

人民中国

AUGUST

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEPTEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OCTOBER

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

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

establishing of normal diplomatic relations.

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

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

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

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

3rd. Diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Rumania established.

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

6th. Diplomatic relations with Mongolia established.

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

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

17th. National Railway Conference opens in Peking.

27th. Diplomatic relations with German Democratic Republic established.

NOVEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

23rd. Diplomatic relations with Albania established.

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

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

DECEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23rd. The National Education Conference opens in Peking.

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People's China

人民中國

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People's China



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Diplomacy and Friendship

On the founding of the People's Republic of China, the U.S.S.R. and all the People's Democracies, immediately and without calculation of selfish interest, established diplomatic relations with us. This immediacy of their response and their purity of motives has meant very much to us. Though young and faced with hostile forces, the People's Republic of China has never felt alone for a single moment since the day of its foundation.

Now, after three months and more, the governments of several other nations, such as Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Britain, Norway and Denmark, have also decided to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. As clearly indicated by the governments of these countries, the victory of the Chinese people has been so overwhelming and decisive that they are left with no alternative. Tame and servile as Chiang Kai-shek may be to the imperialists, he has now not even a toe-hold on the mainland of China. The diplomatic blockade plotted by Truman and Acheson has proved to be as ineffective as the Kuomintang's blockade from the sea. Nothing can alter the inevitable course of history as dictated by the determination of a fighting people.

The Chinese people have always stood for peace and international co-operation. From the very founding of the People's Republic, we expressed our readiness to negotiate with foreign governments, which severed relations with the Kuomintang reactionary clique, for the establishing of diplomatic relations "on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty". (Article 56 of the Common Program of the Chinese People's PCC) We also expressed our readiness to "restore and develop commercial relations with foreign governments and peoples on a basis of equality and mutual benefit". (Article 57, *Ibid*) On the above-mentioned basis, we welcome the latest developments with regard to establishing further diplomatic relations.

For one thing, this will enable the Chinese people to draw still closer to the peace-loving people of these countries. The imperialist governments

have always conspired, in various degrees and forms and at different times, against the Chinese people, either by direct aggression and exploitation or by plotting through our domestic reactionaries, such as the Kuomintang regime. But the Chinese people have never confused these machinations with the genuine friendship of the people in these countries. In the past three years, the people of the imperialist countries have shown equal indignation at their governments' sending of arms, aeroplanes and warships to the Kuomintang. They, as distinct from their rulers, have no vested interests in the Kuomintang's evil rule. Although diplomatic relations with these governments are essentially different from the solid friendship between us and the people in these countries, it may, however, make it easier for that friendship to grow. It is that friendship that we value most.

It must be clearly borne in mind that this genuine friendship is confined to the people of these countries only. Their governments are of a different frame of mind. The British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Christopher Mayhew, made this quite plain when he said that Britain wanted this diplomatic relationship purely because it "might be of some benefit to our commercial interests in China" and it was to be regarded "as an acknowledgement of fact, and not as a mark of approbation". A London Press Service despatch went even further by admitting the "complete accord between Britain and the U.S.A. on the long term objective of stemming the tide of Communism in Southeast Asia" by devoting their joint efforts to the "containing of Communism" and to "preventing it from spreading beyond the borders of China".

The naked truth is that the present move on the part of the imperialist powers has been made mainly on strategic grounds. This being the case, the Chinese people, while fostering true friendship with the people of these countries, and while trying to restore and develop commercial relations with these countries on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, will have to maintain an attitude of unabated vigilance.

No Smoke-screen Round Taiwan

The President of the United States broke his five-months' silence about China on January 5 by bursting out with a "statement on Formosa (Taiwan)". He said, among other things, that "the United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation".

This statement reminds us strongly of the Chinese fable about a country idiot who, having buried 300 taels of silver beneath a wall, put up a notice saying: "There are no 300 taels of silver under here."

Long before the Kuomintang remnants had been kicked out from China's mainland, the American imperialists were plotting to take Taiwan away from China and transform it into an American military base. In this way, Washington hoped to rescue some part of its aggressive policies in Asia from the total debacle confronting the imperialists.

But in recent months, the increasingly rapid advance of the People's Liberation Army has forced the American State Department to speed up its schemes. In a secret agreement with the Kuomintang clique, the American government agreed to pour further military aid into Taiwan. The United States undertook to provide US\$75,000,000 worth of "aid to China in general" for Chiang Kai-shek's counter-offensive against the Chinese mainland. In return, the American government's military commission in Taiwan received what amounts to full control over the island's military, political and economic affairs.

A batch of 32 American military 'advisors' has already arrived at Taipei, the provincial capital of Taiwan. Military supplies, including 250 American tanks, have been shipped to the southern part of the island. A 27,000-ton aircraft carrier and two destroyers have been sent to reinforce the U.S. Navy's 7th Task Force, which is now described as a mobile force for strengthening American policy in the western Pacific. General MacArthur, the protagonist of American aggression in Asia, is reported to have recruited 4,000 Japanese aviation experts and naval specialists to help with "the defence of Taiwan".

According to the latest schemes, should these precautions fail to achieve their aim, the American

imperialists will then try to place Taiwan under United Nations' trusteeship until the peace treaty is signed with Japan.

Apparently, the plotters have no confidence in their own last-minute plans. That is why the "battle of Taiwan" is now raging in Washington even before the real battle to liberate the island has begun. Few American militarists deny that "the loss of the island is merely a matter of time". Even the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, has admitted that the Kuomintang remnants are most lacking in something which the United States cannot provide them — the will to fight.

None of these intrigues, whatever the form they assume, can escape the watchful eyes of the Chinese people. The statement which Truman put out as a smokescreen could only, in fact, confirm the American imperialists' intention to annex Taiwan and it therefore aroused intense indignation throughout China.

