could be no rapid progress of modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture; no situation as the one that prevails today when the people of the whole country are working for the cause of socialism and communism vigorously and resolutely. Revolution has brought the Chinese people boundless hope and an extremely brilliant future.

**T**HE victory of the Chinese people in the past ten years is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the victory of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the general lines of the Chinese Communist Party for democratic revolution, for socialist revolution and for socialist construction.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly expounded the idea that "the whole Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party is a complete revolutionary movement embracing the two revolutionary stages, democratic and socialist. . . . We can give correct leadership to the Chinese revolution only on the basis of a clear understanding of both the differences between the democratic and socialist revolutions and their interconnections." On the one hand, the right opportunists in the Chinese revolution, like the Russian Mensheviks, set up a "Great Wall" between the democratic and socialist revolutions, failed to see the interconnections of the two revolutions and the possible prospect, during the democratic revolution, of transforming it into a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the "left" opportunists, like the Russian Trotskyites, confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions and would eliminate the bourgeoisie and carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution in the stage of the democratic revolution. Both

of these two erroneous tendencies cost the Chinese revolution dearly. Contrary to "left" and right opportunism, the correct policy represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in guiding the Chinese revolution was: on the one hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary development by stages, a clear distinction was made between the revolutionary tasks of the two stages, the democratic and socialist revolutions; on the other hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution, the two revolutions were closely linked together and every means was sought during the stage of democratic revolution to create the conditions for the future realization of socialist revolution, so that the struggles of the socialist revolution could be waged without interruption immediately after the nationwide victory of the democratic revolution.

The firm grasping of the hegemony in the democratic revolution by the proletariat through the Communist Party is the key to ensuring the thorough victory of the democratic revolution and the successful switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. None of the Chinese bourgeois political parties could put forward a programme of thorough opposition to imperialism and feudalism, could carry the Chinese democratic revolution to the end. Our Party's general line in leading the democratic revolution was to unite all the forces that could be united and thoroughly carry out the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. This general line is summed up and defined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as "the revolution of the masses of people, led by the proletariat, to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."

CHINA is a big, backward country. Over 80 per cent of her people live in the rural areas; 70 per cent of this rural population were poor peasants and farm labourers. The peasant question was the central question in our democratic revolution. The rule of reaction in old China was extremely barbarous. The masses of the people had no rights whatsoever. Progressive revolutionaries were subject to mass arrests and execution. In the democratic revolutionary period, the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, went deep into the villages for twenty-two years to lead the armed revolutionary struggle which used the villages to encircle the cities. What the Party adopted was the mass line policy of resolutely relying on the peasants' political consciousness and organized strength, mobilizing the peasants to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, to acquire land and safeguard the land (this policy of the Party was carried out continuously up to the land reform after the founding of the People's Republic of China); not the contrary bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants as a favour. This enabled the Party to build powerful and reliable revolutionary bastions in the rural areas, to build up the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases, gradually raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary discipline of the broad masses of impoverished peasants close to the level of the revolutionary proletariat, and receive from them the continuous supply of manpower and material reserves needed by the Party and the people's army led by the Party. By depending on rural revolutionary bases the Chinese Communist Party waged the revolutionary war,

and carried out land reform and economic and cultural construction in rural revolutionary bases. Essentially these were great, protracted and recurrent rehearsals in preparation for the nationwide victory. These rehearsals educated the masses, tempered the army, stored up revolutionary strength, trained the cadres and enabled the Party's leadership to acquire rich experience in all fields.

WITH the establishment of the closest alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses in the democratic revolution, we were able to solve the question of forming a revolutionary united front with the national bourgeoisie in a correct way. Taking China's specific conditions into consideration, we properly distinguished between the two sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie: One was the bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and compradors who were the tools of imperialism, defenders of feudalism and its allies and the vicious enemy of the national democratic revolution against whom resolute struggles must be waged. The other was the national bourgeoisie, who, oppressed and pushed around by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, asked for the independent development of the nation's economy and therefore it was possible for them to join the revolution or stay neutral in the revolution. But they were also weak-kneed, had the dual character of being revolutionary as well as reactionary, and often took a wavering middle-of-the-road position. This made it necessary for us, on the one hand, to unite with them under certain conditions to carry on the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and on the other hand, also to struggle against their proneness to compromises. By putting such a united front policy into practice, we realized our aim of expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating the reactionary forces; solidly preserved the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and rallied the broadest possible masses of the people.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, neither the right opportunists, who severed the connections between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, nor the "left" opportunists, who mixed the two up, understood how great the significance of the peasant question was for our revolutionary cause; therefore, they were not able to handle the question of the bourgeoisie correctly. The right opportunists pursued a policy of capitulation towards the bourgeoisie and regarded the democratic revolution mainly as the concern of the bourgeoisie. They did not rely on the worker-peasant alliance, but mainly on the united front with the bourgeoisie, and only united with them without waging the necessary struggles. In doing so they gave up the hegemony of the proletariat and, at the time of the betrayal of the revolution by the bourgeoisie, made the revolution suffer defeats and made the cause of the proletariat and the masses of the people suffer serious setbacks. Even when the conditions for the victory of the revolution were ripe and it was necessary to seize the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle, the right opportunists did not have the courage to strive for victory and even tried to prevent victory. The "left" opportunists did not feel like uniting with all sorts of petty bourgeois masses and the national bourgeoisie; they wrongly regarded the middle-of-the-road forces as the main target of their blows and denied the necessity and possibility of uniting with, or neutralizing,



the various middle-of-the-road forces in the democratic revolution. They only waged struggles against the national bourgeoisie, did not properly unite with them and still less were they willing to concentrate the fire against the main enemy by exploiting the concrete contradictions among the enemies. This, too, resulted in abandoning the hegemony of the proletariat, leaving the proletariat to carry on the struggle single-handed and rendering it impossible for the revolution to gain victory. The "left" opportunists and the right opportunists had one thing in common: both of them brushed aside the revolutionary demands and perseverance of the peasants and, during the reign of reaction, denied that we could hold on in the countryside, establish revolutionary bases there and finally succeed in seizing the cities by encircling them from the countryside. Under certain conditions, therefore, the "left" opportunists and right opportunists changed positions. For instance, Comrade Wang Ming was the main exponent of the third "leftist" line during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, but by the time of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, he became the main exponent of right opportunism.

**I**N their struggles against "left" and right opportunism, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have united the whole Party and have thus made the Chinese revolution progress along a correct path and achieve one revolutionary victory after another.

The victory of the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang in old China and the bureaucratic and warlord institutions it employed to oppress the people. This led to the founding of the great People's Republic in 1949 which is essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus successfully brought about the turn from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. As far as the main question of the revolution is concerned, i.e., the question of state power, the founding of the People's Republic of China marked the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. While leading the democratic revolution to victory, the Chinese proletariat firmly established its political control of the state; therefore, there was no longer any need to conduct another struggle for the seizure of state power to ensure the victory of socialism. The reason for this is that during the democratic revolution, our Party never forgot for a moment that our final goal is to carry out the socialist revolution and throughout the protracted struggles of the democratic revolution it already paid close attention to the establishment and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

In March 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that after the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution, the main external contradiction would still be the contradiction between the Chinese people and imperialism, while at home, the main contradiction between the Chinese people, on the one hand, and the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalists, on the other, would give way to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, that is, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. He also set forth a series of fundamental policies for the

resolution of this contradiction. In the early years following the nationwide victory, although it was still necessary for the Chinese people to continue to carry out the tasks left over from the period of the democratic revolution, mainly the task of implementing land reform over a large part of the country to eliminate the feudal landlord class, the transition to socialism had actually begun in 1949. With the support of the broad masses of the people and the power of the state, the Chinese proletariat confiscated bureaucrat-capital, kept a firm hold on the essential economic mainsprings of the state, energetically established a powerful socialist state economy and secured its leading position in the entire national economy.

**T**OWARDS the end of 1952, when the tasks of restoring the national economy and clearing away the survivals of feudalism were fulfilled in the main, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line for the period of transition, that is, the general line of simultaneous development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and set forth the task of realizing the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce step by step, throughout the country, and the task of realizing the socialist industrialization of the country step by step. This general line was put forward at the time when the Chinese people were in the thick of the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. We resolutely fought the U.S. imperialists who tried to strangle New China, rallied the entire nation and won great victories in the struggle. At the same time, on the home front, we carried on socialist transformation and construction without interruption.

This general line of the Chinese Communist Party was a line to lead Chinese society in its transition from the complicated economic structure of that time, which embraced not only socialist economy but also capitalist and individual economies, to a homogeneous socialist economic structure. At that time some people denied the necessity of the transition to socialism. They either attempted to develop capitalism in China and follow the old capitalist road, or tried to halt the revolution and preserve for a long time to come the status quo—with the socialist economy and capitalist economy existing side by side. This Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party affirmed the necessity of the transition from capitalism to socialism and thus rejected the various erroneous rightist viewpoints. At the same time, this Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party also affirmed that the transition to socialism must be gradual and that the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce must also be gradual and thus rejected the erroneous "leftist" viewpoint which hoped to make a clean sweep of capitalism overnight.

In effecting the socialist transformation of agriculture, of capitalist industry and commerce, we took a series of steps characteristic of our national peculiarities, in the light of the specific conditions in our country.

Three successive steps were taken in the socialist transformation of our agriculture. Step one: the land reform was immediately followed by the extensive development of mutual aid organizations for collective labour on the basis of the individual economy. These mutual aid organizations which were in the nature of embryonic



socialism already emerged in the revolutionary bases at an earlier period. Step two: this was again immediately followed by the development, on the basis of the mutual aid movement, of agricultural producers' co-operatives with their special features of pooling the land as shares and unified management. These co-operatives were semi-socialist in nature, since the land and the principal means of production were still privately owned. We called them agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type. Step three: the collectivization of the land and the principal means of production and the establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives entirely socialist in nature, which were known as agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type.

**T**HERE were at one time controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the question of agricultural co-operation.

One viewpoint was that the level of our industrialization was still very low and that we were not yet in a position to effect the mechanization of agriculture, so it was impossible and improper to bring agricultural co-operation into being very quickly. The facts, however, have exploded this viewpoint. We carried out the task of agricultural co-operation in the virtual absence of mechanization.

Another viewpoint was that the rapid realization of co-operation would inevitably lower agricultural production. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. In the course of agricultural co-operation and afterwards, China's agricultural production continued to rise, and at considerable speed at that, rather than decline.

Still another viewpoint was that the realization of agricultural co-operation at such high speed would impair the unity of the peasants, or, in other words, that in addition to the rich peasants, the well-to-do middle peasants would also feel dissatisfied with us or even oppose us while only those peasants who were relatively worse off would support us. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. Thanks to our policy of uniting with the well-to-do middle peasants and the policy of paying compensation in annual instalments to the well-to-do middle peasants who joined the co-operatives with their large farm implements and draught animals, and thanks to the rise in the production of the co-operatives year by year, the overwhelming majority of the well-to-do middle peasants were satisfied in the main with agricultural co-operation.

In short, the facts have shown that our method of "striking the iron while it is hot," setting up without delay typical examples for the rest to follow and popularizing them step by step to carry out agricultural co-operation immediately after the land reform, is a good Marxist-Leninist policy. If we had kept the revolution at a standstill after the land reform, let the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside grow, and allowed the polarization of the peasantry into two extremes, we would have faced fairly strong resistance and met with much greater difficulties in carrying out agricultural co-operation at a later date.

How did we realize the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce? We did this mainly by carrying out the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce, and

through various forms of state capitalism, achieving the aim of socialist nationalization. Generally speaking, the initial form of state capitalism was to supply private capitalist industries with raw materials, to place orders with them for processing and manufacturing goods and let the state enterprises exclusively purchase and market their goods. As to private capitalist commercial enterprises, they were allowed to serve as retail distributors or commission agents for the state. The higher form of state capitalism was to place private capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management — beginning with the conversion of individual concerns into joint state-private enterprises and going on to the placing of capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management by whole trades, paying the capitalists a fixed rate of interest for a definite number of years.

**T**HERE were also some controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

One view held that capitalist industry and commerce should only be utilized but should not be restricted and transformed, or that we had placed too many restrictions and had carried out the transformation too hastily. This was in effect an attempt to preserve the capitalist system for a long period of time. It is impossible for the capitalist system of exploitation and the socialist system of public ownership to live side by side for long in one and the same society — one must defeat the other.

Another view contended that we had "compromised too much" since we not only had carried out the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in a step-by-step process, but had also practised redemption, given the bourgeoisie the right to vote and given a definite political status to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. They held that it was impermissible in principle to continue to maintain a united front with the national bourgeoisie after the victory of the Chinese revolution. They asked that we apply the same policy towards the national bourgeoisie as we did towards the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, i.e., to confiscate the property of the national bourgeoisie or to adopt simple policies which would quickly squeeze capitalist industry and commerce out of the national economy, and to deprive the capitalists of the right to vote. These people forgot that it is advantageous to the proletariat to adopt the policy of redemption in certain concrete historical conditions. Marx and Lenin had expressed this view many times. Regarding the question that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not necessarily have to deprive the bourgeoisie of the right to vote, Lenin, too, referred to it in *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. He said: "The question of restricting the franchise is a nationally specific and not a general question of the dictatorship."

Have we adopted a policy of "class collaboration" in handling the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie? Certainly not. Such doubts represent a misunderstanding or distortion resulting from complete ignorance of Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, the policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie and struggling with it, which we adopted to resolve this contradiction, is a very firm proletarian class policy which has

nothing in common with the policy of "class collaboration." The success of our socialist transformation proves this fully.

In short, our policy of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has enabled us to reduce the opposition to the transformation, and in the course of the gradual transformation, to use capitalism conditionally to serve socialism, so as to facilitate the progress of socialist construction. As a result, we have been able to eliminate capitalism completely in the ownership of the means of production, and we shall transform the bourgeois elements gradually into working people earning their own living. Of course, this too is good Marxist-Leninist policy which fully suits Chinese conditions.

The method of gradual transition which we adopted in the socialist transformation of agriculture and of capitalist industry and commerce did not prolong the time of transformation, as some people alleged. On the contrary, the transformation was carried out very rapidly. By the second half of 1955 we had already set up agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type throughout the countryside, and immediately afterwards, in 1956, we converted capitalist industrial and commercial concerns into joint state-private enterprises by whole trades, and at the same time organized the handicraftsmen into co-operatives. This means that in less than seven years after the founding of the People's Republic of China we accomplished in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and basically solved the question of "who will win" in the ownership of the means of production. In the course of fulfilling this task, practically no destruction was involved and industrial and agricultural production rose steadily.

**H**AS the socialist revolution in China come to an end with the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production? Some people think it has, and that there is no need to carry on any revolution whatsoever. We think this viewpoint is wrong. The socialist revolution has not yet ended, the revolution must go on and it must be carried out to the end. Today the capitalists in our country are still receiving a fixed rate of interest. Economically the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as two classes has not been entirely eliminated. Even if the bourgeoisie as a class has disappeared economically, the bourgeois world outlook, the political influences of the bourgeoisie and the force of bourgeois and petty bourgeois habits will continue to exist for a long time in conflict with the socialist system. The bourgeois rightists, particularly, will take advantage of all this and launch attacks against socialism whenever they have the opportunity and plot for the restoration of capitalism. Sometimes their attacks can be extremely frantic. That is why we cannot limit the socialist revolution to the economic front; it must be carried out on the political and ideological fronts as well. In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed this out clearly. He said: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its

own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled. Marxists are still a minority of the entire population as well as of the intellectuals. Marxism therefore must still develop through struggle."

The political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is unavoidable throughout the period of transition. But such struggles are like waves, with ups and downs. Sometimes they become acute and at other times they are mild. Such struggles will disappear only when the bourgeois political and ideological influences are finally wiped out.

**T**O carry on the socialist revolution to the end, Comrade Mao Tse-tung suggested that we should distinguish between two types of contradictions of different natures — contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and that we should employ different methods in approaching and dealing with these two types of contradictions. He also put forward the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In 1957 our Party launched the rectification campaign in the whole Party and among the whole people to readjust the relations among the people and waged a struggle against the frantic attack of the bourgeois rightists. The result was that the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses of the people to build socialism was greatly sparked and the reactionary influences of the exploiting classes in the political and ideological fields were dealt a heavy blow and greatly weakened. On this basis our Party put forward the policy of "politics in command," strengthened the leadership of the Party in economic and other work, and adjusted the relations between the central and the local governments, between the leaders and the led, as well as relations in other fields. At the same time the Party presented to the whole nation the slogan of "toppling superstitions, emancipating the mind, promoting the Communist style of thinking, speaking and acting boldly," encouraged experiments of a revolutionary character and mass innovations and creation of a mass character, and guided the people to revise and abolish those rules and regulations that are no longer suitable. In order to carry out the revolution in education, the Party put forward the policy of education in the service of proletarian politics and the integration of education with productive labour. As a result of all these revolutionary measures, "a vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind," as Comrade Mao Tse-tung described it, has been developing ever more extensively in our country. In the spring of 1958 our Party put forward the timely general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism."