The Chinese people, now victoriously concluding their long revolution, consider such American ambitions utterly ridiculous. Taiwan is Chinese territory. This is beyond question. Even Truman had to admit in the same statement that in joint declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the United States, Great Britain and China had agreed that "it was their purpose that the territories Japan had stolen from China such as Formosa should be restored to the Republic of China. The United States was the signatory to Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that terms of Cairo Declaration should be carried out."

The liberation of Taiwan is listed among the Chinese people's tasks for 1950, which include the liberation of the whole of China. The powerful People's Liberation Army was not deterred from its tasks of the last three years by the US\$6,000,000,000 worth of American aid to the Kuomintang reactionaries, or even by more direct American participation in China's civil war. How can the sum of US\$75,000,000 and a few shiploads of military supplies halt the liberation of Taiwan? The designs of the American adventurers are bound to meet with fiasco in Taiwan just as they did on the continent.

The impending liberation of Taiwan by the PLA will no doubt serve as the final touch to the complete fiasco of American imperialism in China.

The Difference Between Soviet And American Foreign Policies

Soong Ching Ling (*Mme. Sun Yat-sen*)

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his now-historic speech on July 1, 1949, pronounced that the new China, the Chinese People's Republic, would lean to one side in all matters, foreign and domestic. That is the side led by the great Soviet Union under the leadership of the mighty Stalin. That is the side of peace and construction. That is the path joyously followed and ardently studied by the overwhelming masses of the Chinese people.

Events in the world have proven, and are everyday verifying, that this is the only side to which progressive countries can lean. For there are merely two choices at hand. One is the Soviet Union. The other is represented mainly by the United States, Great Britain and France. As we have contact with these two sides, through their foreign policies, we quickly see that they are as different as day is from night. One has all the brightness of day and all the warmth of the sun. That is the socialist Soviet Union. The other is as forbidding as a wintry night with all its coldness. This is the imperialist band led by the United States.

By comparing these two choices, it is easy to see why in actuality, survival and revival of oppressed nations necessitates leaning to the side of the Soviet Union.

What do the imperialists offer?

First, they offer Marshall Plan "aid". Their method is to "educate" you on how good it will be for you. This is done in typical, high-pressure, American advertising style. The sales talk is directed to all those who are floundering in the high seas of unplanned economies and who fear changes which use the strength of the people. The American Wall Streeters hold up their concoction as the newest thing in life-savers. "It is streamlined," they say. "It will pull you through any situation." Some governments have fallen for this line and have had the "life-saver" tossed at them. From their experience, it is now history that this highly publicized contraption turns out to be but a

strait-jacket. It is filled with lead and bound to sink anyone who attempts to use it.

Recent news dispatches tell us that Marshall Plan "aid" is being rushed to Indonesia under terms of an old agreement between the United States and Holland to help the latter's colonies. It is obvious that the American government feels it can fully rely on those, both Dutch and Indonesian, to whom they dictated the Hague documents creating the new puppet state. Therefore, they rush supplies to these suffering islands. However, we can safely say that history is about to repeat itself. We can determine now what will be the results of this "aid".

For the few Indonesians in high position who have sold out their country to imperialism, it will mean that their power will be propped up for a little longer. This "aid" will enable them to suppress and keep at bay, for the moment, the rising tide of the people's might.

For the common men and women of Indonesia, it will mean something entirely different. It will mean prolonged civil war, with all its destruction and bitterness. Witness Marshall Plan "aid" to China and Greece in the past years.

It will mean further and intensified exploitation of the country's raw materials, to the detriment of the people's present welfare and their future constructive efforts. Witness Western Germany today as it serves Wall Street in full colonial capacity. Coal, timber, scrap metal and other raw and semi-finished materials are pouring out of the country into British and American factories. In return, this highly industrialized part of Germany is being made into an importer of finished products. The result is that their manufacturing industry is rapidly deteriorating and they have accumulated a debt of over three billion dollars to the United States.

Marshall Plan "aid" will further mean then, long lines of unemployed workers and shrinking standards of living for their families as factory after factory suffers the

smothering of home markets by American goods. Witness Italy, where 2,500,000 workers sit idle, while the Italian Government statistical institute informs us that nearly *half* of the families are living on a standard below the necessary minimum. Witness France, where purchasing power of the people has dropped more than 20% in the past year and devaluation of the franc further cut into their livelihood. Witness Britain, where the people suffer because the critically affected foreign export trade is diverted to the west, which does not want it, instead of being allowed to exchange goods and services with the vast expanse from Czechoslovakia to China.

Finally, this gracious "aid" will mean for Indonesia continued harassment by nature. Witness China's case once again, where the important bulk of the funds and energies were used to fight the people instead of preventing natural disasters. That is why until this time, floods have ruined millions of acres of land and millions of tons of food and the number of famine-suffers runs into the tens of millions.

The record is clear. Marshall Plans will help neither Indonesia nor any other country. They are not instigated for that purpose. There is another intent.

It has become clear once again that America's capitalistic system is a humpty-dumpty which has fallen off the wall of history. It is cracked, and severely so. Therefore, the monopolists on Wall Street try to put it together again. They use the very expensive Marshall Plan, while the American people, and all peoples upon whom it is imposed, are made to pay for it. But even this astronomical expenditure is not enough to mend the broken egg. The situation gets urgent, and after degenerates to the frantic stage. Measures of fear are then applied.

These measures are the preparations for war, as expressed in terms of the Atlantic Pact, the promised Southeast Asia Alliance and similar malicious attempts. These are strait-jackets of another sort for those who participate. It is in addition to the Marshall Plan and entails further obligations, this time the entirely non-productive, non-creative spending of money on arms and munitions,

according to American standards, from American factories, at American prices, paid for in American dollars. Not one of the contracting parties, including the United States, can afford such waste. But economic and political pressure of every variety is exerted by the American Government and its Wall Street jockeys until their objectives are reached: super-profits at home, control of the markets abroad. The national sovereignty of others means nothing to them. They trod upon the people's livelihoods with arrogance.

It is a truism: those who keep freedom from others, they themselves are not free. It follows: those who cause impoverishment, they themselves will soon be reduced to that state. It is precisely to this position that the American people are being steadily pushed.

Unemployment in the United States is reaching into figures like six million, with ten million workers only partially employed. This occurs when the cost of living rises to 180 (with year 1939 as 100) and real wages actually drop below the 1939 level. According to the Chief of Reports and Analysis of the United States Bureau of Employment Security, there is no relief in sight for this situation. In fact, according to this official organization's calculation, there are 600,000 more people looking for jobs every year. The casual remark at the end of this report was, that if this condition continues, it will mean something is *wrong* with the economy.

We can say now that something is wrong, for the people of the United States. But for the few financial groupings operating out of the darkness of Wall Street, things are quite right. Their profits are bursting out all over. In 1947 they hit the record of 17 billion dollars. Through further exploitation of the world, in 1948 they gathered unto themselves the gigantic sum of 21 billions. It is plain for all to see. Into these greedy hands falls the Marshall Plan money. The funds required for the execution of the Atlantic Pact also find their way here. And lo and woe to anything or anyone who tries to stop this game of gamble and garner.

The bigger the profits get, the more the people in the United States are suppressed. Civil rights are beaten down and discarded.

The police actively show they are mere tools of the vested interests. They protect only the hand that feeds them, rather than the people, as was demonstrated in the Peekskill incident. Educational standards are constantly attacked through the intimidation and firing of teachers and professors who object to the fascisation that is taking place. Science is closeted and put under lock and key, the latter in the hands of the financial wizards who control everything else. They do not even allow their imperialist partners to take a peek, as we have seen from the recent breakdown of atomic energy conferences held in Canada between the United States and Great Britain.

This brought out into the open but one of the contradictions which exists between imperialist countries. The American Government attempted to put all research and development of the important source of atomic energy into their own hands and exclude Britain and Canada from this field. They failed in this case, just as they met with a rebuff in the bargaining concerning the delivery of arms for the Atlantic Pact requirements. Historical analysis proves that such contradictions will ever be present and will become increasingly important. However, the American Government will treat its satellites as it treats its own people in due time. For how long can Britain, for example, keep up her resistance when she is so dependent upon United States funds to keep herself from the brink of bankruptcy? The answer is if Britain continues her present anti-Soviet policies, she cannot last very much longer, and sooner or later, the United States will have its way completely.

That is the picture the imperialist group presents.

Now, let us examine the policies and practices of the Soviet Union as they appear on the world scene.

To date, this socialist land has made trade arrangements with the following People's Democracies: Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Mongolia and China. All of these agreements were made with one, and only one, purpose in mind—to sincerely aid in the development of these countries. There

was no pretense, no bait, no "education". There was only one question asked: "What do you need?" Here are a few practical examples of how this worked out.

China, in its liberation, was faced with tremendous problems concerning rail transportation. The reactionary Kuomintang armies had destroyed bridges by the hundreds. The equally reactionary administrations had allowed equipment to be wasted and ill-used, and the roadbeds were in urgent need of maintenance. This had to be remedied immediately, since so much depended on moving supplies from the countryside to the newly captured cities, and in moving the People's Liberation Army to positions for the final strike against the American-supported Chiang Kai-shek.

Among the very first arrivals in China from the Soviet Union were railway technicians. They worked at the complicated questions and rendered support that put the restoration of our rail system months ahead of schedule. They came without benefit of fanfare. They did their job and not one single thing was asked in return.

Likewise, this past summer, the North-eastern provinces of China suffered an epidemic of the plague. We did not have enough doctors and technicians to stem this dangerous disease, so we called on our great neighbor. The medical teams we required were soon on the scene. They came, they gave their help and when they were finished, they went home. There were not even thoughts of repayment or concessions to be sought. They did not ask the right to do anything, except to serve the Chinese people.

Bulgaria offers another example. This country chronically suffers from drought. Inspired by the Stalin plan for remaking nature through reforestation and forming bodies of water, Bulgarian organs made a plan of their own. To implement this plan, the Soviet Union has given technical assistance, machinery, equipment for power stations, transmission lines to carry the power, made locks for irrigation dams and provided other essential materials, just to assure success in this vital project.

This spirit of cooperation is now the working principle among all the People's

Democracies. Before, as an example, the countries of Czechoslovakia and Poland were always bitter enemies, as a result of imperialist intrigues. However, since 1947, they have been working together under a five year agreement on mutual economic policies and a series of detailed protocols. The result is that they have increased the exchange of goods and assistance five times over the figures for 1938. Further, Poland has set aside part of its own territory on the Baltic sea for the construction of ports, so Czechoslovakia can have an outlet to the sea for commercial purposes. Cooperation is also evidenced in the joint development and use of natural resources in their border areas and the joint construction of power facilities.

There is no cut-throat competition here; no strangulation of the smaller or weaker by the stronger. This mode of operation has grown out of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which functions through pacts of friendship, sincerely implemented mutual assistance pacts, and pacts of non-aggression. Is it not clear then that we lean to one side because only the Soviet Union advocates and practices such a fair and honest policy? Only the socialist system allows for such an outlook and at the same time maintains constant upward development of the home economy.

Yes, we also lean to one side as a result of appraisal of the Soviet Union's domestic scene. We envy the fact that there is no unemployment, and rush to learn how it is done. We rejoice that in such a short time, they have liquidated illiteracy in their expansive country, and once again we ask to be shown how it was done. We like to see, for instance, that the post-war five year plan calls for increasing living space by the tremendous amount of 84 million square meters, this including tens of thousands of individually-built homes. We are joyful when the news comes that this goal is almost reached. We think it is significant that in the last thirty years, over 27,000 rural power stations have been erected in the Soviet Union. In undeveloped China, we are markedly impressed when we learn that in former backward Turkmen, heavy industry has increased 111 times between 1913 and 1941; in the Uzbek Republic, industrial output jumped 75 times in 27 years; in the Kirghiz

Republic it has risen 153 fold in that same period.