Inspired by the Party's general line for socialist construction, the people throughout the country were high in spirit and strong in morale so that a big leap forward was effected in the national economy and people's communes were established throughout the countryside in 1958. Unprecedented achievements were also made in the development of science, technology, culture and education. This is the result of carrying the socialist rev-



olution to the end and correctly handling contradictions among the people and thereby releasing the social productive forces thoroughly.

**T**HERE have been controversies between different views within our Party on the questions of distinguishing between the two types of contradictions, the big leap forward and the people's communes. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has resolutely upheld the correct line, repudiated various erroneous views within the Party and has therefore been able to unite the entire Party and people throughout the country and continuously win new victories in the cause of socialism.

Some people say that while it is understandable that contradictions exist between ourselves and the enemy in the period of transition, it is hard to understand that contradictions among the people should exist under socialism. They hold that there is no need to draw a line between the two types of contradictions—the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people. This view is wrong. Drawing a clear-cut line between the two types of contradictions is of great theoretical and practical significance for the correct carrying out of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the correct handling of the various contradictions among the labouring people that do not fall into the category of the class struggle.

In present-day China, there exist not only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, but also a large number of contradictions among the labouring people. For example, the contradictions arising from the differences between the working class and the peasantry and between mental and manual labour, from the remnant habits and ideological influences of the exploiting classes among the labouring people, etc. As to the contradictions between the social productive forces and the relations of production, the contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure, and the contradictions that arise from the differences between the correct and erroneous views of the people and between the advanced and the backward, they have always existed. They exist now and they will exist for ever. It is only that in socialist society, the character of these contradictions and the method of resolving them differ fundamentally from those in class society. The view that under the socialist system, or when mankind enters classless communist society, there will no longer be any contradictions among the people runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and is entirely wrong.

All types of contradictions that exist in society will inevitably find expression in the political and economic life of our country and in our inner Party life. Therefore, we must learn to recognize and handle these contradictions correctly. Only thus can we thoroughly eliminate the hostile anti-socialist forces, complete the transformation of members of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, adjust the relations among the people, and carry our cause forward successfully. In socialist society and communist society, the unity and struggle of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions are still the driving force of social progress.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, neglecting to make a clear distinction between these two types of

contradictions of different natures will give rise to the following wrong tendencies: Failing to see contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, or taking these to be contradictions among the people, not knowing that in handling such contradictions the method of dictatorship, i.e., the method of isolating, splitting up, punishing and suppression, should be used, and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions among the people to handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy—this will inevitably make people commit mistakes. On the other hand, failing to see contradictions among the people, exaggerating contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and taking contradictions among the people to be contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, not knowing that in handling contradictions among the people the democratic method, i.e., the method of "starting from a desire for unity and resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle, so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis," should be used and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, i.e., the high-handed method, and not the method of persuasion, to handle contradictions among the people—this will also inevitably make people commit mistakes. Besides, each of the two types of contradictions can turn into the other under certain conditions. If they do become so transformed, but our methods of handling them do not change correspondingly, we will also unavoidably commit mistakes. There are quite a few instances when our comrades committed mistakes on this question, and therefore, it is vitally necessary to acquire a serious understanding of this question.

**S**OME people say that our adoption of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is tantamount to the adoption of the policy of bourgeois "liberalism," or the policy of so-called "liberalization." There are also some people who worry lest our implementation of such a policy should help the anti-socialist poisonous weeds grow and result in bourgeois ideas running riot. All these people are thinking in a wrong way.

In *Peking Review*, No. 39, October 1, 1959, the second sentence in the last paragraph on p. 11 should be replaced with the following: "This policy which we have adopted has nothing whatsoever to do with the bourgeois policy of 'liberalization.' It is an extremely firm class policy of the proletariat. Its purpose is to promote the development and flourishing of science, art and culture and the growth of Marxism and socialist ideology guided by Marxism, e purpose of carrying out this policy at a time when bourgeois ideological influences still exist in society is to help the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie politically and ideologically, to eliminate its influence, and not to permit bourgeois ideology to run riot. This policy also applies to the correct handling of contradictions among the people in the political sphere. In a socialist society, Marxist ideology still has to develop in the struggle with all kinds of non-Marxist ideologies; socialist ideology still has to extend its own hold in the struggle with all kinds of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies. As to the various views held among the people, we must allow them to be fully expressed and they must be fully debated by using the methods of criticism and reasoning. Only in this way can correct views be advanced, erroneous views overcome and the issues truly settled.

It is true, that the bourgeoisie will make use of this policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" to engage in anti-socialist activities. However, under present conditions in China, the proletariat has the upper hand in every aspect. We have nothing to fear from the bourgeoisie using this slogan to wage their struggle against the proletariat. We have never recognized anti-socialist utterances and acts of the bourgeoisie as being legal under the proletarian dictatorship. We have always openly declared that in our garden, the hundred flowers of socialism should be in full bloom and that the anti-socialist poisonous weeds should be weeded out. The question is: what means should we use to weed out the anti-socialist poisonous weeds effectively? In a socialist society, so long as the political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie has not been wiped out, anti-socialist bourgeois poisonous weeds will exist objectively and will often appear in the guise of fragrant flowers of socialism. When people lack experience in struggling against poisonous weeds, they are often not so good at distinguishing them from fragrant flowers. It is even possible that they greet a disguised anti-socialist poisonous weed as a fragrant flower of socialism. In certain branches of our cultural work, some comrades at one time only allowed what they considered to be fragrant flowers to grow for fear that poisonous weeds might emerge. As a result, many fragrant flowers beneficial to socialism were mistaken for poisonous weeds and their growth was thwarted. On the other hand, many harmful poisonous weeds were able to grow surreptitiously in disguise. The ideas of these comrades were wrong and childish. As a matter of fact, it is those anti-socialist poisonous weeds which are hidden or appear in disguise that are the more harmful to the proletarian dictatorship. It is not a bad thing to let poisonous weeds come out in their true colours. On the contrary, it is a very good thing. For only by so doing can the mass of people be trained to discern a poisonous weed and develop their ability to fight against poisonous weeds and thus the aim of letting a hundred flowers of socialism blossom and weeding out the anti-socialist poisonous weeds can be achieved. This was the method that we used to fight the bourgeois rightists in 1957 and, by relying on the mass of the people, repulse the ferocious attacks of the rightists.

The facts have shown that the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend has indeed strengthened the leadership of Marxism in the realm of ideology and has not in the least weakened that position of leadership. It has enhanced the ability of the mass of people in the struggle against reactionary ideologies and not weakened that ability in the slightest. Under existing conditions in China, this policy benefits the proletariat and operates to the disadvantage of the bourgeoisie, which is opposed to socialism.

**I**N 1958, the Chinese people created a situation in which the national economy made a big leap forward. The facts of this big leap forward are undeniable. However, certain people assert that our country's big leap forward in 1958 is an abnormal phenomenon, that organizing mass movements in economic construction can only cause dislocation in production and that even though a temporary leap forward may be effected it will inevitably result in such disproportions in the national economy that

it will be impossible to keep the leap forward going. This point of view is entirely wrong.

In carrying on economic construction, is it a good thing or not to organize mass movements? Our socialist construction is based on the conscious effort of millions of people. It would be impossible to have vigorous socialist construction without bringing into full play the creative energy of the masses. Our country's 650 million people who are liberated, united and organized are a truly great creative force. In the mass campaign to make iron and steel last year, tens of millions of people neglected their sleep and meals and paid no attention to material remuneration. They were in the highest of spirits and showed boundless enthusiasm and communist daring in creating a new life. The net result of all this is that a rational distribution of the iron and steel industry throughout the country has been brought about gradually and its development accelerated. In the same way, it was through large-scale mass movements and by bringing mass initiative into full play that we built the myriads of small and medium-sized water conservancy projects and the hundreds of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises which now dot the entire country. By mobilizing the masses and pressing ahead with socialist emulation campaigns—under the slogan of "emulating the advanced, overtaking the advanced, and learning from the advanced!"—many large enterprises have been able to bring about a rapid rise in production capacity and labour productivity and many construction projects were able to economize on investments and were completed ahead of schedule. The facts prove that by mobilizing the masses to work on the front of socialist construction, we can make our national economy grow by leaps and bounds.

It is by no means fortuitous that these mass movements have come about. To bring about a speedy change in China's poverty and backwardness is the strong urge of the 650 million people of our country. Since they have become liberated under the socialist system, this urge is transformed inevitably into action and becomes a powerful and irresistible material force. With correct leadership, such mass movements can certainly become the most dynamic and constantly operating force propelling the economic leap forward of our country. Our mass movements are carried out under the centralized guidance of the Party. Party guidance means integrating political work with economic work, integrating the political education of the masses with material encouragement and placing politics in command, making it the guiding force. Hence it becomes possible under the Party's guidance to organize the mass movements for socialist construction and keep them going, bringing the initiative of the people into fullest play in the work of construction. Our national economy will continue to leap forward without pause as long as we lead the masses always to go all out and aim high and rely on the workers, peasants and technicians to carry out the technical and cultural revolutions so as to continuously introduce more modern implements and expand the application of modern techniques in production. There can be no doubt about this.

When a mass movement is in full swing, some production regimes will be upset. But the mass movement up-



sets only those outdated regimes which hinder the expansion of production; at the same time it establishes new regimes which stimulate production. In 1958 we introduced through mass movements many readjustments in human relations in our enterprises. We introduced the system of workers participating in management and cadres participating in productive labour, and also the system of closely integrating under the leadership of the Party committees the work of the leading cadres, the workers and the technical and management personnel. Under proper guidance rules and regulations which had outlived their usefulness were changed. Thanks to all this, there is now a much higher level of management and production in our enterprises. The socialist system is not something petrified and fixed for all time. By changing the old order of things and introducing new ones under guidance, the advantages of the socialist system are developed and brought into full play. But to do this, we must rely on the masses; we must struggle against the force of habits which hinders the growth of the production forces; and we must make continuous readjustments in the relations of production and the superstructure so that they can fit in with the needs of the growing social productive forces. So long as we do this, we shall be able to spur the swift advance of technical reforms and the technical revolution, stimulate the speedy growth of the social productive forces of our country and maintain a continued leap forward in the national economy.

Lenin once said: "It is important to realize how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality only under socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of public and personal life." In the big leap forward which started in 1958, we are actually witnessing the emergence of such a mass forward movement in our country. Those who are critical of the mass movement stand aloof from it. They find fault with such movements, dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and spread feelings of despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism. Their attitude towards the mass movement has nothing in common with that of the great enthusiasm which one expects of a communist. Theirs is the lordly attitude of the bourgeoisie.

**S**OME people assert that the adoption of a leap forward rate of advance will violate objective economic laws and give rise to disproportions in the various branches of the national economy. But the facts controvert these assertions. Our leap forward is a new thing appearing in our country that fits in exactly with socialist economic laws. Objective economic laws cannot be violated; they must be observed. If those laws are violated it is impossible for the national economy to develop by leaps and bounds. The general line laid down by our Party comprises the whole set of policies known as "simultaneous development." They are: the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries, while giving priority to heavy industry; the simultaneous development of national and local industries and of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and the simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of pro-

duction under centralized leadership, with over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination. This set of policies later on received the popular name of "walking on two legs." The adoption of such policies will avoid various types of one-sidedness in the leap forward of the national economy, such as emphasizing the importance of industry to the neglect of agriculture, emphasizing the importance of heavy industry to the neglect of light industry, emphasizing the importance of large enterprises to the neglect of medium-sized and small ones, emphasizing the importance of unified management of industries by the central authorities to the neglect of the initiative of local authorities in the development of industry, and emphasizing the importance of modern methods of production to the neglect of indigenous methods of production, and so on. That is to say, while developing the national economy at high speed, the general line of our Party calls for a unity of objective possibility and subjective activity, due attention to the various kinds of proportions and observance of objective economic laws. Since the big leap forward last year, harmonious and suitable proportions, in general, exist between the various branches of the national economy, between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industries, and between consumption and accumulation. Although certain isolated, partial and temporary disproportions occurred, they were quickly discovered and overcome. Such isolated, partial and temporary disproportions will crop up from time to time, and if they do, they are easy to overcome. Correct implementation of the general line of the Party and the policies of "simultaneous development" is a guarantee against the occurrence of long-term, over-all disproportions.

It goes without saying that we must do a good job of economic planning to enable, as far as possible, the various branches of the national economy to spurt ahead in harmony. We want both high speed and over-all balance. This is not easy to achieve; in high-speed development it is more likely that certain imbalances will occur. We should not, however, give way to "fear of the wolf in front and the tiger behind," vainly hoping for a haven of peace by adopting the method of reducing speed unjustifiably to get a balance. So long as we pay attention to summing up our experience and seriously study objective economic laws, balance can and should be achieved while developing our economy at high speed.

The speed of development of the national economy cannot possibly be the same every year. It may be higher in one year and lower in another. This is a normal state of affairs. But it can be stated positively that our economy will continue to grow year by year and that we can maintain the speed of the leap forward in its development.

**T**HOSE who find fault with our big leap forward and the mass movement also find fault with our rural people's communes. They maintain that the people's communes were set up "much too soon," are "in a mess" and "outstep the level of social development and the level of the people's political consciousness." There is no valid ground at all for such charges.

It is wrong to regard the growth of the people's communes as lacking objective necessity. Those who do so fail to see that the people's communes are a new form

of social organization which has grown up on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. This form of social organization was created by the hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants to meet the needs of growing productive forces. It is the product of the big growth of agricultural production, which took place during the big leap forward of 1958 along with the great extension of water conservancy work, the peasants' enthusiasm in running industries and the great upsurge of socialist consciousness among the peasants. The mass of Chinese peasants have seen that the building of water conservancy works and industries, the comprehensive development of a diversified rural economy and the practice of co-ordination in the work of building various kinds of fairly large productive projects must necessarily exceed the scope of the original agricultural producers' co-operatives and require that certain kinds of new productive relations and new forms of organization should be established on the basis of developing the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. This is the people's commune. A people's commune has at its disposal the manpower of several thousand and even around ten thousand households and several tens of thousands or even over a hundred thousand *mu* of land, is able to deploy manpower and utilize natural resources more rationally for the development of the rural economy and facilitate the gradual mechanization and electrification of agriculture. The educational and cultural services and collective welfare establishments urgently needed by the peasant masses can also be extensively developed in the people's communes. The setting up of such collective welfare establishments as community dining-rooms and kindergartens has saved great amounts of labour power and in particular has made available the labour power of a very great number of women. Only one year has passed since the rural people's communes have been established, but they have fully demonstrated in practice their immense vitality. That is why the people's commune movement is a great mass movement that meets the need of the Chinese peasants to develop the rural economy rapidly and transform the poverty-stricken and backward face of the Chinese countryside, a mass movement which conforms to the laws of historical development under the conditions obtaining in China. Such a mass movement is not something that can emerge because somebody shouts for it, nor will it collapse because somebody opposes it.