There is no question that without the fullest application of science, these accomplishments could never be realized. We quickly learn that the whole conception of science is different from that which is practiced in capitalistic countries. In the Soviet Union, it is freed for practical use and expedited to the maximum degree. Instead of allowing nature to run her own, unchartered course, Soviet scientists harness her to work for mankind. The progressive and constructive use of atomic energy is the most vivid illustration of this method. Atomic energy is being used to move mountains, to change the course of rivers, to make arid deserts fertile. It is not kept beneath a cellophane cloak and made a pawn in some nefarious international game. It is used for the benefit of the people.

Education and culture are treated with the same respect. This accounts for the fact that the Soviet Union today has over 220,000 schools with 34 million pupils and 837 higher educational institutions with over one million students. In ten pre-war years alone, these institutions turned out over one million engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other experts.

Thus, our comparison is complete. The imperialist band led by the United States financial groups is a hindering clod in the way of man's progress, both at home and abroad. The Soviet Union, however, lends a helping hand to struggling young nations both within her borders and without, until they can navigate their own way. Therefore, the conclusion remains. The Chinese People's Republic leans to one side. We appreciate the principle of "working with" friends. We especially admire friends who have such a constructive way of living and know tolerance in their treatment of other people. We think that all such friends should correlate their efforts to construct a new society, to protect world peace so that that society can prosper. Consequently, China will continue to follow the policy of leaning to one side, to "work with" all those who earnestly strive for honest cooperation. And in this period of history, China is pointing the way for the whole Far East.

The Labour Movement In China*

LI LI-SAN

Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour

(I) Victory of the Working Class and the People of China

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese working class and the Chinese people have engaged in a long struggle for nearly thirty years. This struggle has passed through four stages — the Great Revolution of 1925-27, the Agrarian Revolution which lasted ten years, the eight-year War of Resistance against Japanese aggression, and the People's War of Liberation from 1946 to the present. The Chinese revolutionary struggle has followed a tortuous and difficult path and has employed various complex methods of struggle and forms of organization, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed. Nationwide victory has now been basically won, and the People's Republic of China, led by the working class and based on the principle of a people's democratic dictatorship, has been established.

Why is it that in such a backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal country as China, the working class and the people succeeded in defeating the long-entrenched, brutal, reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism? How did they win their victory?

First, the Chinese working class could lead the revolution to victory because, through its ceaseless struggles, it had won the support of the broad masses and had become their true leader in the national liberation movement. This position of leadership resulted from the fact that the working class has shown itself to be the bravest, firmest, most faithful, most thorough-going and most unselfish fighter in the national liberation movement. It also resulted from the fact that the Chinese working class has skillfully adopted correct tactics, has put forward appropriate slogans, and has taken the initiative in moulding a mighty national united front among all classes, political parties and groups, organizations and individuals who suffered under the oppression of imperialism and its lackeys. As a basis for this united front, it formed a staunch alliance with the broad peasant masses, winning the peasantry's support through a revolutionary agrarian program. Without this close unity with the peasants, who constitute 80 per cent of China's population, the working class could not have won victory in the war and the revolution.

* The subject matter of this article is largely based upon the report made by the author at the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries held in Peking from November 16 to December 1, 1949.—Ed.

The working class also united with the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the cities, especially with the revolutionary intelligentsia. In countries like China which suffer from imperialist and feudal oppression and are culturally backward, the intelligentsia is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in ideology and frequently can assume an important role in the revolutionary movement. The working class must pay especial attention to uniting with this revolutionary force, while at the same time it must take precautions against the tendencies toward hastiness, flightiness, extremism, adventurism, etc., which are inherent to this class.

Another important factor in creating a mighty united front was the fact that the Chinese working class found the correct policy in dealing with the national bourgeoisie. It differentiated between the national bourgeoisie who opposed imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie who capitulated to imperialism. It treated the national bourgeoisie as an ally in the national liberation movement, adopting a policy of both uniting with and struggling against it, with the main emphasis upon uniting with it. This was possible because in a country like China, although the national bourgeoisie has many connections with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, it has also been restricted and fettered by the latter. For this reason, although the national bourgeoisie is inclined to waver and compromise, it can be won over to the side of the revolutionary masses during the period of struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

The working class can only establish its firm leadership in the national liberation movement by resolutely opposing national capitulation in the national united front and class capitulation within its own ranks.

The second reason why the Chinese working class could lead the revolution to victory may be traced to its comprehension of Comrade Stalin's statement that the distinguishing feature, as well as advantage, of the Chinese revolution lies in the fact that it is an armed revolution opposing an armed counter-revolution.

After the failure of the first Great Revolution of 1925-27, many active members of the Chinese working class left the cities, then under a reign of White Terror, and went to the countryside where they launched the agrarian revolution, initiating the struggle of the broad peasant masses against the landlords. In so doing, they built up numerous small armed forces and set up guerrilla bases which have been developed and consolidated during the subsequent period of guerrilla warfare, which lasted

nearly twenty years. These armed forces gradually grew into the present powerful People's Liberation Army, armed with a high degree of political consciousness and discipline, which has finally succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary regime and in liberating the whole country.

Ever since that time, the Chinese working class has paid special attention to building up its own armed forces under its own leadership, to supporting these forces with production movements, and to sending its outstanding members to join these forces, particularly those who had been exposed and could no longer remain in the cities. In this way, the leadership of the working class among the revolutionary troops was strengthened, while the revolutionary cadres were preserved. The facts have proved that the great majority of those sent to the guerrilla areas survived, while the great majority of those who inadvisably remained in the cities under the White Terror were sacrificed. The great majority of cadres working in the cities came up during the past fifteen years.