**S**OME people hold that because the people's communes as they now stand still have socialist collective ownership, there is not much difference between them and the agricultural producers' co-operatives and therefore there is no need to establish them. Such people fail to see that a new content is added on the basis of the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and so a vast difference exists between the two. Within the people's commune, industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated (agriculture comprises farming, forestry, livestock raising, rural side lines and fishery); it organizes production as well as the livelihood of its members, and the basic unit of state power in the countryside is merged with the people's commune administration — all these things were absent in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative. Of particular importance is the fact that although ownership in

the people's commune is still socialist collective ownership and although the collective ownership of the production brigade which corresponds to the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operative is the basic form of ownership while only part of the ownership is vested in the commune as a whole; this part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune did not exist in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative and this already contains certain elements of ownership by the whole people. As the commune is able every year to draw suitable sums for its accumulation fund from the income of the production brigades, to be put to the use of commune-run enterprises, and as the commune-run enterprises are developed and the state extends help to the commune, that part of the ownership vested in the commune will be gradually enlarged, until it becomes the basic form of ownership, while the production brigades only retain a part of the ownership. Although at present, only part of the ownership is vested in the people's commune as a whole, it is this part of the ownership which holds its greatest hopes and prospects. When that part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune as a whole becomes the basic form of ownership, a reliable foundation will have been laid for the transition from socialist collective ownership into socialist ownership by the whole people in the countryside. As to the distribution system in the people's communes, at the present time they implement, in the main, a wage system based on the principle "to each according to his work" and at the same time they adopt a supply system which to some extent embodies the rudiments of the principle of "to each according to his needs." This also did not exist in the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. Many people's communes have put into effect a supply system which provides members with a suitable amount of free supplies. (Generally speaking, these free allocations constitute 20 to 30 per cent of the total incomes of the members.) At present its main purpose is to ensure that provision is made for the livelihood of those who are not able-bodied and of the children. This is a very good method of implementing social insurance in our rural areas and of helping families which have more children or have other heavy burdens. It meets the present actual needs of life of the peasant masses. Of course, this does not yet signify implementation of the communist principle "to each according to his needs."

Some people are of the opinion that people's communes can only be communist in nature and must fully adopt the principle "to each according to his needs," otherwise, they cannot be called people's communes. They therefore regard the setting up of people's communes under present conditions as merely a utopian measure divorced from reality. They give a completely mechanical interpretation to the nature of the people's communes. They do not understand that our present people's communes in the rural areas are a form of basic social organization, possessing all the above-mentioned special features; that this form of social organization, therefore, has very great flexibility and is capable of accommodating productive forces at different levels in both socialist and communist society and their corresponding levels of productive relations. As far as our country is concerned, this form of social organization suits not only the socialist collective ownership of the present but



future socialist ownership by the whole people as well, not only the present socialist system of giving to each according to his work but the future communist system of giving to each according to his needs. There is every reason to believe that this form of social organization, the people's commune, will also be a suitable form of social organization at the primary level after our country has entered into communism. The commune system, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, embodies a process of development. In our countryside, this social organization, the people's commune, can rapidly advance rural economic development while social economic growth will, in its turn, promote the development of both the content and form of the people's commune system. With the birth of this social organization, the people's commune, we have in practice discovered the road that, under the prevailing conditions in our country, will lead to the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, and to the future gradual transition from socialism to communism in the countryside. It is wrong to think that all expectations for the commune can be realized once the people's commune is established. It will be a complete mistake to think that because the people's communes need a process of gradual development, they were set up too early, that it would have been better not to set them up and that those already set up should be dissolved.

**T**O find fault with our big leap and people's communes means to find fault with our Party's general line for building socialism. Who are these people finding fault with the Party's general line? In our own ranks, they are the right opportunists. They represent bourgeois ideology within our Party. When hostile forces at home and abroad were viciously attacking us, they even denied the great achievements in our work and described our great cause as being in an awful mess, using as their pretext certain shortcomings in our work, which had long ago been discovered and corrected by the Party's Central Committee. They tried to prevent our cause from advancing, to prevent the continued leap forward this year and prevent the thorough implementation of the Party's general line. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee pointed out that right opportunism is the principal danger in our country today. To wage a struggle against right opportunism, overcome right opportunism and wipe out its influences is a major task of our Party at the present time.

The general line of our Party is correct and our achievements are great. Now we are successfully waging the struggle against right opportunism. In response to the call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, the broad masses of the people are working for a big new upsurge to increase production and practise economy; this is a powerful rejoinder to the attacks launched by hostile forces at home and abroad, at the same time it is also a reply to the attacks by right opportunists.

Our great cause is advancing successfully. Our Party shares the destiny and life-breath of the Chinese people; our cause, we have always believed, is a component part of the socialist cause of all the world. In our country's revolution and construction, the Soviet Union and other

socialist countries have given us very great help while the working people of the whole world and the progressive forces of all lands have also given us a very great measure of sympathy and support. With the Soviet Union and other socialist countries our country has established a friendship and unity which is indestructible and is growing daily. Our slogans are: "Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!" "Long live the great unity of the peoples of all lands!" Supported by these two great unities, our cause is invincible.

**A**LL our victories are fresh confirmations of, and fresh victories for, Marxism-Leninism. There was once some talk about Marxism only being applicable to well-developed capitalist countries but not to economically backward countries; only to the West, not to the East. After the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, there has been another kind of talk about Marxism only being applicable to the Eastern and not to the Western countries. All such ideas are myths spread by the bourgeois reactionaries and their henchmen. In actual fact, since the emergence of Marxism, whether in economically advanced countries or in economically backward countries, whether in the West or the East, every historical event and every revolutionary experience has proved repeatedly the correctness of Marxism. The struggles and revolutions of the masses in the various countries take place and progress in different historical environments and under different historical conditions, but, no matter how complex and tortuous are the revolutions in the various countries, it is no more possible for the development of any country to depart from the common historical course pointed out by Marxism than it is for the earth to leave its orbit revolving round the sun.

The Chinese Communist Party, which has led the Chinese revolution to victory, is armed with Marxism-Leninism: this is epitomized in the famous words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party has made consistent efforts to enable itself to solve the various problems of the Chinese revolution and construction by flexibly applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the concrete conditions in China. The fact that Marxism-Leninism has been widely disseminated in such a large Eastern country as ours with a population of 650 million and that it has resulted in victory in the actual practice of the revolution and construction must, by all accounts, be considered a big event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, revolution and construction in China have features peculiar to this country. But it is also possible that some of these important special features may reappear in some other countries. In this sense, Chinese experience is to a certain extent of international significance.

Let us raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward!

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world!

September 14, 1959

# The Great Unity of the Chinese People and the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World

—Written for *Pravda* of the Soviet Union in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic

by TENG HSIAO-PING

**T**HE Chinese people achieved the great victory of their revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism ten years ago. Since then they have also won great victories in the struggle against enemies at home and abroad, in the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts, and in socialist economic and cultural construction. The Chinese people have succeeded in all this because they relied on the great unity of the entire people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and also the great unity between the Chinese people and other peoples of the world.

On the eve of the birth of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* that internally, we must unite with all forces that can be united with and establish the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and, externally, we must ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the proletariat and the broad masses of people in all other countries. He said: "To sum up our experiences and bring them into focus: we must have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme." We have consistently implemented this programme during the past ten years.

The revolution has united the hundreds of millions of people in China. The unity of the Chinese people has become more and more consolidated through the democratic revolution, through the socialist revolution, and with the uninterrupted development of the revolution. In the protracted struggle, the broad masses of Chinese peasants have come to see the working class and the Communist Party as the only force which they can rely upon for ever. An indissoluble worker-peasant alliance has been forged under the leadership of the working class, and with this as the basis, we have united all forces that can be united with. The people of all nationalities in China stand united around the Chinese Communist Party, like a giant. In the past, the imperialists mocked the Chinese people by calling them "a heap of sand." Now they can only tremble in the face of the united Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party firmly upholds and believes in this Marxist-Leninist truth: the people are the creators of history. Only the masses themselves, with their own hands, can break the shackles of bondage; and

only the masses themselves, with their own hands, can create their happiness. Proceeding from this truth, our basic method of work is as follows: To integrate the leadership with the masses, to pursue the mass line in all fields of work, to mobilize the masses boldly, to develop energetic mass movements under the guidance of the leadership, to sum up the views and pool the wisdom of the masses and rely on the strength of the masses to carry out the policies of the Party.

**B**EFORE 1949, the Chinese Communist Party had already traversed a difficult and tortuous path for close to thirty years. What we did can be summed up in a nutshell: we united and organized the broad masses of the people in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the working class and thus created a broad mass movement for the democratic revolution. The people's revolutionary war was the concentrated expression of this mass movement. It was a people's revolutionary war in which hundreds of millions of impoverished peasants were mobilized and gave their all-out support. Thanks to this, we finally defeated the enemy and won complete victory. What we have done inside China in the ten years since 1949 can also be summed up as follows: in addition to completing thoroughly the tasks left over from the stage of the democratic revolution, we united and organized the broad masses of the people for the socialist revolution and construction and thus created a broad mass movement for socialist revolution and construction. We have already built up the dictatorship of the proletariat as our state power. This is a powerful weapon in all fields of our work. The strength of the proletarian dictatorship lies in the fact that it makes the broad mass of labouring people the real masters of the country and is built on the initiative of hundreds of millions of people. Hence it is obviously an erroneous view to ignore the initiative of the masses, to maintain that it is no longer necessary to organize mass movements since everything can be done from above by relying on the state apparatus.

In our country, the mass movements play their role in all phases of the socialist revolution and construction. The broad mass movement guarantees that the socialist revolution can be carried out thoroughly and speedily. It also ensures that greater, faster, better and more economical results can be achieved in carrying out the socialist construction.

The socialist revolution in our country is the concentrated expression of the strong desire of the broad



masses of people to eradicate bourgeois ownership, end ownership by small producers, and completely emancipate the social productive forces. Every important step in the revolution was made under the impetus of extensive mass movements. It was through broad mass movements that we speedily and successfully carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce. Immediately following this, it was again through large-scale mass movements that we won decisive victories of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. All old relations of production and the superstructure which shackled the development of the productive forces collapsed rapidly under the impact of such great mass movements, while new relations of production and the superstructure befitting the development of the productive forces have grown up rapidly.

**T**HE socialist construction of our country has also been forging ahead under the impact of widespread mass movements. The 650 million Chinese people, completely liberated through socialist revolution, are confidently testing their strength on the truly gigantic tasks. They urgently desire to develop China's economy at high speed, to rid their country quickly of poverty and backwardness, and to catch up gradually with the imperialist countries which have always prided themselves on being "advanced." The Communist Party of China believes that it is its duty to support this entirely reasonable desire of the masses of the people enthusiastically and to lead them actively in organized actions. As early as 1949, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the socialist construction of China, in accordance with our conditions, ought to be very fast, and not very slow. In the spring of 1958, after the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy in 1957, the Party, at the suggestion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, mapped out the general line: "Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism." This general line has crystallized the great determination of the 650 million Chinese people to build a powerful nation, and has, in turn, played the role of setting the people in motion, mobilizing all the forces that could possibly be mobilized, thus creating a tremendous mass movement for socialist construction and the conditions for the uninterrupted leap forward of our national economy. Moreover, it has given rise to the historically significant movement to set up people's communes in the countryside.

The role of the mass movements in our socialist construction is being felt more and more clearly. The fact that hundreds of millions of working people have gone all out, aimed high, stepped up their enthusiasm for labour to the maximum, and developed the mass movements for technical innovation and technical revolution on a large scale, has guaranteed the continuous leap forward of our economy. We can say for sure that our technical revolution will be many times faster than the former industrial revolution of the capitalist countries. On the basis of giving priority to heavy industry, we simultaneously develop industry and agriculture, heavy and light industry; while strengthening the centralized leadership of the Central People's Government in economic construction, we also see to it that the initiative

of the local authorities at various levels is encouraged; we also see to it that the development of large enterprises goes hand in hand with medium and small-sized enterprises; while developing the modern method of production, we see to it that indigenous methods are not ignored. The operation of the policy of "simultaneous development" serves to mobilize the masses on the broadest scale, and to bring into motion various positive factors so as to push forward our socialist construction most effectively and speedily. In steel making, in 1958, we launched a mass movement in the large enterprises and those using modern methods of production as well as in the medium and small-sized enterprises and those using indigenous methods. As a result, tens of millions of people jubilantly joined the movement and displayed boundless enthusiasm for socialist construction. All this led to the enormous leap forward in steel making and laid the basis for a rational distribution of the steel industry in our country, thus creating the important conditions for a speedy development of the steel industry in the future. At the same time, it was through large-scale mass movements that we made timely adjustments of human relations in labour, to adjust certain links in our economic and political set-ups that were incompatible with the growth of the productive forces. As a result, our socialist relations of production have been improved steadily and the enthusiasm of the people for socialism was further enhanced. Clearly, it is only by relying on large-scale mass movements in our socialist construction that it will be possible to overcome our economic backwardness in a comparatively short period of time.

**I**N our own ranks some people cannot see the socialist initiative of the masses and therefore entertain doubts about the mass movements. They always think that the masses are not conscious enough and that the mass movements are unreliable. The fact is, however, that the broad masses in China have very great initiative for socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is not the masses who lag behind, but those who entertain doubts of the masses that are lagging behind the masses. Of course, in keeping with the progress of socialism, it is necessary for the masses to educate themselves in order to raise their own consciousness continuously. The broad mass movements led by the Party have played a significant role in promoting the cause of socialism because through these movements the socialist initiative of the masses is fully developed and they serve as the best schools for the self-education of the masses. It is through a series of mass movements in the socialist revolution and construction that the Chinese people have received a profound socialist education which has rapidly raised their socialist consciousness.

In our own ranks some people consider mass movements necessary in the revolution but maintain that it is a different matter in construction. This view is also wrong. Certainly the forms of mass movements should be different in times of revolution and construction, in political struggles and economic work. But obviously our economic construction cannot be divorced from political work, and politics should be the soul and should be in command. To do economic work well, we must observe objective economic laws. The aim of large-scale mass

movements is precisely the full application of the objective economic laws by bringing into full play man's subjective activity. Those who deny the role of mass movements in construction view political work and economic work as absolute opposites and therefore fail to see the very important part played by the socialist initiative of the broad masses in construction. They also view as absolute opposites two things in economic construction—reliance on the masses and reliance on technical personnel; they do not understand the vital significance of the practical experience of the masses in production for the development of science and technology. At present, there are not enough technical personnel as yet in our socialist construction, and a group of top-level, outstanding scientists, inventors and other technical experts are urgently needed. To develop their ability and the role they play, however, the experts have to work in close harmony with the masses and continuously absorb new experiences from the practical work of the masses. The view that in construction it is enough to have the management of the enterprises and a few experts issue orders, that the masses are negative or passive factors and that mass movements are not wanted, is obviously wrong.

**T**HE enthusiasm of the masses to create a new life and their spirit of initiative are inexhaustible resources for the development of the socialist cause. There can be no real socialist accomplishment which is divorced from the initiative and creative genius of the people. Lenin said: "Vital and creative socialism is created by the masses of people themselves." Marxism-Leninism always opposes the solution of new problems in life by resorting to ready-made formulas from books. In carrying out socialist construction in a country like ours, with a very large population and backward economy, we cannot possibly avoid a host of extraordinary difficulties and complicated problems. We must depend upon the living experience of mass struggles to overcome these difficulties and solve these problems. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung consistently maintain that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism must be integrated with the practice of the Chinese revolution, that is, applying and developing Marxism-Leninism through the practical struggles of the Chinese people. When hundreds of millions of people start to move under the Party's leadership, they not only rapidly accomplish those things which were once considered very difficult, but also break down the outmoded rules and regulations, go by the logic of life itself and discover various kinds of appropriate new forms for our cause. It is no accident that the broad masses of Chinese peasants have created a form of social organization, i.e. the people's commune. The former agricultural producers' co-operatives, smaller in scale, could no longer meet the requirements of the leap forward in the productive forces of society. Consequently the large people's commune, which combines industry, agriculture, trade, education, and military affairs and combines the township administration with that of the commune, was born, and an upsurge of forming people's communes was soon apparent in the countryside throughout the country. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave timely, correct leadership to this mass movement. The people's commune has developed so widely and rapidly because it is a creation of hundreds of mil-

lions of the Chinese people. It plays a great part in developing the rural economy and culture and in raising the living standards of the peasants. Such a large-scale mass movement which conforms with historical laws cannot possibly rise all of a sudden under the orders of a few people, nor will it vanish in the face of opposition by a few. The people's commune has extraordinary vitality. The peasants say: "It can't be destroyed even by thunder!" Under the conditions in our country, the people's commune is a powerful weapon to accelerate socialist construction in the countryside; it will also be the best form of social organization for the future transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, and from socialism to communism in the countryside.

It is inevitable, under any circumstances, that certain isolated, local and temporary shortcomings will crop up in great, new undertakings in which several hundreds of millions of people take part. But we cannot, as the saying goes, "refuse to take food because we fear choking," and we must not negate the mass movement because we fear these shortcomings. Our mass movement is conducted under the centralized leadership of the Party, with the leaders moving ahead along with the masses and learning together with them from practical experience; therefore, when defects crop up, they are easily detected and overcome. The handful of right opportunists within our Party do not see the great achievements made in the big leap forward movement and in the movement for people's communes since 1958; they spare no efforts to exaggerate certain shortcomings in the mass movements which have already been overcome so as to oppose the Party's general line for building socialism. The positive effect of the mass movement for more iron and steel on the rapid development of our national economy is becoming more and more evident in real life; but the right opportunists think that this movement can only play a destructive role. The people's communes, after summing up the experiences gained in the initial stage, are becoming more mature and sounder; but the right opportunists think that the people's communes are "moving backwards" and that the only way out is to dissolve them. The masses of the people look upon the leap forward in our national economy as something extremely good, but the right opportunists think it is all "in an awful mess." This right opportunist viewpoint is obviously nothing but a reflection within our Party of the reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeoisie which fears the masses and is antagonistic to the mass movement.