In the course of its protracted struggles, the Chinese working class has learned through its own experiences that in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, the working class definitely cannot substantially improve its status and livelihood, much less win revolutionary victory, without creating a revolutionary army under its own leadership and, with the support of the broad masses, waging a revolutionary war against the rule of imperialism and its lackeys.

But on the other hand, in areas where the ruling forces of imperialism and its lackeys were concentrated, especially in the big cities where the enemy was strongly entrenched and where armed struggles could not be launched, we adopted a policy of biding our time, of keeping our organizations intact and accumulating revolutionary strength while the revolutionary movement was still at a low ebb. We adopted this policy and opposed the existent tendencies toward desperatism and adventurism so as to avoid fighting pitched battles under unfavourable conditions. We carried on work in the labour movement by utilizing every possibility for legal and open action, however limited; we secretly joined the yellow trade unions, even the Kuomintang reactionary trade unions and other legal Kuomintang organizations. We took advantage of every minute contradiction within the enemy ranks to organize and educate the working masses. We led the workers in the minor day-to-day struggles for the improvement of their living conditions, no matter how small the improvement might be, in order to seize the leadership in these legal organizations. And when suitable opportunities were presented, we made use of the legal organizations to mobilize broad mass movements. In this way, with great vigilance and resourcefulness, the working class steadily raised the level of revolutionary struggle in the cities.

All of these legal activities and open struggles had, of course, to be conducted in various forms and through various channels so that they might

be carried out under an absolutely secret Communist organization. The combination of legal struggle with revolutionary secret work was the main line of our urban work before the victory of the revolution.

For quite a long time after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution, we did not realize that, under the reign of fascist White Terror in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, there was no legal protection whatsoever for revolutionary trade unions and revolutionary struggles. When the revolutionary movement met with set-backs, we did not know how to organize our defence and retreat correctly. On the contrary, we adventurously organized offensives, openly mobilizing workers' strikes and demonstrations and even armed struggle. As a result, the revolutionary organizations and revolutionary forces in the cities suffered severe destruction and tremendous losses. At one time, practically all the Party organizations and revolutionary mass organizations had been destroyed by the enemy. I myself committed serious mistakes in regard to this matter, and therefore I have especially strong feelings about this historical lesson.

Owing to the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Liu Shao-chi, who sternly criticized the error of "left" adventurism, we found the correct policy and correct methods for combining open and secret work. Right opportunism developed during the two periods of a united front with the Kuomintang, but these errors were also effectively opposed. In addition, the tendencies of legalism and liquidationism arose soon after the failure of the first Great Revolution, and these had to be opposed as well. However, the mistaken right deviations did not endure long as ideological trends for they were soon overcome. But afterwards, a left adventurist deviation arose which endangered the Party for a long time, causing far greater losses to the Party. It was only after this left deviation had been completely eradicated that the movement took the correct path and advanced smoothly toward final victory.

The third and most fundamental reason why the Chinese working class has led the revolution to victory lies in the fact that the Chinese labour movement has always been under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese labour movement and trade union organizations grew up only after the birth of the Communist Party. From its very beginning, the labour movement has been under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and has accepted the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore the Party enjoys great prestige among the Chinese working class and the broad masses, a prestige it acquired through its ability to apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the concrete and objective conditions it confronted, adroitly varying its methods and forms of struggle in accordance with changing situations. As a result, the mass revolutionary movement achieved maximum success with minimum sacrifice.

(Continued on page 25)

Ten Years of Mao Tse-tung's NEW DEMOCRACY

Hu Sheng

It is exactly ten years ago, on January 19, 1940, that Comrade Mao Tse-tung published his famous work, *New Democracy*.

New Democracy made its first appearance at a time when the Kuomintang reactionaries had begun their reactionary assault on the progressive forces in China, during the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression. This is why the book opens with the following paragraph:

"After the War of Resistance began, people throughout the whole nation took on a cheerful and inspired mood. Everyone felt there was a way out, and faces with knitted brows were no longer in evidence. But the recent atmosphere of compromise and the recent anti-Communist uproar, which are heightening daily, have again plunged the people of the nation into a state of bewilderment."

Although the book is not a lengthy one, it gave great strength to those who read it during such critical times. Those who felt gloomy, who did not know what to do, or who were panic-stricken in the face of the reactionary measures adopted by the Kuomintang reactionaries, could, after reading the book, regain hope in the bright future of China.

Why are Comrade Mao's works so powerful? It is because every point and every conclusion he makes in his writing is based on scientific analysis. In *New Democracy*, Comrade Mao scientifically analyzes the characteristics of the Chinese history, and the historical characteristics of the Chinese revolution. He points out that the democratic revolution in China cannot but be a part of the world proletarian Socialist revolution, and that this revolution must be led by the proletariat and not by the bourgeoisie. In the analysis contained in this treatise, he makes it clear that the only possible future for China is new democracy, leading to Socialism.

The political, economic and cultural structure of a new democratic China is, for the first time, fully and comprehensively described in the book. In the courses of all these scientific analyses, the book necessarily ends on the following confident note:

"New China stands before every one of us. Let us greet it. The mast of the ship of New China is looming on the horizon. Let us clap our hands and welcome it. Raise both your hands. New China is ours."

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This article is written to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the publication of *NEW DEMOCRACY*. Its main aim is to demonstrate the consistency of the book, so no attempt is made here to analyse its theoretical development during the last ten years.

When the national crisis was grave, and when dark clouds were hanging over the heads of the broad masses of the Chinese people, the great scientific prophet employed these words to encourage us to look forward and to strive on. The picture of a New China he outlined for us was not derived from personal wishes but from scientific deductions, and provided therefore an unalterable course for the fighting Chinese people. Ten years later, this goal turned into reality.

In *New Democracy*, Mao Tse-tung thus says:

"A scientific attitude should be one that 'seeks the truth in concrete facts,' and problems can never be solved with the arrogant attitude of considering oneself always right or of acting with self-assumed authority. The catastrophe facing our nation is so grave that only a scientific attitude and a spirit of responsibility can lead us along the road of liberation. There is only one truth. This truth is determined not by subjective boasting but by objective practice. Only the revolutionary practice of millions of people can be taken as the gauge for measuring truth."