**U**NLIKE the political parties of the bourgeoisie, the Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat dares to bring into full play the creative power of the masses; it is forever in the van of the mass movement; it continuously shows the masses the correct path to take, puts forward in time new tasks for which they should struggle, and leads them from victory to victory. That is what our Party has been doing. Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of the masses of the people. The principles and policies for all our work are "from the masses, and back to the masses." Through the extensive mass movements, our Party has established intimate flesh and blood ties with the people. As a result of the victory of the Party's general line for the building of socialism, and as

a result of the great leap forward in the national economy and the victory in the people's commune movement, these close ties have been further strengthened, and the prestige of our Party among the people has been further enhanced. The Chinese Communist Party has become the core of the great unity of the Chinese people in long years of struggle. This great unity is the fundamental factor that accounts for victories we have already won and victories we shall continue to win in the cause of socialism in our country.

**T**HE unity between the Chinese people and the peoples of the whole world is the essential international factor which enables us to score victories in our revolution and in our construction.

The revolutionary cause of the proletariat has always been international in character. The struggle of the proletariat of any country is a component part of the common struggle of the proletariat of the whole world. In this era of ours, the people throughout the world have united in a world-wide common struggle against imperialism for the lofty cause of peace, people's democracy and socialism. Every country in the world, whether big or small, and every nationality, whether advanced or backward, has its place in this common struggle. The people of any country or nationality, so long as they mobilize and organize themselves and are united as one, turning their might to full account, can carry on their struggles successfully, and thereby contribute to the common struggle of the people throughout the world; at the same time, they can obtain help and support in this common struggle.

The Chinese revolution is a component part of the socialist revolution of the world proletariat. It is a continuation of the great October Revolution. The victory of the Chinese revolution extended the tremendous influence of the October Revolution and is of great significance to world peace and human progress. The revolutionary victory in a country as big as China with a population of 650 million broke through the eastern front of imperialism. It is an extremely heavy blow to the imperialist system. Victorious New China joined the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and greatly added to the ascendancy of the world socialist system. The unity and growing strength of the big socialist family formed by the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries have fundamentally changed the relative strengths of the world's class forces. Under the leadership of the proletariat, the Chinese people have carried the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution to the end and, through the socialist revolution and construction, are rapidly getting rid of poverty and backwardness, providing an example of going over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country and of the transformation of a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country. This cannot but tremendously inspire all the oppressed nations in their struggle for national liberation, people's democracy and a socialist future. The victory of China's revolution and construction is the result of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of China by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is the victory of Marxism-Leninism. The wide dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in a large country in the east and the

continuous great successes it scores further prove the unlimited vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and hence all people of the world who want progress are more and more attracted by Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese people have received broad sympathy and support from the great unity of the peoples of the world. We have never stood alone in our struggles. Under all conditions, the Chinese people have always carried on their struggle resolutely on their own; at the same time, the assistance and support from the world revolutionary forces are of great significance to the victory of our struggles. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of our Party: "Internationally, our victories are due to the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union and the profound sympathy of peace-loving people throughout the world." Our revolution and construction have received great, fraternal help from the Soviet Union, help from the other socialist countries, as well as help from the labouring people and all progressive forces of the various countries in the world. The Chinese people are sincerely grateful for this great international help.

**P**ROLETARIAN internationalism is an important condition for the victory of the revolution in all countries. It is an important weapon in the hands of the proletariat in liberating the whole of mankind. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always educated the entire Party and the whole people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and opposed all kinds of bourgeois reactionary ideologies of big-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. Bourgeois nationalism is an expression of the bourgeois world outlook. Starting from the selfish interests of the exploiting class, the bourgeoisie either places its own nation above the others under the banner of big-nation chauvinism in order to achieve the aim of oppressing and exploiting the other nations; or pits its own nation against the course of world human progress by spreading the ideology of narrow nationalism. Should the proletariat become contaminated with these reactionary bourgeois ideas, the cause of the revolution would be seriously impaired. The imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries have always exploited national sentiments to spread the virus of bourgeois nationalism as an important means of undermining the cause of the proletarian revolution and disrupting the unity of the various nations of the world. The modern revisionists, as represented by the Yugoslav ruling clique, use bourgeois nationalism to oppose proletarian internationalism, use the nation as a cover to oppose international solidarity and have fully become an echo of imperialism. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have told the entire Party and people time and again that we must always unite with the proletariat and the peoples of the world and make proletarian internationalism our rules of conduct.

The great Soviet Union is the most faithful friend of the Chinese people. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the two great socialist countries—the Soviet Union and China—formed a solid and close alliance. The unity of the Soviet Union and China plays an extremely important part in the unity of the peoples



of the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the unity of the Soviet Union and China "will inevitably contribute not only to the prosperity of the two great countries—China and the Soviet Union—but also to the future of all mankind and the victory of peace and justice throughout the world." The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always regarded the strengthening of the friendly co-operation between China and the Soviet Union as our important internationalist duty.

**T**HE socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the reliable guarantee of world peace and human progress. The People's Republic of China has joined this camp, and shares the same destiny and life-breath of this camp. In the big family of socialism, the national economies of all the socialist countries are surging forward together; the friendship and unity among us are being strengthened and consolidated day by day. The relations between the countries of the socialist camp are based on the proletarian internationalism of Marxism-Leninism. They are equal and fraternal relations of mutual respect, mutual encouragement and mutual assistance. These are the sincerest and most friendly international relations of a new type. The constant consolidation and promotion of the unity of the socialist camp conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the whole world.

The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the unity of the international communist move-

ment with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its centre, form the core of every more extensive international unity. With the holding of the historic Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties from all the countries of the world in 1957, this core has become even stronger and more consolidated. With such a strong core, the working class of the world, the labouring people of the world, the oppressed nations of the world, the world forces upholding peace and desiring progress, have united even closer, bringing boundless light and hope to mankind.

The great unity of the Soviet Union, China and all the socialist countries and the great unity of the peoples of the whole world are something imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries cannot disrupt. The more viciously imperialism and the reactionaries attack and try to disrupt our great unity, the harder we will work to consolidate and promote our unity. In the face of our great unity, any struggles on the part of imperialism and the reactionaries will not save them from inevitable destruction. The forces of peace will certainly triumph over the imperialist forces of war; the oppressed nations will certainly overthrow the reactionary rule of colonialism; the socialist system will certainly replace the capitalist system; these are irresistible historical laws. Our times are great times of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. Our cause will surely advance from victories to bigger victories. No force on earth can prevent our victory.

红旗  
HONGQI

## Refuting the Nonsense About "Disproportions in the National Economy"

*Following is a translation of the editorial that appeared in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), the theoretical fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, No. 18, 1959. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**I**N 1958, guided by the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism" put forward by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the nation emancipated its mind, toppled old idols and, in tremendously high spirits and with soaring enthusiasm, brought about an upsurge in the big leap forward of socialist construction. The national economy of our country and its various cultural and educational undertakings made unprecedentedly rapid progress.

Thanks to last year's big leap forward, in a number of important products, such as grain, coal and timber, China has already successfully reached ahead of schedule or surpassed the goals originally set for 1962 in the Second Five-Year Plan. The big leap forward has enabled us to

win time in our socialist construction and so shorten its course. This is a brilliant victory for the general line, a great victory for the set of principles for development of the national economy worked out by the Party known as "simultaneous developments," or more commonly, "walking on two legs."

It is an ingrained habit of the imperialists to venomously slander and attack our great cause of socialism. Since last year their attacks on our three great and vigorous new things—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune—have been especially fierce. This is because they know that what is of more advantage to us is to their greater disadvantage. This is exactly how things stand: what the Chinese people like most are always the things the imperialists like least of all. At home, a handful of right opportunists have also taken this opportunity to attack the Party's general line and the big leap forward. One of the main "arguments" they use to attack the general line and the big leap forward is that there have been disproportions in our national economy which have caused what they call "a state of



tension." But actual conditions have demonstrated that all this talk of theirs is so much nonsense.

### **The Marxist Approach**

It is an ABC of Marxist economics that whether there is a proper proportion or disproportion in the national economy is something that must be judged in terms of the major relations of proportions. According to the Marxist principle of reproduction, the most important proportion in the national economy is the proportion between the two big departments, namely, that producing means of production and that producing means of consumption, while as regards the proportion in expanded reproduction, production in Department I must be given priority for its development. As Lenin pointed out, Marx's formula concerning the proper proportions between Departments I and II, is also valid under socialism and communism. It was in the light of actual practice in our socialist construction and by creatively applying Marxist principles that the set of "simultaneous developments"—the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industries, etc., with priority given to heavy industry—for the expansion of the national economy set forth in the Party's general line was formulated. Since products of heavy industry constitute the main part of the means of production and agricultural products and light industrial products form the main part of consumer goods, the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industries with priority given to heavy industry is a complete and comprehensive reflection of the demands of the objective law governing the proportions between the production of capital goods and the production of consumer goods. Here we shall analyse the proportions in our national economy in the light of the main proportions existing between China's industrial and agricultural production, between heavy and light industrial production and between accumulation and consumption which corresponds with the first two sets of relations.

In 1958, both industrial and agricultural production in our country made tremendous progress: the total value of industrial output increased by 66 per cent compared with the previous year, while that of agricultural output increased by 25 per cent. In the total value of industrial output, the share of heavy industry increased by 103 per cent, and of light industry by 34 per cent. Such high rates of increase in heavy industry, light industry and agriculture are unprecedented in our history.

During the First Five-Year Plan, China's total value of industrial output registered an average annual increase of 18 per cent; while agricultural output value showed an average annual increase of 4.5 per cent. In the total value of industrial output, heavy industry registered an annual average increase of 25.4 per cent and light industry, an annual average increase of 12.8 per cent. In 1958, industrial growth was 3.7 times that of the annual average increase during the First Five-Year Plan. For agriculture this figure was 5.6 times; for heavy industry, 4 times; and for light industry, 2.7 times. Hence it can be seen that in 1958, whether in industry or agriculture, in heavy or light industry, the annual rate of increase was far higher than during the First Five-Year Plan. As far as the proportion between industry and agriculture is concerned, the policy of simultaneous development of in-

dustry and agriculture manifested itself more clearly in 1958 than during the First Five-Year Plan. As far as the proportion between heavy and light industries is concerned, the development of heavy industrial production was especially fast, but the development of light industrial production was also very fast. This too is a manifestation of the policy of the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries with priority for heavy industry.

Now take a look at the proportions within heavy industry itself. Heavy industrial production doubled in 1958. Was there harmony in the proportions within heavy industry? Was it really true, as the right opportunists allege, that taking steel as the key squeezed out the other branches? On the contrary, far from squeezing them out, taking steel as the key fostered their growth. Among the heavy industrial products that more than doubled their output last year were coal, electric power-generating equipment, engines, locomotives and motor vehicles. In 1958, output of electricity, originally a relatively weak link in heavy industry, also registered an increase of 42 per cent or 8,200 million kwh.; its increase during the whole period of the First Five-Year Plan was only 12,100 million kwh., while the highest annual increase during this period was only 4,300 million kwh. in 1956. The capacity of power-generating equipment produced in 1958 was three times as much as the previous year; this showed that the electric power industry was making energetic advances in its drive to catch up. The difference in the rates of increase in heavy industrial products is a commonplace. Certain weak links in our country due to historical developments cannot be completely overcome within a very short period. However, some of these weak links made outstanding changes during the big leap of 1958.

The growth of heavy industrial production in 1958 ensured, in the main, the needs of the high-speed progress of capital construction and was in harmony with the latter's expansion. In 1958 heavy industrial production went up by 103 per cent while investments in capital construction rose by 93 per cent. This shows that the scope of capital construction in 1958 was not blindly carried out without any grounds, as some right opportunists said. It was based on the growth of heavy industrial production and therefore the proportion between production and construction was, in the main, reasonable.

### **Rightist Slanders Refuted**

The ratio between consumption and accumulation in the national income concentratedly expresses the relation between national construction and the people's livelihood. The right opportunists considered that there was a disproportion between accumulation and consumption in 1958 and thus lowered the people's living standards. This, of course, is sheer nonsense. On the basis of the all-round leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and heavy and light industrial production, which we have mentioned, and of the rational proportion maintained between production in the two big departments of capital and consumer goods the proportion reached between accumulation and consumption in the 1958 national income was basically suitable and reasonable. In that year our accumulation grew rapidly and this was the result of the big leap in industrial and agricultural production, and not, as the right opportunists said, due to lowering the

living standards of the people. On the contrary, the people's standards of living rose considerably in 1958.

The right opportunists and certain people who hold mistaken viewpoints are of the opinion that the high-speed advance of our national economy will result in overall tension in the nation's economic life, and serious disproportions in the national economy. This is utterly absurd. The proportions maintained in the national economy in 1958 not only ensured the year's big leap in the national economy, but laid the foundation for a continued leap forward in 1959. If the big leap in 1958 had not taken place, the continued leap forward in the national economy would be inconceivable this year.

The major proportions in our national economy are suitable and normal. But, in certain links and the pro-

duction of certain products within the various economic branches, it is inevitable that some disharmony of an isolated, local and temporary nature should appear. Such phenomena can very easily be overcome. As a matter of fact, in the first half of this year, these disharmonious phenomena were gradually overcome in the course of the expansion of production after readjustments were made. The right opportunists can't see the wood for the trees; they seize on one point for their attack while declining to consider the situation as a whole. They absurdly exaggerate isolated, local and temporary instances of disharmony into major disproportions in the national economy. This shows how the bourgeoisie are at a loss when faced by the lightning progress of socialist economic construction in our country.

# The New Tien An Men Square

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**ODAY, October 1, the eyes of the world are focussed on Tien An Men — the Gate of Heavenly Peace — in the heart of Peking. Here Peking's hundreds of thousands join in a spectacular parade to greet Chairman Mao Tse-tung, other Party and government leaders and distinguished guests from scores of countries in a festive demonstration of their achievements in the last ten years and of their pledges to achieve even more in the future.

Tien An Men is the main entrance on the south side of the ancient imperial city. In front of the great red gate house with its upturned, yellow-tiled roofs and brilliant painted eaves runs a moat spanned by five marble bridges. Flanked by two free standing columns of marble clouds and winding dragons, it faces a wide avenue known as Changan (Perpetual Peace) that today extends clear across the city from east to west.

Due south of the gate, in the centre of the lower part of this "T"-shaped square, rises a great granite monolith, the Monument to the People's Heroes, which was completed last year. To the west of this stands the huge mass of the new Great Hall of the People, topping the gate tower by over a dozen metres, and to its east a similarly large block, housing the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History. The T-shaped space between is paved and landscaped with green lawns and flower beds, and with a grove of pines about the monument. The cross of the "T" is one kilometre long. The new Tien An Men Square makes a magnificent site for the people's festivals and demonstrations.

## Historic Tien An Men

Tien An Men has a history of over 500 years. It was the gateway of the Imperial Palaces which was built in the Ming dynasty in the 15th century. It was burnt down and rebuilt in 1651. Since then it has borne its present name.

In the years of the feudal monarchy, Tien An Men was built to overawe the common people. The walls surrounding it to the east, west and far to the south enclosed an area of 11 hectares around which all east-west traffic had to make a time-wasting detour.

Only after the 1911 Revolution overthrew the Ching (Manchu) dynasty were the three gates on each of the arms of the "T" opened so that traffic could move up to and across the Square. Warlord and Kuomintang rule, however, quickly allowed this square to decline into a weed-covered waste. But it was here in central Peking that, before the birth of New China, the people gave mighty manifestations of their revolutionary strength and determination. The great student demonstrations during the May Fourth Movement of 1919, the May 30th anti-imperialist movement of 1925, the 1935 December Ninth Movement against Japanese imperialism and the 1947 demonstration against the Kuomintang and U.S. imperialism — all took place on Tien An Men Square.

In 1949, Tien An Men saw the end of the old order and the birth of the new when on October 1, Chairman Mao Tse-tung here proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China and hoisted the five-starred national flag.

Since then, on May Day and on National Day, twice every year, the people of Peking demonstrate their unity, revolutionary will and joy in front of Tien An Men. Then till late into the night the Square is filled with rejoicing, dancing crowds and lit by searchlights and fireworks.

In recent years, Tien An Men has also seen powerful demonstrations of international solidarity in support of the anti-imperialist struggles in other parts of the world. Hundreds of thousands of Peking citizens gathered here to protest against the imperialist attacks on Egypt in 1956 and to support the Iraqi revolution in 1958.



**The new Tien An Men Square**

Since liberation, Tien An Men has been lovingly repaired. More and more of the surrounding walls which had become a bottleneck to the traffic of a fast expanding and fast moving city have been pulled down and the Square has been enlarged. In 1952, the last trace of imperialist aggression was wiped out when a thorough repair of the blockhouse gate removed three shells fired by the imperialist invaders in 1900.

However, it was since the big leap forward of 1958 that Tien An Men, like the rest of the country, has seen the greatest changes. The present enlarged Square, while keeping the former "T" shape, covers an area of 40 hectares as compared with 11 hectares formerly. (It's planned to extend further south to the Chienmen Tower with a total area of 52 hectares.) The eight reviewing stands which held 12,000 people on either side of the marble bridges have also been enlarged to accommodate 22,000 spectators. Large numbers of pines, maples and willows have been transplanted from the suburbs to wood the area, in addition to thousands of evergreen shrubs.

The museum building is a magnificent structure with a total floorspace of 650,000 square metres. Its walls are of a very pale yellow; the line of the slightly projecting flat roof is decorated with a continuous design made up of gold, yellow and green glazed tiles.

The northern part of the building is taken up by the Museum of the Chinese Revolution. Its collection includes precious relics of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles, beginning with banners of the Taiping Revolution of 1851, historic documents and mementoes of the leaders of the people's struggle down to the victories in the socialist revolution. The southern part houses the Museum of Chinese History which contains a comprehensive collection of cultural relics from prehistoric down to modern times. The construction of this whole building, from the breaking of earth to final completion, took no more than ten months.

The Great Hall of the People facing it on the other side of the Square at a distance of 500 metres is an even larger structure. It has three component parts: an auditorium

with 10,000 seats, a banquet hall for 5,000 people and the offices of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress with conference and reception rooms. Its total built-up area including floorspace is 171,800 square metres, larger than the total built-up area of the nearby Imperial Palaces.

### **The Great Hall of the People**

The Great Hall of the People, as its designers put it, is an attempt to combine the finest traditions of old and modern, of Chinese and world architecture, not mechanically but in a completely integrated synthesis. There is no doubt of the Chinese origin of the green and yellow glazed tiles making up the cornice and yet they blend perfectly with the predominantly Western style marble columns.

Technically, the designers faced problems which Chinese architecture had never tackled before. Not the least of these were the installation of steel roof trusses, the heaviest ones weighing 141 tons each, and of steel beams, the longest spanning 60 metres, or a communications system with earphones in the auditorium giving translations with a choice of 12 languages. Then there were the problems of the automatic adjustment of ventilation, temperature, humidity and sound control in halls of enormous size. Despite the many difficulties, the building was completed in less than 11 months!

That this was possible was firstly due to the inspiration of the general line for building socialism. When the decision to build was first made in September 1958, leading architects from many building enterprises in the country were invited to Peking to participate in its designing. In 20 days they solved the question of the general layout. Meanwhile, suggestions and proposals came pouring in from interested groups and individuals in all parts of the country. The final design was the fruit of many brilliant ideas.

In the spirit of socialist co-operation so greatly strengthened during the big leap, scientists, artists, engineers, construction workers, cinema and theatrical workers,



drainage workers . . . all joined to study the plan mapped out by the architects. Special research groups were formed to study the many problems that kept cropping up as the work progressed. Eighteen provinces and municipalities sent their best construction workers to help. Factories and plants all over the country considered it an honour to get orders connected with the building of this people's hall.

### How the People Build

Over the past 11 months, the building site has been the scene of extraordinary labour enthusiasm. Thousands of workers braved Peking's severe winter cold and summer heat to lay the foundations, erect the huge structure and decorate and furnish it. They vied with each other in emulation drives to do "more, faster, better and more economically." The zeal and vigour they displayed were possible only because, as masters of the new society, they knew they were building for themselves. Chang Pai-fa is one of the building workers who set the pace at the construction site. As a deputy to the National People's Congress, he himself will sit in the auditorium and take a part in shaping the course of the land.

Tens of thousands of government workers did their annual periods of manual labour here. These included 19 with ministerial rank. A mason expressed himself highly satisfied with the cadre-assistant whom he had been ordering around for days. He was moved deeply when he was told that this diligent and obedient helper of his was nobody but a vice-minister.

Now the ungainly scaffolding has been taken away, the mounds of building materials have disappeared and the snails of wire untangled. Tien An Men Square is greater and more beautiful than before. The carved inscription on the monolith, "The People's Heroes Are Immortal!" in Chairman Mao Tse-tung's calligraphy reminds one that the people's victory has not been easily won. The two inscriptions running the length of the wall on either side of the Tien An Men Gate, "Long Live the People's Republic of China" and "Long Live the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World," are symbols of the Chinese people's determination to build and defend their motherland and further the cause of peace and progress in close unity with all the peoples of the world. In the light of that determination, Tien An Men stands to witness still greater things to come.

## A Chronology of Events

# Ten Years of New China

*This is the second instalment of the chronology. The first part covering 1949—1953 appeared in the last issue of "Peking Review" (No. 38, Sept. 22, 1959).—Ed.*

## 1954

**April 26** The Geneva Conference to discuss the Korean question and restoration of peace in Indo-China opens. The Chinese delegation is headed by Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai.

**April 29** The agreement between China and India on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed in Peking, setting forth for the first time the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

**June 14** The Central People's Government promulgates the draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China, asking the whole nation to discuss it.

**June 17** China and the United Kingdom decide to exchange charges d'affaires.

**June 25** Premier Chou En-lai visits India.

**June 28** Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Nehru issue a joint statement reiterating the five principles to guide international relations: 1.

Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Non-aggression; 3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; 5. Peaceful coexistence.

Premier Chou En-lai visits Burma. On the 29th, Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu issue a joint statement affirming the five principles in international relations.

**July 5** Premier Chou En-lai and President Ho Chi Minh conclude their talks at the Sino-Vietnamese border which began on July 3. They exchange views on the restoration of peace in Indo-China and other related questions at the Geneva Conference.

**August 2** Vice-Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam arrives in China for a visit.

**August 22** The various democratic parties and people's organizations issue a joint declaration on the liberation of Taiwan.

**September 15** The First Session of the First National People's Congress opens. Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivers the opening speech. Liu Shao-chi makes a report on the draft Constitution.

**September 27** The National People's Congress elects Mao Tse-tung Chairman

and Chu Teh Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Liu Shao-chi Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung appoints Chou En-lai Premier of the State Council.

**September 28** The First Session of the First National People's Congress closes.

The Presidium of the First Session of the First National People's Congress promulgates the Organic Law of the National People's Congress.

**September 30** A meeting celebrating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China held in Peking. Premier Chou En-lai delivers an address. N. S. Khrushchov, head of the Soviet Government Delegation, addresses the meeting and delivers a message of greeting from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The heads of government delegations of all the People's Democracies address the meeting.

**October 1** The fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of

China. A grand military review and parade is held in the capital.

**October 2** Exhibition of Economic and Cultural Achievements of the Soviet Union opens in Peking.

**October 6** China and Norway establish diplomatic relations.

**October 9** The Chinese and Ceylonese Governments issue a communique on trade talks.

**October 10** Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sends a cable to the Ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly accusing the United States of armed aggression against Taiwan, China's territory.

**October 12** China and the Soviet Union issue a communique on negotiations between the two countries. The following documents are made public: a joint declaration on Sino-Soviet relations and other questions concerning the international situation; a joint declaration on relations with Japan; a joint communique on the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from the jointly-used naval base of Lushun (Port Arthur) in China and the transfer of installations in the base to the People's Republic of China; a joint communique on transfer of Soviet shares in joint stock companies to China; a joint communique on signing a scientific and technical co-operation agreement; a joint communique on construction of the Lanchow-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway and through traffic on this line. An agreement regarding the granting of a long-term credit of 520 million rubles by the Soviet Government to the Chinese Government and a protocol on Soviet assistance to the Chinese Government in building another 15 industrial enterprises and enlarging the scope of supply of equipment for the 141 enterprises provided under a former agreement are also signed.

**October 19** Indian Prime Minister Nehru arrives in Peking for a visit.

**November 19** China and the Kingdom of the Netherlands agree to exchange charges d'affaires.

**December 1** The Burmese Prime Minister U Nu arrives in Peking for a visit.

**December 2** The Conference of European Countries on Safeguarding European Peace and Security held from November 29 to December 2 in Moscow. At its closing session a Joint Declaration of the Governments of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania is adopted. China attends the conference as an observer.

**December 8** Foreign Minister Chou En-lai denounces the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek "mutual security treaty."

**December 30** A Sino-Soviet agreement on aviation signed.

## 1955

**January 5** Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, arrives in Peking.

**January 10** China and Yugoslavia agree to establish diplomatic relations.

Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai and U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold issue a joint communique in Peking after their talks from January 5 to 10.

**January 20** The Chinese and Afghan Governments agree to establish diplomatic relations.

**January 24** Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai issues a statement condemning U.S. interference in the matter of the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan.

**March 1** The People's Bank of China issues a new currency.

**March 9** The State Council adopts the decision on the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, the decision on questions relating to communications and transport in Tibet and the decision on assistance to the Tibet region for the building of construction projects.

**March 31** The National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party meets from March 21 to March 31. It adopts a resolution on the Draft First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy.

**April 10** The Chinese People's Signature Campaign against the Use of Atomic Weapons ends. 400,505,997 signed the appeal.

A Chinese delegation headed by Kuo Mo-jo attends the Asian Countries Conference held in New Delhi from April 6 to April 10. The conference decides to set up the Asian Solidarity Committee.

**April 11** An Indian airliner carrying staff members of the Chinese Delegation, a staff member of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, and Chinese, Polish and Austrian correspondents to the Asian-African Conference was blown up on its way to Djakarta. All eleven passengers and two members of the crew lost their lives. The explosion was caused by a time bomb placed in the plane by U.S.-Chiang agents in Hongkong.

**April 12** The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement demanding that the British Government and the Hongkong British authorities make a thorough investigation into the explosion of the Indian airliner carrying staff members of the Chinese Delegation to the Asian-African Conference.

**April 15** An exhibition showing the achievements of ten years of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia opens in Peking.

**April 18** The Asian-African Conference opens at Bandung, Indonesia. The Chinese Delegation is headed by Premier Chou En-lai.

**April 19** Premier Chou En-lai speaks at the plenary session of the Asian-African Conference. Peace, respect for each country's independence and friendly co-operation are the keynotes of his speech.

**April 22** A treaty on dual nationality between China and Indonesia signed in Bandung.

**April 24** The Asian-African Conference closes after adopting a joint communique in which stress is laid on the ten principles of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation among nations.

**April 28** Premier Chou En-lai and Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo issue a joint statement in Djakarta.

**April 29** An agreement on Soviet assistance to China in the peaceful use of atomic energy signed between China and the Soviet Union.

**May 14** The Conference of European Countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia) on Safeguarding European Peace and Security held from May 11 to May 14 in Warsaw. A treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance signed. China attends the conference as observer, pledging full support and co-operation.

**May 26** Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, arrives in Peking for a visit.

**June 1** China-Indonesia Friendship Association formed in Peking.

**June 3** Premier Chou En-lai and Indonesian Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo exchange notes on the implementation of the treaty on dual nationality between China and Indonesia.

**June 25** Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, arrives in Peking.

**July 5** The Second Session of the First National People's Congress opens in

Peking. Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun reports on the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy.

**July 30** Premier Chou En-lai speaks on "The Present International Situation and China's Foreign Policy" at the N.P.C.

The Second Session of the First National People's Congress closes. It adopts the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, carries a resolution on the multi-purpose plan for permanently controlling the Yellow River and exploiting its water resources and enacts the Military Service Law of the People's Republic of China.

**July 31** Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivers a report on the question of agricultural co-operation at a meeting of secretaries of provincial, municipal, and autonomous region committees of the Chinese Communist Party.

**August 1** Diplomatic relations established between China and Nepal.

Ambassadorial talks between China and the United States begin in Geneva. The agenda agreed includes: 1. Return of civilians of both sides to their countries; 2. Other practical matters at issue between the parties.

**August 23** A mass rally to support the Indian people's struggle to recover Goa held in Peking.

**September 10** The Chinese and U.S. representatives to the ambassadorial talks in Geneva reach agreement on the return of civilians to their respective countries.

**September 30** The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region established.

**October 11** The Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party ends its Sixth Plenary Session which began on October 4. The session adopts the "Decisions on the Question of Agricultural Co-operation," in accordance with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's report made on July 31 concerning this question and passes a resolution on the convening of the Eighth National Party Congress.

**November 10** The State Council publishes the Draft Model Regulations for an Agricultural Producers' Co-operative for general discussion.

**December 8** A Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl arrives in Peking for a visit.

**December 16** Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., arrives in New Delhi for a visit.

**December 25** A treaty of Friendship and Co-operation Between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic signed in Peking.

## 1956

**January 2** Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., arrives at Rangoon for a visit.

**January 4** Premier Chou En-lai sends Ismail El-Azhari, the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Sudan, congratulations on his country's independence and announces China's recognition of the new state.

**January 24** Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., visits Pakistan.

**January 25** Chairman Mao Tse-tung convenes the Supreme State Conference to discuss the Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967).

**January 28** China participates in the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee Meeting at Prague in the capacity of an observer.

The State Council adopts a resolution on the publication of the Scheme for Simplification of Chinese Characters, and decides to set up a working committee for spreading the "common speech."

The Second Session of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opens. Premier Chou En-lai reports on the political situation.

**February 7** The Asian Solidarity Committee of China formed in Peking.

**February 9** A draft scheme for a Chinese phonetic alphabet published.

**February 14** A Cambodian Delegation led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, arrives in Peking for a visit.

**February 15** Chu Teh, who heads the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivers a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

**February 18** Premier Chou En-lai and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, issue a joint statement reaffirming the five principles of peaceful coexistence among nations.

**March 17** "Model Regulations for an Agricultural Producers' Co-operative" published.

**March 26** The Soviet Union, China, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the

Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Poland and Rumania sign an agreement on the establishment of a joint institute for nuclear research in Moscow.

**April 5** *Renmin Ribao* carries an article entitled "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" prepared by its Editorial Department on the basis of the discussion which took place at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

**April 6** A Soviet Government Delegation headed by A. I. Mikoyan, First Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

**April 7** The Chinese and Soviet Governments issue a communique following the visit to China of A. I. Mikoyan. Two agreements between China and the Soviet Union are published, one on Soviet help to China to build 55 additional industrial enterprises and the other on the building of a railway from Lanchow to Aktogai on the Turksib Railway and the starting of through traffic in 1960.

**April 22** The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet formally established. Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and leader of the Delegation of the Central People's Government, attends the ceremony in Lhasa.

**May 2** Chairman Mao Tse-tung at a Supreme State Conference announces the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

**May 25** The Eight-Power Council for Mutual Economic Aid (the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania) which met in Berlin on May 18 completes deliberations on the question of co-ordinating their long-term national economic plans; China participates as an observer.

**May 29** Foreign Ministry spokesman declares in a statement that China's sovereignty over the Nansha Islands must not be violated by any country in any way or under any pretext.

**May 30** Diplomatic relations established between China and Egypt.

**June 8** China-Pakistan Friendship Association formed in Peking.

**June 12** China, the U.S.S.R., the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam sign an agreement in Peking on co-operative research on fisheries, oceanography and limnology in the Western Pacific.

(To be continued)



# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## *Soviet Disarmament Proposal*

The latest Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament "is a new approach to the disarmament problem and a peace proposal of major historic importance," says the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of September 21.

It recalls that discussions on disarmament have been going on among the nations for fourteen years since the end of the Second World War, but so far no real agreement has been reached because the Western powers headed by the United States have paid only lip-service to disarmament and invented all sorts of pretexts to block the road to it.

The Soviet Government has always been a resolute and consistent champion of general disarmament, the paper stresses. After describing the series of great efforts for disarmament made by the Soviet Union both before and after the Second World War, the paper says that once the latest Soviet proposal is put into effect, all international issues will be solved by peaceful means instead of by force. This proposal is an embodiment of the common desire and interests of the masses of people throughout the world. Only a socialist country like the Soviet Union can raise and dares to raise it. This is because in the socialist countries, there is no class or groups interested in war, the arms race or encroaching upon others' territory.