Scientific truth can stand tests. For ten years, the Chinese people's revolution has travelled along a difficult and tortuous path. But the sum-total of all these revolutionary experiences has not changed any of the observations and conclusions set forth in *New Democracy*. All these experiences prove that Comrade Mao has given us unassailable truths.

Mao Tse-tung's ideas about the new democratic revolution had already taken shape long before the writing of *New Democracy*. But they were expressed for the first time in a systematic and comprehensive manner in this book. After the Chinese revolution had attained basic victory, Comrade Mao's ideas could be developed more concretely, as shown in such recent writings as *People's Democratic Dictatorship*. However, comparative study of the many books written by Mao Tse-tung in different periods will reveal the consistency underlying his fundamental thinking. Because his ideas and theories have been derived from the analysis of objective conditions and their trends, they are able to withstand the test of time and to maintain their strict consistency.

In order to solve the problems of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung begins with an analysis of the political and economic conditions within China, as well as of the relative strength of various classes of Chinese society. He then proceeds to an analysis of political and economic conditions on a global scale, as well as of the relative strength of various international forces.

One of the most basic theories underlying Comrade Mao's discussion of *New Democracy* is that

"China's revolution is a part of world revolution" and, moreover, "a part of world proletarian Socialist revolution." Comrade Mao raised this theory concerning the relationship between China's revolution and world revolution, which had first been put forth by Stalin, and then popularized and expounded it. He clearly pointed out that China's revolution once belonged to the category of world bourgeois capitalistic revolution, but, he explained, that phase has become a thing of the past. The world proletarian Socialist revolution began after the outbreak of World War I, and especially after the Russian October Revolution. This world revolution against the imperialist forces of the world is led by the victorious Socialist country—the Soviet Union. It has the proletariat in various capitalist countries as its main force, and it has the oppressed peoples in colonial and semi-colonial countries as its allies. China's revolution must inevitably be a struggle of liberation from imperialist oppression. Hence, China cannot but belong to the world anti-imperialist camp.

The idea "leaning to one side", as developed in *People's Democratic Dictatorship*, had been earlier raised in *New Democracy*.

Writing ten years ago, Mao Tse-tung said:

"With all the imperialist countries as her enemies, China cannot attain independence without the aid of the one Socialist country and the international proletariat. . . . The world now lives in a new era when capitalism is definitely dying and Socialism is beginning to flourish. . . . In the international environment of the middle of the 20th century, there are only two ways open to all decent people in the colonies and semi-colonies. They must either go over to the side of the imperialist front and take part in the world counter-revolution, or come to the side of the anti-imperialist front and take part in the world revolution. They must choose between these two. There is no other path."

China's revolution belongs to the world proletarian Socialist revolution. This does not change the nature of the first stage of China's revolution. As Comrade Mao explained, "This revolution, in its social character, is a bourgeois-democratic revolution, not a proletarian Socialist revolution." But just because the historic conditions of China's revolution became greatly changed after the May Fourth Movement, "from then on, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution altered its character and entered the category of the new bourgeois-democratic revolution. As far as the revolutionary front is concerned, it is a part of the world proletarian Socialist revolution." This is to say, China's revolution is a new democratic revolution.

What is a new democratic revolution? Mao Tse-tung summarized it in a simple formula as "an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution of the masses of the people which is led by the proletariat." China's revolution has fully proved that this formula set forth the only correct guiding principle by which

the Chinese could have been led to victory. In his "Address to the Cadres' Meeting in Shansi and Suiyuan" in 1948, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"You know, comrades, that our party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution, and it has also laid down various concrete lines of work and concrete policies. Many comrades, however, sometimes remember our party's particular, concrete, individual lines of work and policies and forget our party's general line and policy. But if one really forgets the general line and policy of our party, then one will be a blind, imperfect and muddle-headed revolutionist. In carrying out a concrete line of work and policy, he will lose his bearings; he will swing like a pendulum, now to the left and now to the right. Thus he will harm our work."

Let us repeat:

"The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-bureaucratic capitalist revolution of the masses which is led by the proletariat" is the new democratic revolution in China. This is the general line and policy adopted by the Communist Party of China for the present.

Such a general party line and policy have led us to today's victory, and it will continue to lead us in our future advance. We still cannot even in a single moment forget this general party line and policy now. We must every now and then examine our work in the light of this line and policy. After re-reading *New Democracy*, we are bound to understand this line and policy better.

When we say that the new democratic revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, we mean:

"The present task of China's revolution is to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Before carrying out this task, it is pointless to talk of the realization of Socialism. China's revolution can only be achieved in two stages, the first being that of new democracy, and the second that of Socialism. Moreover, the time for the first stage will be quite long, and certainly cannot be finished overnight. We are not Utopians. We cannot depart from the conditions which actually prevail." Hence, it is not right to "intentionally mix up these two different stages of revolution", thereby attempting to complete the tasks of a later stage before those of the earlier stage. However, there could never be a later stage if the tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism were not thoroughly carried out in the first stage.