The new Soviet proposal has deprived the Western powers headed by the United States of all pretexts to obstruct disarmament, the paper continues. At the same time, the Soviet Government also holds that if at present the Western powers are not willing to accept general and complete disarmament, it is prepared to come to an agreement with other states with regard to appropriate partial measures on disarmament and on strengthening security, the paper notes.

The eyes of the peoples of the world are on the Western powers to see what attitude they will take towards this new Soviet proposal. They are paying special attention to the current talks between Khrushchov and Eisenhower. The Soviet Government's proposal on disarmament is a most important means for testing whether the United States has or has not any sincerity in thawing the "cold war" and whether or not it is ready to take any practical action, apart from words, to prove its desire for peace, the paper says.

The new Soviet proposal on disarmament is being discussed throughout the world, the paper notes. Indonesia, India,

the United Arab Republic and many other countries in Asia and Africa have successively expressed their support for it. In Western countries, people interested in peace and impartial public opinion have commented favourably on it. But the warmongering groups in the West who were stunned by this bold Soviet plan, and the newspapers they control, have rushed to come out with statements and comments to belittle and slander it as mere "propaganda," "castles in the air," "nothing new" and so forth. This vicious propaganda, however, can in no way offset the great influence being exerted by the Soviet proposal, the paper stresses.

"The Chinese people fully support the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament. Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we challenge the West on the issues of disarmament and peaceful competition. Together with all peace-loving peoples the world over, we will strive for the realization of this proposal for general and complete disarmament," *Renmin Ribao* concludes.

## *On Chou-Ishibashi Communique*

The views expressed in the communique signed by Premier Chou En-lai and former Japanese Prime Minister Tanzan Ishibashi "conform to the common interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and reflect the desire of the peoples of Asia and the world for peace," says a *Renmin Ribao* editorial of September 23.

The communique has been wholeheartedly welcomed by the Chinese people, the paper notes, and it has produced strong reactions in Japan. The majority of the Japanese public welcome it. Japanese statesmen like Inejiro Asanuma, General-Secretary of the Socialist Party, Tetsu Katayama, former Japanese Prime Minister, and Kenzo Matsumura, adviser to the Liberal Democratic Party, have expressed their support for it. This reaction indicates that the two peoples want to promote Sino-Japanese friendship and uphold peace in the Far East.

But, the paper continues, there are certain people with ulterior motives who do not hesitate to distort and attack the communique in an attempt to diminish its influence on the masses of the people.

The Chinese people have consistently advocated the promotion of Sino-Japanese friendship and the restoration of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the paper stresses.

Ishibashi's visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai again shows that the Chinese people are willing to have friendly relations with Japan. But, as the communique points out, friendship between China and Japan and normalization of their relations must be based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. The paper stresses that the Chinese people will by no means permit the Kishi clique to regard their friendly intentions towards Japan as a sign of weakness and use it to play its double-faced tactics of simultaneously currying favour with the United States and seeking economic profits.

Referring to Premier Chou En-lai's view in the communique that the growth of political and economic relations between China and Japan is necessarily linked up and cannot be separated, the paper remarks that Ishibashi's agreement to this view was an expression of wisdom. As is generally known, politics is the concentrated expression of economics. It will not do to take the complete separation of politics from economics as a principle in settling problems. There is no independent country in the world which would tolerate the undisguised political hostility of another country on the one hand, while on the other, developing economic and cultural relations with that country. Following Ishibashi's visit to China, other Japanese statesmen will also come to this country to promote Sino-Japanese friendship. Such visits are a kind of political action which will provide favourable conditions for the furtherance of economic and cultural exchanges between China and Japan.

The paper reaffirms that the Chinese people warmly support the demand of the Japanese people for the removal of U.S. troops and military bases from Japan and the restoration of Okinawa and Bonin Islands. They express sympathy and support for the Japanese people's aspirations and efforts for a change in their present situation in the same way as the peace-loving Japanese people support the Chinese people's efforts to liberate Taiwan.

The paper welcomes the news that Mr. Kenzo Matsumura, adviser to the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, will also visit China. Noting that Mr. Ishibashi's visit has already made a valuable contribution to the promotion of friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, the paper expresses the hope that Mr. Ishibashi will join his efforts with those of other far-sighted Japanese to promote Sino-Japanese friendship and peaceful coexistence and bring about a change in the present situation and the existing international relations of Japan, as stated in the communique.

# Fraternal Peoples Celebrate China's 10th Anniversary

As New China's 10th anniversary approaches, reports are pouring in of celebration activities in the fraternal socialist countries. Here are some of the highlights of these expressions of solidarity with the Chinese people.

**Soviet Union:** Beginning September 24, the Soviet press has been carrying many articles and reports on China's achievements in various fields. Radio Moscow offers selections of Chinese literature and music under a programme called "Week of Chinese Art and Literature." Exhibitions on China have been held in several Soviet cities. Many who have spoken at "friendship meetings" took part themselves in China's revolutionary struggles or were experts who have helped China's socialist construction as advisers. The Soviet composer B. Arapov has composed a symphonic poem called *Free China* in honour of the occasion. Professor Arapov made an intensive study of Chinese music during the several years he spent in China training young Chinese composers. A relay race by Soviet Young Pioneers starting from Moscow and covering all the union republics has reached Peking.

**Mongolia:** Fifteen days of activities marking Mongolian-Chinese friendship are now at their climax. Thousands in Ulan Bator heard reports by recent visitors to China. Friendly get-togethers and athletic meets between Mongolian and Chinese youth and workers were held in the city. Similar activities are going on in the provinces.

**Viet-nam:** Many leading government members have lectured on the significance of the Chinese revolution and China's progress during the past decade. Readers are snapping up an anniversary volume on China's achievements and Viet-namese-Chinese friendship. Special sales of Chinese publications, paintings, posters, stamps, etc. began on September 26 in all major cities. A Chinese film festival was opened on September 25 with a Chinese film delegation attending.

**Korea:** A Korea-China friendship month begins on October 1. Friendship delegations will be exchanged with China, and there will be special Chinese music and film weeks. A monument dedicated to the Chinese People's Volunteers will be unveiled.

**Albania:** A Chinese film week has been on since September 25 as part of the

nationwide friendship activities with China.

**Bulgaria:** Friendship meetings have been held in the major cities. Special radio programmes and showings of a Chinese film have been arranged.

**Czechoslovakia:** Celebrations have been going on since early September. Press, radio, and television gave wide coverage to China and Chinese films are being shown. Kovošvit, well known for its high-quality machine tools, has been renamed the Czechoslovak-Chinese Friendship Works.

**German Democratic Republic:** A Chinese film week began on September 25. Berlin is enjoying an exhibition of Chinese scissor-cuts, wood carvings and water-colour paintings by the Chinese working people and P.L.A. men.

**Hungary:** Nationwide celebration activities were organized by the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front and the Hungarian-Chinese Friendship Association. A Chinese Book Week opened in Budapest on September 30. Some fifty Hungarian translations of Chinese literature, all published since 1950, were featured.

**Poland:** An exhibition of China's achievements is on at the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science. Special lectures, meetings and parties have been held in many Polish cities to celebrate China's anniversary.

## **Chou-Ishibashi Communique**

Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi, former Japanese Prime Minister and a leading member of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, has now returned home after a two-week visit in Peking. Following his arrival in China on September 9, he had several meetings with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and was later received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi.

On September 20, Premier Chou En-lai and Mr. Ishibashi issued a communique on their talks. Its main points are as follows:

The two parties held that the Chinese and Japanese peoples should work together to make their contributions to Far Eastern and world peace. To this end, the two peoples should make efforts to promote mutual friendship, strengthen mutual trust, improve the existing relations between China and Japan and

work together for an early restoration of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that for this purpose Japan must free itself from foreign intervention, do away with its hostile policy towards China and not take part in the plot of creating "two Chinas." Mr. Ishibashi indicated that far-sighted Japanese had not tolerated in the past and would not in the future tolerate such ideas and actions.

Mr. Ishibashi held that China and Japan should work for exchanges and development in the political, economic and cultural spheres in accordance with actual conditions. Premier Chou En-lai agreed to this and pointed out that the growth of political and economic relations between China and Japan were necessarily linked together and could not be separated. Mr. Ishibashi expressed agreement to this.

Mr. Ishibashi indicated that in connection with the above-stated circumstances, there were things in Japan's present situation and international relations which gave rise to dissatisfaction and the maximum effort should be made to bring about an early change and, step by step, expedite its realization. Premier Chou En-lai welcomed this view. He pointed out that China would like to see the Japanese people fulfil the above-mentioned aspirations at an early date, that the Chinese people would give energetic support to efforts by the Japanese people to attain this goal and that they sincerely sympathized with the desire of the Japanese people for independence, freedom, democracy, peace and neutrality.

## **Solidarity with Fighting Algeria**

China's support for the Algerian people's struggle for national independence was reiterated in the message of greetings Premier Chou En-lai sent to Prime Minister Ferhat Abbas on the first anniversary of the founding of the Algerian Provisional Government on September 18.

Stressing that the recent victories of the Algerian people were a source of inspiration to African and Asian peoples fighting against colonialism, the message expressed the conviction that final victory will go to the Algerian people. It also expressed joy at growing Sino-Algerian friendship and co-operation following the visit to China of the Algerian government delegation and military mission.

## Festival of the Theatre Arts



The greatest theatrical festival Peking ever witnessed is now being held in honour of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. During the festivities, which will continue till October 10, theatrical troupes and art organizations in Peking and from various parts of the country, troupes from the P.L.A. and workers' groups, with a corps of some 7,000 actors, actresses and other artists in all, will give more than a hundred performances of Chinese operas, modern plays and operas, ballets and dance-dramas, concerts, songs, dances and acrobatics. The programme is rich. Repertoires include both Chinese and foreign works, classical as well as modern; plays, songs and dances reflecting the exciting changes in the country during the past ten years and the hard-fought revolutionary struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party. They also include some of the finest pieces of the traditional theatre, rediscovered and carefully restored and refined since liberation. The festival is the chance of a lifetime to theatregoers. Never before in the history of Chinese stage art have there been so many famous local operas and troupes performing in the capital at the same time, with so many veteran artists of the first rank playing their favourite roles, supported by so many promising players of the younger generations. It is an eloquent demonstration of the flourishing state of New China's theatrical arts, guided and fostered by the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge," in the service of socialism and for the joy of the people.

The festival began on September 21 with such hits as the Peking opera *The Drunken Beauty*, performed by the great stage artist Mei Lan-fang and his troupe; *Orphan of the Chao Family*, another Peking opera starring Ma Lien-liang, Tan Fu-ying, Chang Chun-chiu and Chiu Sheng-jung; *The Plum Tree Blossoms Again*, a Hanju opera featuring the well-known actress Chen Po-hua; *The Locust Tree Village*, a modern Chinese play performed by the Comrades-in-Arms Troupe of the People's Liberation Army; and *The Young Guard*, the famous Soviet opera performed by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre of Peking.

### Modern Plays

About a dozen companies will be performing 26 plays by well-known Chinese

and foreign playwrights. These include comedies, tragedies, satires, as well as humorous and lyrical pieces. In the great leap forward last year, Chinese playwrights wrote many fine plays, 12 of which are being performed during the celebrations. Some deal with historical themes, like *Tsai Wen-chi*, performed by the Peking People's Art Theatre; some depict the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people, like *The Red Storm*, performed by the China Youth Art Theatre, and *Prelude to the Eastward March*, presented by the Front Line Modern Drama Troupe of the P.L.A.; some reflect the great changes in the villages since liberation, like *Locust Tree Village*, performed by the Comrades-in-Arms Troupe of the P.L.A.; some portray the great battle for steel during the big leap forward last year, like *Taming Dragons and Tigers*, performed by the China Youth Art Theatre. Among the revivals is Tsao Yu's *Thunderstorm*, which is being performed by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Chinese theatrical workers have always paid much attention to the study of the world's heritage of dramatic literature. In the past few years they have staged many plays by some of the world's best playwrights. Festival audiences will see Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Moliere's *Hypocrite and Miser*, Ibsen's *Doll's House*, Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters*, Ostrovsky's *The Tempest* and other plays.

### Chinese Operas

A galaxy of the foremost exponents of Peking opera and at least seven other local operas are appearing in their most famous roles. Mei Lan-fang is playing with unrivalled artistry in *Mu Kuei-ying Takes Command*. He is strongly supported by such famous actors as Li Shao-chun, Li Ho-tseng, Li Chin-chuan and Yuan Shih-hai. Shang Hsiao-yun and Hsun Hui-sheng, both veteran players in the *tan* (female) role, are also taking part in the celebration performances. Ma Lien-liang, Tan Fu-ying, Chiu Sheng-jung, Yuan Shih-hai and Yeh Sheng-lan are performing in a not-to-be-missed production, *The Battle of Chibi*. *The West Chamber*, played by Chang Chun-chiu, Tu Chin-fang and others, is also excellent. In the ten years since liberation, the Peking opera troupes and schools have trained a large number of young players. Chien Hao-liang, Hsieh Jui-ching, Yang Chin-ling, Li Yu-fu and many other up-

and-coming players are also performing during the festival.

Famous opera troupes from various parts of the country give added colour to Peking's stages. The Kwangtung Opera Troupe is presenting two of the best plays on its repertoire: *The Lost Kite* and *Kuan Han-ching*. Those who have seen Ma Shih-tseng and Hung Hsien Nu, the two leading Kwangtung opera stars, will never forget Ma's superb acting and Hung Hsien Nu's wonderful singing. The Shaohsing Opera Troupe from Shanghai whose *Liang Shan-po* and *Chu Ying-tai* (*Butterfly Lovers*) is well-known to many foreigners is giving an excellent performance of the popular romance *Dream of the Red Chamber*, with Hsu Yu-lan as Chia Pao-yu and Wang Wen-chuan as Lin Tai-yu. *Love Without Honour* is an almost forgotten play by Pai Pu of the Yuan dynasty. The Shanghai Drama School presents a revival with the famous *kunqu* opera players Yu Chen-fei and Yen Hui-chu playing the leading roles. Szechuan Opera and *Chin Chiang* (Shensi) Opera Troupes have many fans in the capital which they have visited before. This time, besides the comedy *Finding Husbands in a Hurry*, the Szechuan Opera Troupe is giving a performance of *The White Snake*, with a whole troupe of young actors and actresses playing the leading roles. The Shensi Opera Troupe's contribution this time is *Visiting the West Lake*, the love story of a young girl who refuses to submit to feudal oppression. Famous traditional plays are being presented by the *Hanju* (Hupeh) and Hunan Opera Troupes: *The Plum Tree Blossoms Again* and *Drawing Lots for Life or Death*.

### Music, Songs and Dances

The anniversary celebration programme includes many concerts and recitals by leading symphony orchestras, violinists, pianists and singers. The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra's repertoire includes Beethoven's *Ninth (Choral) Symphony*, Shostakovich's *Eleventh Symphony*, Chopin's *Piano Concerto No. 2* and the young Chinese composer Lo Chung-jung's *First Symphony*. Sitson Ma, Liu Shih-kun, Li Ming-chiang, Yang Ping-sun, Yu Yi-hsuan, Kuo Lan-ying, Wei Chi-hsien and others are also giving instrumental and vocal recitals.

Song and dance ensembles from Sinkiang, Tibet, Yunnan, Kweichow, Ning-





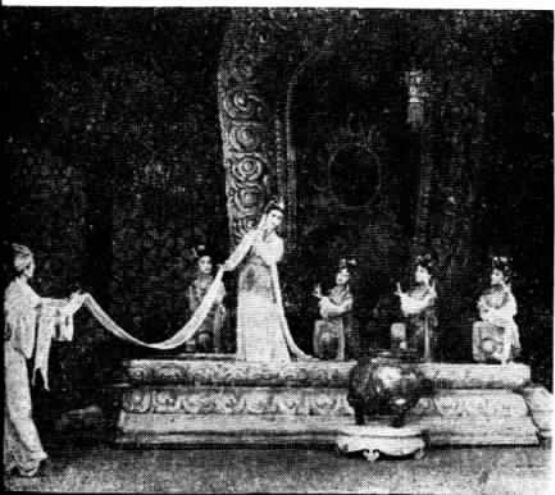
Kuan Han-ching

Aesop



Taming Dragons and Tigers

The Magic Lotus Lantern



hsia, Kwangsi, Fukien, Inner Mongolia, Kiangsi, Szechuan, Chekiang, Anhwei and other regions are giving a rich and varied programme of items from the art of fifteen nationalities, including the Uighur, Kirghiz, Tibetan, Yao, Miao, Tai, Yi and Chuang peoples. They will give a chance to hear and see the songs and dances of China's minority peoples, which have made great forward strides in the last ten years.