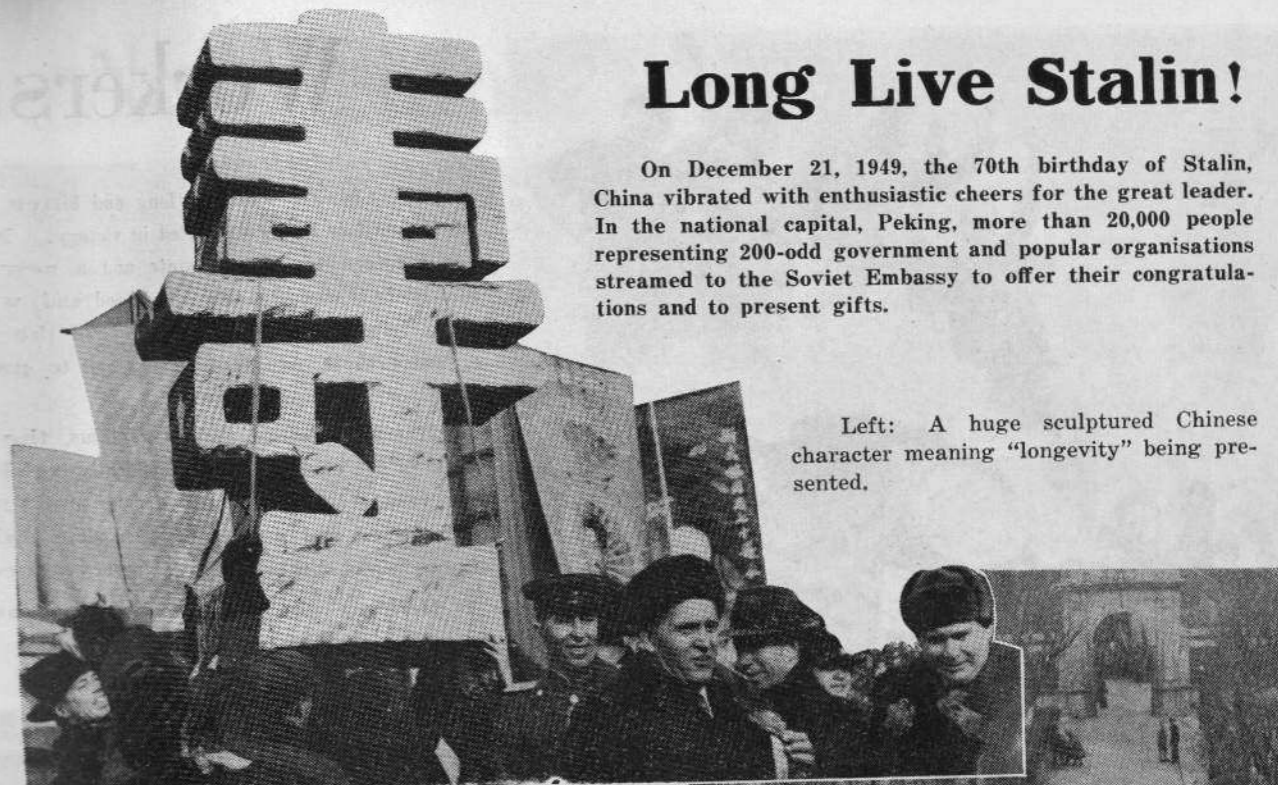
"If we say that of the two revolutionary stages, the first is the prerequisite for the second, and that the two must be consecutive without allowing any stage of bourgeois dictatorship to intervene, then this is correct. But if we say that the democratic revolution does not have its own definite task or its own definite time, but can tackle other tasks, such as those of Socialism, that in fact can only be completed at other times, and if we heap these other

(Continued on page 24)

Long Live Stalin!

On December 21, 1949, the 70th birthday of Stalin, China vibrated with enthusiastic cheers for the great leader. In the national capital, Peking, more than 20,000 people representing 200-odd government and popular organisations streamed to the Soviet Embassy to offer their congratulations and to present gifts.

Left: A huge sculptured Chinese character meaning "longevity" being presented.



Officials of the Soviet Embassy acknowledging cheers of "long live Stalin!"



Above: One of the many processions which brought greetings to the Soviet Embassy throughout the day.

Left: Three small girls ask Soviet Embassy officials to send their congratulations to Stalin.

Workers in New China

The Chinese workers' long and bitter struggle for liberation has culminated in victory. Now they are masters of a new state and a new society. Slowly but steadily their livelihood and welfare is being improved. They have acquired the right to organize their own trade unions and to participate in factory administration.

Having attained their new status, the Chinese workers are cheerfully and confidently tackling their new task—to restore and step up production in state-owned and private factories alike, labour-enthusiasm has climbed to a peak never reached before.

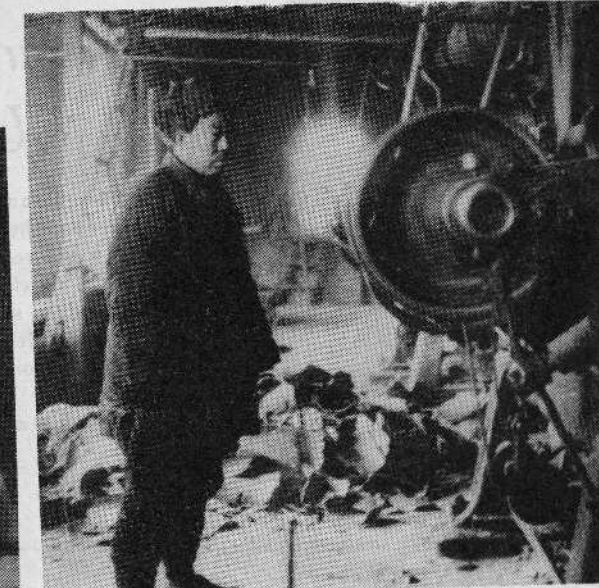
Here are pictures of workers in some of the factories in and around Peking.



Peking railway workers celebrating first May Day after liberation. The Chinese characters on the front of the engine read: "The workers are liberated."



Kuomintang railway officials had thrown this locomotive on the scrap-heap. Liberated workers put it back into running order. There they are dancing the Yangko beside the train.



A vegetable oil refinery worker inspects the machine, wrecked by the fleeing Kuomintang army, which he has repaired in his spare time.

↑ Repairing the blast furnace of the Shihchingshan Steel Plant.



The trade unions have organized all kinds of educational, cultural and recreational activities for the workers in every factory. Here some workers of the 70th Arsenal are watching a dance performance in the factory yard.



Above: Liberated workers after long years of suppression now engage in spirited political discussion.