The Western type of ballet is a comparatively new art form in China. But, as in other branches of the stage arts, progress has been swift here too. The Peking School of Dancing's production of the Western ballet *Corsair*, and the Central Experimental Opera Theatre's ballet *Magic Lotus Lantern* on a Chinese theme show best what has been achieved in the past few years.

#### Bolshoi and Dresden

This gala occasion is being graced by the visit of the Soviet Bolshoi Ballet to the capital. Nearly two hundred members of this world-famous company—the largest group it has yet sent abroad—have come to Peking, including the peerless Galina Ulanova, Maya Plisetskaya, Olga Lepeshinskaya and other leading dancers. It has brought its own orchestra conducted by Y. Faier and E. Svetlanov. Its premiere opened with *Swan Lake*. It will also present three other full-length ballets: *The Stone Flower*, *Giselle* and *Thunder Path*.

The Dresden Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of over a hundred members, led by Prof. Heinz Bongartz and conducted by Siegfried Geissler, will also visit the capital soon after National Day. It is scheduled to give its first concert on October 5.

## CINEMA

### New Films Festival

The cinema industry is celebrating the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic with a New Films Festival lasting a month, from September 25 to October 24, to be held simultaneously in all the provincial capitals and leading cities of the twenty-seven provinces and autonomous regions, in many factories, mines and villages throughout the land. Fourteen feature films and an almost equal number of documentaries, scientific and

educational shorts, animated cartoons, scissor-cut and puppet films will be released for the festival. All are in colour. Over thirty films from the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Korea, Hungary and the other socialist countries will also be released in Peking in October.

For China's young and growing film industry, the festival is a milestone. Previews leave no doubt that audiences will be seeing the finest crop of films ever produced in a single year in Chinese studios. The feature films cover a wide range of theme. The Haiyen Film Studio of Shanghai presents *Lin Tse-hsu*. With the famous special commissioner sent by Manchu rulers to Canton as the central character, it tells the story of the Opium War of 1840-1842: the burning of the opium brought to China by the British imperialists, the British attack on Canton and the bitter resistance of the people led by Lin Tse-hsu. Well-known actor Chao Tan gives a convincing portrayal of the indomitable commissioner.

Several of the new films deal with the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people in the past three decades and more. *The Storm* (Peking Film Studio) is a moving screen version of the successful play produced last year by the China Youth Art Theatre. It takes its story from the efforts of the railway workers on the Peking-Hankow line in 1923 to build up their first union, their strike for better conditions and the defence of their rights, and the arrest and slaughter of workers by the warlord Wu Pei-fu on February 7 that year. It was a successful play, but the film is even better. It re-creates the authentic sights and atmosphere of the times; the mass scenes take on a scale and significance impossible for the theatre. Chin Shan, who plays the strikers' lawyer Shih Yang, one of the leading roles, also directs the film. He is supported by a strong cast; the camera work is very good.

*Song of Youth* (Peking Film Studio) is based on the popular novel of the same title, with a script adapted by its author Yang Mo herself. This is a story of the 1930s, of the advance of young intellectuals to an understanding of the aims of the revolutionary struggle, and it ends as a paean of praise to the heroism they showed in that struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. It is ably directed by Chen Huai-ai and Tsui Wei, who played the leading role in *New Story of an Old Soldier* and other films.

The Peking Studio and August First Film Studio present *The Long March*,

based on the play by Chen Chi-tung (an English translation has been published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking). Like the play, undoubtedly the best yet written on the famous 25,000 li Long March of the Chinese Red Army, it makes no attempt to depict the entire history of the Long March, but focusses on some of the outstanding episodes as experienced by a political instructor and several men of the army rank and file. In shooting some of the scenes, the cameramen retraced the path the Red Army took in its northward march. This gives an added interest to an inspiring and exciting film of revolutionary courage. Lan Ma and his colleagues of the modern drama troupe of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army played the leading roles when *The Long March* was first staged. They appear again in the same roles in the screen version.

The festival programme also includes a joint Soviet-Chinese production *Wind from the East*, by the Moscow Film Studio and the Changchun Film Studio. This is a story of Sino-Soviet friendship in the Russian Revolution, in building a hydro-electric power station in China and in fighting flood. *New Story of an Old Soldier*, a wide-screen film produced by the Haiyan Film Studio of Shanghai, tells the story of a demobilized soldier's trials and triumphs in setting up a state farm in the wastelands of northeast China. *The Lin Family Shop* (Peking Film Studio) is based on the famous short story by Mao Tun. The misfortunes of the Lin family epitomize the plight of the small town petty bourgeoisie under the reactionary and corrupt Kuomintang clique in the early thirties. This is a sober film, a picture of the shattered illusions of a class. *Our Village Lads and Lasses* (Changchun Film Studio) is at the opposite pole—a picture of dreams fulfilled, and of the revolutionary optimism of the peasants of New China, in this case shown in a story of how the young people of a village win through in a battle to bring water from a distant spring to irrigate their fields.

Other festival films are: *Happy Children*, about the primary school children of New China, "good in study, good at work"; *Fighting Detachment of the Hui*, about a detachment of Hui guerrillas who fought and outwitted the Japanese invaders; *The Magic Lotus Lantern*, a film version of the new ballet staged by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre of Peking; *Joy in the Oases*, about the Uighur peasants of Sinkiang who take the road of socialist agricultural co-

operation; *Sisters on the Ice*, a feature film woven around winter sports; *The Warmth of Spring*, about how the life of a steelmaker suffering from severe burns is saved; *Nieh Erh*, the story of the famous composer who wrote the *March of the Volunteers*; and *Five Golden Flowers*, a comedy story from the Pai people in southwestern China.

A number of documentaries, animated cartoons, scissor-cut and puppet films will also be shown. These include *The Tenth Spring*, a documentary of the great achievements of China in the ten years since liberation; *In the Forests of Hsi-shuangpana*, a documentary on animal life in the region where the Tai people live in southwestern China; *Conquering the Great Northern Wastes*, a full-length documentary on reclamation of wasteland in China's northeast; and *Adventures of the Small Carp*, an animated cartoon. The carp is an old Chinese symbol of courage and perseverance.

The production of these films marks a new page in the history of New China's cinema. In the early period when the industry was being rehabilitated and re-organized from 1949 to 1952, only 40 feature films were made. Then production increased rapidly. In the five years from 1953 to 1957, the studios produced 131 feature films. In 1958 and in the first nine months of 1959 more feature films were produced than in the whole period from 1949 to 1957. But it is not only a matter of quantity. Great advances have been made on the technical side. Not a few of these films will make their mark in Chinese film history, and the general level of script-writing, directing and acting, photography and music has advanced. This rich harvest is a direct result of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom." It is also a tribute to the comradeship and co-operation among artists and art organizations. More than twenty film studios and art organizations in various parts of the country helped the Peking Film Studio, for instance, in its production. Hsieh Fang from the Wuhan Opera Theatre played the part of Lin Tao-ching, the leading role in *Song of Youth*, while the Shanghai film studios "loaned" the well-known actor Kang Tai and the actress Chin Yi for the main supporting roles of Lu Chia-chuan and Lin Hung in the film. The China Youth Art Theatre placed its best actors and actresses at the disposal of the same studio to make *The Storm*. Such co-operation vastly extended the capacity of the studios. It was given the more readily because these film gifts were for the tenth anniversary.



Lin Tse-hsu

Song of Youth



The Storm

The Long March





# Visitors' Guide to Peking

## Tien An Men Square and Former Imperial Palaces

### Tien An Men Gate (Gate of Heavenly Peace)

South central gate of the former Imperial Palaces. In the Ming and Ching dynasties (14th and 20th centuries), the emperors issued the imperial edicts and proclamations here. The Square in front used to house various feudal ministries which were inaccessible to the common people. Since liberation National Day and May Day parades are reviewed here by the leaders of the government and the Communist Party. The historic Square was the scene of the demonstrations of the people of Peking against the reactionary rulers of the day from 1919 to 1949, including the May Fourth Movement demonstrations in 1919, the December Ninth Student Demonstration (1935), etc.

### The Great Hall of the People

On west side of Square. It has larger floorspace than all the Imperial Palaces' buildings put together. Fine example of new architecture and record time construction. Completed in ten months this year. Main hall seats 10,000, with earphones for simultaneous translation in 12 languages. Banquet hall accommodates 5,000 guests. Offices of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. From now on the N.P.C. will meet here.

### Monument to People's Heroes

On southern end of Square, 38-metre-high granite monument with inscriptions by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai paying tribute to people's heroes from 1840 to the present. Sides of base carry eight bas-reliefs depicting important revolutionary events in the

past century with 190 near life-size figures.

### Former Imperial Palaces (Forbidden City)

The vast former palace grounds of the Ming and Ching emperors in the heart of Peking, surrounded by walls and moat with four entrances in each direction. Built over 500 years ago in the Ming dynasty. The emperor's throne hall, audience hall, hall for religious rituals, state hall, etc.; personal apartments, imperial family residences, imperial gardens. The throne hall—Hall of Supreme Harmony—largest wooden structure in China. Palace Museum displays part of treasures of past dynasties.

## Parks and Planetarium

### Working People's Palace of Culture

Adjoins Tien An Men on the east. Built in 1420 as an imperial temple where the royal families of the Ming and Ching dynasties used to offer sacrifices to their ancestors during coronation, royal weddings and on New Year's Day. Converted into a recreation centre for the working people after liberation.

### Chungshan (Sun Yat-sen) Park

At the west side of Tien An Men. Famous for its collection of gold-fish and thousand-year-old trees of former temple grounds. Peking's largest open-air theatre.

### Peihai Park and the "Round City"

Also known as the Winter Palace, part of the private gardens of the Imperial Palaces. Places of interest: the White Dagoba in Tibetan style; the Five-Dragon Pavilions; the House of Ten Thousand Buddhas built by Emperor Chien Lung; the colourful Nine-Dragon

Wall; the Palace of Young Pioneers; "Round City" just outside southern entrance of Peihai Park houses a white jade Buddha 1.5 metres in height in its main hall.

### Chingshan (Coal Hill) Park

In back of former Imperial Palaces—excellent vantage point for bird's-eye view of Palace grounds and city. "All Spring Pavilion" atop Coal Hill. Once the coal depot of the imperial household where Emperor Chung Chen hanged himself in 1644 when city fell to revolting peasants.

### Tien Tan (Temple of Heaven) Park

The Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests is fine expression of Chinese architecture. 5,000 cypresses flank the approaches. Circular Mound Altar designed according to the belief that the heavens are round and the earth square. At the Imperial Vault of Heaven, don't miss Echo Wall where a mere whisper close to it can be heard at any other point around the wall.

### Tao Jan Ting (Joyous Pavilion) Park

West of the Temple of Agriculture, known as a "mountain forest in the city" reduced to filthy marshy swamps before liberation and now the site of the biggest open-air swimming pool in the city.

### Peking Zoo

About two km. outside Hsichihmen Gate leading to the Summer Palace. Famous for its giant pandas. Gift animals from foreign countries.

### Peking Planetarium

Built in 1957. Daily showings in domed hall with Zeiss planetarium projector include sputniks, etc. Exhibitions and films on astronomy. Observatory and meteorological station.





## Summer Palace

Close to the Western Hills, the largest park in Peking's outskirts. Built by Empress Dowager to celebrate her 60th birthday with funds collected to build navy. Covers 823 acres with more than a hundred buildings—halls, towers, pavilions, bridges, pagodas and the richly painted, covered Long Promenade.

## Museums, Memorial Halls, Exhibition Centres, Libraries

### Museum of Chinese History

One of two new museums completed on eve of National Day, 1959, opposite the Great Hall of the People on Tien An Men Square. Valuable relics and exhibits on the evolution of Chinese society from primitive times to 1840. In three major sections: primitive society, slave society and feudal society. Rich material on China's peasant uprisings and national minorities.

### Museum of the Chinese Revolution

Panoramic history of century of Chinese people's revolutionary struggles, starting with the First Opium War (1840). In three sections: old-democratic revolution—covering Opium Wars, Taiping Revolution, Yi Ho Tuan (Boxer) Uprising, Revolution of 1911, up to May Fourth Movement (1919); new-democratic revolution—revolutionary struggles led by Chinese Communist Party starting from May Fourth Movement to the founding of People's Republic of China (1949); socialist revolution—socialist construction and various socialist reforms since liberation up to big leap in 1958.

### Cultural Palace of the Nationalities

Western end of Changan Boulevard—Peking's main east-west thoroughfare. Architecture and mural decorations in characteristic national minorities style. Main building 13 stories high, white tile facade and roof of peacock blue glazed tiles. Construction completed in September. Exhibition halls depicting life of national minorities in past and develop-

ments during past ten years. Library, recreation halls and theatre.

### Military Museum of the Chinese Revolution

Also completed on eve of National Day, 1959. Outside Fuhsingmen Gate in southwest suburb. With its red-star spire, it is the tallest building in Peking. Over 10,000 exhibits showing the growth of the people's army led by the Communist Party from Nanchang Uprising of 1927 to liberation in 1949, and in the ten years since liberation. Special hall on Chinese people's resistance to U.S. aggression and aid to Korea.

### Central Museum of Natural History

In new building across the street from Tienchiao Theatre outside Chienmen Gate, south city. Three major sections: paleontology, zoology and botany. First natural history museum ever opened in China.

### Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall

See Temple of Azure Clouds.

### Red Hall (Hung Lou)

Historic building of old Peking University in centre of town where Chairman Mao Tse-tung worked as librarian in 1918-19 and Li Ta-chao, one of founding members of the Chinese Communist Party, as head of library. Rooms displayed as they were when Chairman Mao and Li Ta-chao worked and engaged in revolutionary activities.

### Lu Hsun Memorial Hall

In west city just under shadow of White Dagoba inside Fuchengmen Gate. Exhibits and material on the life of the great revolutionary writer, and house where Lu Hsun lived from 1924-26.

### Peking Library

On western banks of picturesque lake of Peihai Park, beautiful grounds and palatial buildings. Largest and best equipped library in China. More than five million volumes from Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties to present time;

over 1,400 magazines and periodicals published in China and 8,000 from abroad. Lectures and exhibitions often held.

### Kuo Tse Chien (Hall of Classics)

Imperial school of higher learning in Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties, right inside the Antingmen Gate, northeast city gates. Amidst beautiful gardens, halls used as classrooms and huge lecture hall seating several hundred, where emperor sometimes lectured. Completely rebuilt since liberation. Now used as municipal public library.

### Peking Exhibition Centre

Built in 1954, just outside northwestern city gates. Grounds cover 132,000 square metres for 100,000 visitors daily. Now holding big national industrial and communications exhibition. Besides exhibition halls, houses the Moscow Restaurant (Russian-style food), a newly reconstructed theatre, and cinema. Peking Zoo and Peking Planetarium close by.

### Agricultural Exhibition Centre

In eastern suburbs, outside Tungchihmen Gate. 11 exhibition halls with auxiliary grounds depicting development of agriculture in China, the agricultural big leap in 1958 and achievements since the birth of the people's communes in 1958.

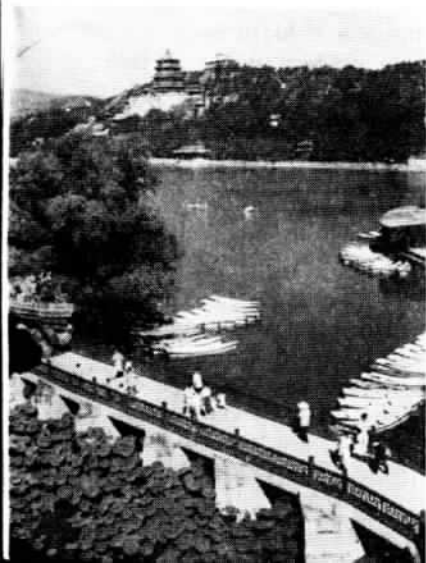
### Exhibition Halls of "Peking Man"

In Choukoutien 48 km. southwest of Peking. Original site where skull of Peking Man was discovered in 1929. Models of Peking Man, stone implements and evidence of use of fire. Models of Upper Cave Man and others. Caves where Peking Man and Upper Cave Man dwelt.

## Art Centres

### Liulichang

Liulichang, outside Hopingmen Gate. The name, literally "glazing plant," derives from the fact that glazed tiles were made here centuries ago. Today it is the centre of art and curio shops



in Peking: antiques, paintings, scrolls, specially made Chinese ink, engraved seals, carved furnitures, china, modern and classical books, etc. Annual Spring Festival Fair is held here.

#### **Jung Pao Chai (The Studio of Abundant Prosperity)**

One of most famous places in Liulichang. Facsimile reproductions of traditional Chinese paintings and woodcuts. Outlet shop for reproductions, contemporary original paintings, art objects.

#### **Arts Service Centre**

On Wangfuching Street. Complete range of handicrafts from all over the country, including jade, ivory, stone and wood carving, lacquerware, silverware, embroidery and brocades, bamboo and straw works, paper-cuts, etc.

#### **The Peace Studio**

On Wangfuching Street, dozen paces from Arts Service Centre. Studio where original Chinese traditional style paintings by contemporary painters, as well as Jung Pao Chai reproductions, are on sale. Small art exhibitions often held here.

### **Temples, Mosques, Churches**

#### **Kuang Chi Sze (Temple of Broad Charity)**

Buddhist temple on Yang Shih Ta Chieh Street, near Lu Hsun Memorial Hall. Built in 12th century. Religious centre for Buddhists in Peking. The All-China Buddhist Association has offices here. Has Buddha's tooth relic, over 100,000 volumes of Buddhist scriptures, and sutras.

#### **Pi Yun Sze (Temple of Azure Clouds)**

14th century. Buddhist images built in Ming times. Hall of Five Hundred Arhats. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in temple grounds.

#### **Wo Fu Sze (Temple of Sleeping Buddha)**

In Western Hills. Built in Tang dynasty (618-907); rebuilt and enlarged in Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). 15-foot bronze figure of reclining Buddha. Reputed scene of Shakyamuni in illness, surrounded by 12 disciples. Temple grounds rebuilt in 1955. Temple of Azure Clouds and Gardens of the Chou Family—renowned beauty spot—both within 2 kilometres.

#### **Pa Ta Chu (Eight Scenic Places)**

In Western Hills. Eight Buddhist temples, oldest dating back to Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Shakyamuni's tooth relic, discovered in stone cave under pagoda destroyed by Eight-Power Invasion in 1900, will be removed to 13-story glazed pagoda with gold tip now in construction at Lingkuangsze Temple. Stone caves, streams, rare ancient trees.

#### **Yung Ho Kung (Temple of Harmony and Peace)**

Peking's largest Buddhist lamasery in northeast corner of city, near Antingmen Gate. Originally the residence of Emperor Yung Cheng before his accession in 1723. Lamas are mostly Tibetans and Mongols. Five main halls, the third, Wan Fu Lou (Tower of Ten Thousand Buddhas), has gigantic 56-ft.-high image of Buddha of Resurrection carved from a single sandalwood tree.

#### **The Mosque on Niu Chieh (Ox Street)**

Inside Kuanganmen Gate, southwest city, where the community consists largely of Muslims. Largest and oldest mosque in Peking. Built in 996 A.D. during the Sung dynasty.

#### **Nan Tang (South Cathedral)**

Famous catholic church in Peking, just inside Hsuanwumen Gate. Built more than 300 years ago, and rebuilt after the fire in 1900, with a capacity of nearly 1,000. Chief of Peking's catholic churches. Others are: **Tung Tang** (East Cathedral), where All-China Catholics' Patriotic Association has its offices, and **Hsi Tang** (West Cathedral).

#### **Protestant Church at Tengshihkou**

On northern extension of Wangfuching Street. Sunday services: 10:30 a.m. Holy Communion first Sunday of every month.

#### **Protestant Church at Kuanchieh**

Inside the eastern city walls. Holy Communion every Sunday at 9:00 a.m. and services at 10 a.m.

### **Sports Fields**

#### **Peking Workers' Stadium**

Newly completed in eastern suburbs for First National Sports Meet. 80,000 seats. Football, track and field events, etc. Within stadium, practice rooms for weight-lifting, gymnastics, etc. Facilities for spectators include 240 refreshment booths. Close to stadium indoor and outdoor swimming pools, basketball and volleyball courts, tennis courts, artificial lake for rowing in summer and skating in winter.

#### **Peking Gymnasium**

Outside Chungwenmen Gate in south-eastern suburbs. Seating capacity 6,000. Indoor swimming pools. New velodrome, parachute-jumping tower, shooting range, etc. close by.

### **Markets**

#### **Tung An Market**

In middle of Wangfuching Street, heart of shopping district in Peking. Once a military drill ground. In early 1900s became an open-air bazaar selling

food and wares, antiques and curios, and amusement centre. Rebuilt and reorganized since liberation into one big market covering about 4 hectares with more than 600 separate stalls. Peking specialties—handicrafts, curios, preserved fruits. Also old books. Famous restaurants, including Tung Lai Shun, known for "instant boiled mutton."

#### **Special Handicrafts Bazaar (former Jade Market)**

On Chung Wei Ta Chieh just outside Chungwenmen Gate, southeast city. In the Ching dynasty it was the site of an open-air market specializing in jade, known as the Chingshanchu Jade Market. In 1956 over 300 individual jewellers joined to form the present bazaar under one roof. Large range of jade, jewellery, precious stones. Also ivory, lacquerware, palace lanterns and other handicrafts. Stone rubbings, woodcuts, paintings. Has branch store on Lang Fang Erh Tiao St., just outside Chienmen Gate, where other shops selling jewellery, art objects, curios, and antiques are also to be found.

### **Other Historic Sites and Scenic Spots**

#### **Ming Tombs Reservoir**

Of big leap fame, 50 km. north of Peking proper, below valley of Ming tombs. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, other government and Party leaders, took part in voluntary labour here, together with the people of all walks of life in Peking. Lake environs now turned into park.

#### **Ming Tombs**

Tombs of 13 Ming emperors, 40 km. northwest of Peking, scattered in a half moon within radius of 50 km. **Chang Ling**—tomb grounds of Emperor Cheng Tsu, one of the two largest of the Ming tombs. **Ting Ling**—newly discovered underground vaulted tomb of Emperor Wan Li, opened last year. Biggest and best preserved imperial tomb ever unearthed in China.

#### **Pa Ta Ling Hills**

The best place to see the Great Wall.

#### **Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge)**

15 km. out in western suburbs. Built across Yungting River in 12th century by Nuchens (Golden Tartars). Made of white stone, 820 feet long, 26 feet wide with 11 arches. Historic spot where Japanese invaders started all-out invasion against China on July 7, 1937.

#### **Hsiangshan (Fragrant Hill)**

In Western Hills, famed for natural beauty and red maple leaves in autumn. Remains of big Hsiangshan Temple built in Chin dynasty (1186 A.D.). New Hsiangshan Hotel for week-end visits.



# WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

## Highlights of Entertainment During the 10th Anniversary Holidays

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

### PEKING OPERA

▲ **MU KUEI-YING TAKES COMMAND** A story of Mu Kuei-ying, the brave warrior-maid of Sung times. In middle-age, after twenty years of retirement, inspired by her high sense of duty and her love for her country, she takes the field again. Produced by the Mei Lan-fang Peking Opera Troupe. Mei Lan-fang as Mu Kuei-ying. Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

▲ **THE WILD BOAR FOREST** An episode from *Water Margin*. Lu Chi-shen, the "tattooed priest," saves Lin Chung from assassination. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre. Sept. 29 & Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

▲ **THE TALE OF THE WHITE SNAKE** The legendary love story between a White Snake fairy and a scholar. A scheming reclusive sets him against her and later imprisons her in a tower. Many years later, she is rescued by her son. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre. Sept. 30 & Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

### KWANGTUNG OPERA

▲ **KUAN HAN-CHING** This opera shows the indomitable spirit of Kuan Han-ching, the Yuan dynasty playwright, as he struggles to overcome the difficulties that beset him while writing and staging his famous tragedy *Snow in Midsummer*. Produced by the visiting Kwangtung Opera Theatre. Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

### SZETCHUAN OPERA

▲ **FINDING HUSBANDS IN A HURRY** A Szechuan comedy opera. When an imperial official arrives in a city to select beautiful girls for the emperor's seraglio, a panic ensues. Mothers in their anxiety to save their daughters rush headlong into the streets to grab the first passers-by as husbands for their daughters. There are some strange denouements. Produced by the visiting Szechuan Opera Troupe. Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

### SHAOHSING OPERA

▲ **THE DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER** Adapted from the great 18th century Chinese novel. A tragedy of youth among the upper classes in feudal China. Produced by the visiting Shanghai Shaohsing Opera Theatre. Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club* Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

### SHENSI OPERA

▲ **VISITING THE WEST LAKE** A traditional opera about a young girl who refused to submit to feudal oppression. Produced by the visiting Shensi Opera Troupe. Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

### HANJU (Hupeh) OPERA

▲ **THE PLUM TREE BLOSSOMS AGAIN** Bent on appeasement, the Prime Minister wants to send Chen Hsing-yuan, a beauty, to the leader of invading enemy forces. Refusing to renounce her love and stain the honour of her country, she commits suicide. Produced by the visiting Hanju Opera Troupe. Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **LIU HU-LAN** A modern opera based on the true story of a young girl revolu-

tionary, Liu Hu-lan of Shansi, who was killed by the KMT warlord Yen Hsi-shan's men because she refused to betray her comrades. "A Great Life! A Glorious Death!" is the epitaph Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote for Liu Hu-lan. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre. Oct. 1 & 2, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

### CHINESE DANCE DRAMA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** A modern Chinese ballet based on an ancient Chinese fairy tale. The nymph of Mt. Huashan falls in love with a scholar. Infuriated by her attachment to a mortal, her intolerant brother imprisons her. Fifteen years later her child, who has grown up to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle in combat and sets his mother free. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre. Sept. 29 & 30, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

▲ **THE IMMORTALS** Based on Chairman Mao's famous poem of the same title in commemoration of those who sacrificed their lives for the revolution. Produced by the P.L.A.'s Shenyang Cultural Troupe. Oct. 3 & 4, 1:30 p.m. *Peking Workers' Club*

▲ **RED CLOUDS** tells how the Li minority people on Hainan Island suffered under Kuomintang oppression and how they gained their freedom. Produced by the P.L.A.'s Canton Cultural Troupe. Oct. 4 & 5, 7:30 p.m. *Peking Exhibition Centre Theatre*

### BALLET

#### The Bolshoi Ballet

is visiting Peking on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. It will give performances of *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, *The Stone Flower*, and *Thunder Path*. With Ulanova, Plisetskaya, Lepeshinskaya and others. At Shoudu Theatre, watch for dates!

▲ **THE CORSAIR** China's first production of the classical ballet by the French composer Adam. Performed by the teachers and students of the Peking School of Dancing. Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

### CONCERTS

Joint performances by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, the Central Experimental Opera Theatre, the Central Radio Chorus, and the Central Conservatory of Music. Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m.

Hsin Hu-kuang: *Symphonic poem (Gada Mirin)*

Conductor: Huang Fei-li

Tchaikovsky: *Piano concerto No. 1 in B Minor*

Conductor: Li Teh-lun

Pianist: Liu Shih-kun

At the *Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema*

Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m.

Beethoven: *Symphony No. 9 (Choral)*

Conductor: Yen Liang-kun

At the *Cultural Palace of the Nationalities Theatre*

### THEATRE

▲ **PRELUDE TO THE EASTWARD MARCH** This play, produced by the P.L.A.'s Cultural Troupe, tells how the Communist Party waged a vigorous struggle to rally the nation against the defeatists and splitters of national unity at a time when the reactionary Kuomintang clique was on

the verge of capitulating to the Japanese invaders.

Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **TAMING THE DRAGONS AND TIGERS** A new play about the great leap forward in China's countryside. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It describes how the people of a village braved dangers in the mountains to get raw materials for their furnaces in last year's drive for steel. Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **THUNDERSTORM** A tragedy of incest written in classic form in 1933 by the famous playwright Tsao Yu. A damning exposure of the family of semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in pre-liberation China. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre. Oct. 4 & 5, 7:30 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

### FILMS

#### NEW FILM MONTH

(Sept. 25-Oct. 25)

to mark the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. Showings of the year's best colour films produced by the nation's leading film studios.

▲ **LIN TSE-HSU** The story of what happened when the patriot Special Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu, in the late Ching dynasty, destroyed opium shipped to China by British merchants. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

▲ **SONG OF YOUTH** based on the popular novel by Yang Mo. A story of the heroic revolutionary youth movement in Peking in the early 1930s. Produced by the Peking Film Studio.

▲ **THE STORM** A new film portraying the great "February 7" railway workers' strike in 1923. Produced by the Peking Film Studio.

▲ **NEW STORY OF AN OLD SOLDIER** An ex-serviceman tackles a new job setting up a state farm on the wastelands of north-east China. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

▲ **THE LONG MARCH** Jointly produced by the "August 1" and Peking Film Studios. It shows how the invincible Chinese Red Army fought its way to victory during the Long March against attacks by the enemy and over such formidable natural barriers as the Tatu River and the Great Snow Mountains.

### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMUNICATIONS** Open daily 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At *Peking Exhibition Centre*

▲ **THIRD NATIONAL PHOTO EXHIBITION** Open daily 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At *Summer Palace*

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** by Peking artists. Beginning on Oct. 3. Open daily 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At the *Women Gate in Palace Museum*

▲ **POSTAGE STAMPS EXHIBITION** Open daily 10:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.

At *Working People's Palace of Culture*

▲ **EXHIBITION OF LI KO-JAN'S LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS** Open daily 9:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m.

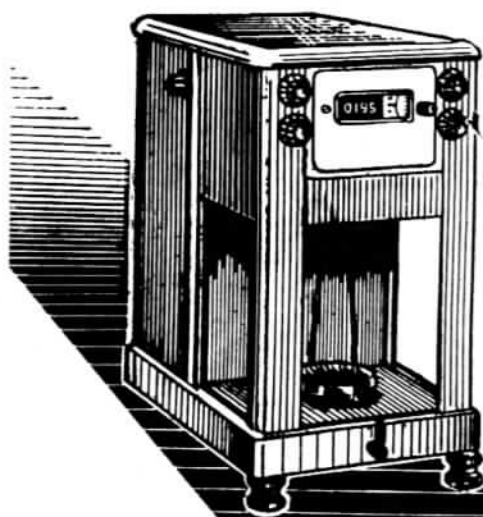
At the *Gallery of the Artists' Union*

### THE FIRST NATIONAL SPORTS MEET

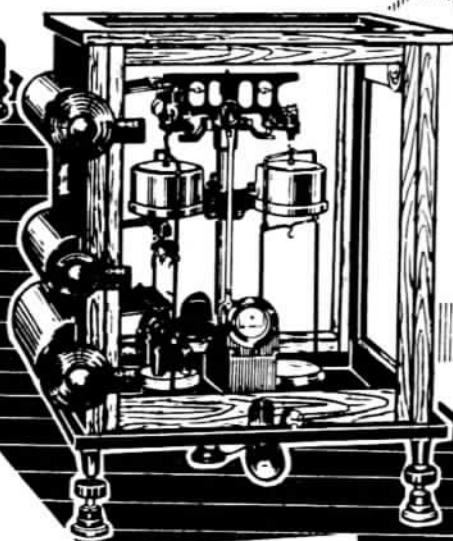
Closing Ceremony on Oct. 2, 3:00 p.m. at the *Peking Workers' Stadium* with performances of mass callisthenics and an international football contest. Don't miss it!



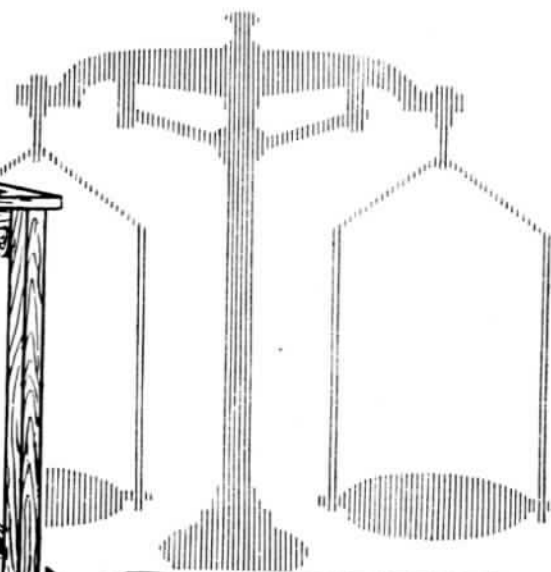
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