Workers of the 70th Arsenal meet to establish their own trade union.



Right: The days of semi-starvation are over. Sacks of grain are issued on pay day as part of wages.

Asian Women, Unite!

The Asian Women's Conference, convened in Peking on December 10, was brought to a highly successful conclusion after an inspiring seven-day session. It marked a great stride forward in the Asian women's common struggle against feudalism, colonialism and international reaction.

Tsai Chang, Chairman of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, delivering her inaugural speech.

Right: Teng Ying-chao (second from left), Vice-Chairman of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, and party welcoming the Soviet delegates at the railway station in Peking. In the centre is Lu Tsui, Secretary-General of the Conference; first from left, Chang Hsiao-mei, Chairman of the Peking Democratic Women's Union.

Below: The conference hall. Here 165 delegates representing nearly 500 million women of 14 Asian countries, and 33 fraternal delegates from Europe, America and Africa met.



Madame Vaillant-Couturier, General Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation, addressing the conference.



The Literature of East Europe in China

Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun)

The Minister of Cultural Affairs

The introduction of the literature of West Europe into China began half a century ago. That of the literature of the then oppressed nations of East Europe—which have become the People's Democracies of to-day—came only seven or eight years later. Lu Hsun was one of the first both to appreciate the significance of accomplishing this task and personally to take part in it. At that time, the anti-Manchu and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement was spreading over the whole of China. Chinese revolutionary intellectuals naturally felt a strong affinity with those of foreign nations which were similarly oppressed by the imperialists and looked upon them as friends, as belonging to the same camp. Hence, the introduction into China of the literature of the oppressed nations of East Europe was not without political significance.

However, the number of those who followed Lu Hsun's lead was very small. The writing of the oppressed nations in the world did not occupy an important place in the revolutionary literary movement of China until the May Fourth Movement of 1919 when China's revolution entered a new stage. In October 1921, *The Story Magazine*, a progressive literary journal, then edited by Shen Yen-ping, published a special number on The Literature of the Oppressed Nations. This was the first time that the contemporary writing of the various nations of East Europe was introduced into China in a systematic and succinct fashion.

In this special number, Lu Hsun wrote a survey of contemporary Czechoslovakian literature. He also translated *The Wolf of War*, a short story by the Bulgarian writer Ivan Vazov. There was also a short story entitled *The Journey* by Svatopluk, the Czech poet and story-writer. The works of the Polish poetess Maria Konopnicka and Greek and Yiddish writers were also represented. Among the special articles were general reviews of the literature of Poland and Serbia.

It must be mentioned here that all contributors to this special number, including Lu Hsun, wrote or translated from English, German, French or Esperanto sources. This was due to the fact that few Chinese knew the languages of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European nations. This unfortunate phenomenon remained unchanged down to the recent past, and it greatly limited the possibilities of introducing the literature of those countries into China. However, the accomplishments, especially from a political point of view, of the pioneering work in this field, should not be underrated.

Subsequently, the work of introducing the literature of the oppressed nations of the world—particularly those of East Europe—developed by leaps and bounds. Starting from its first appearance in September, 1934, the *Translation Monthly*, of which Lu Hsun was the founder and most zealous supporter, regularly devoted considerable portion of its space to the literature of the Eastern European countries. This literature made a tremendous impression upon the minds of its readers. It was a great thing for the Chinese people to know about the anti-imperialist struggles of the Eastern European nations, and they did so largely through the translation of these literary works.

Up to now, the following works by Eastern European writers have been introduced into China:

POLAND: We have translated Henrik Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* and his *Monte Carlo* together with some of his shorter pieces. *Pharah*, a historical novel, *Sentry* and some short stories of Boleslaw Prus have also been translated. There are Chinese translations of L. Kampf's *Le Grand Soir*, Orzeszko's *Martha*, W. Sierotzwesky's *The Depth of Misery* and the short stories of Adam Szymanski.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The poems and short stories of three 19th century writers, namely, Jan Neruda, Svatopluk Cech and Jaroslav Vrchlicky, have been translated. The works of Karl Capek have also aroused profound interest here.

HUNGARY: The long narrative poem, *Janos Vitez*, by S. Petofi has been translated along with some of his other poems. The work of this patriotic poet of Hungary was introduced into China at a time when part of this country had been overrun by the Japanese imperialists. Therefore, the sentiments expressed in his works were most sympathetically received by the Chinese reading public. The poems of Janos Arany also aroused a great deal of interest. Three works of J. Baghy have been translated into Chinese, namely, *Victim* (The Victim), *Printempo en la autuno* (The Spring in Autumn) and *Nur Homo* (The Lone Man); so have A. Latzko's *Men In Battle* and Markowitz's *Siberian Garrison*. The sense of colour and sound conveyed in Jokai Mor's works such as *A Serea Rozsa* (The Yellow Rose) and *Agy az Isten!* have greatly attracted their Chinese readers. So have the poems of Sebastian Tinodi and Balint Balassa, and the stories of Kalman Mikszath.

BULGARIA: The famous novel *Under the Yoke* by Ivan Vazov and the same writer's long poem, *Pajisi*, have been translated into Chinese together with some of his short stories. The short stories of G. P. Stamatov together with his *Vilao*

apud la Marco en a Tombejo, and the poems of Stojan Mihailovski have all been rendered into Chinese.

RUMANIA: The amount of Rumanian literature translated has been very meagre. There is little but P. Istrati's novel, *Oncle Anghel* and some of his short stories such as *Kyra*, *Kyralina*. Some of M. Sadoveanu's stories have also been translated into Chinese.

Most of these works were translated from Esperanto, the most prolific and energetic translator from which has been Sun Yung. The late Wang Lu-yen, a novelist; Hu Yu-chih, the present Director of the Publications Administration; novelist Pa Chin and myself have all translated from English or French versions.

From my own experience as one who participated in the translation of the literature of this part of the world, I feel strongly the inadequacy of our work, even though it has had some effect. The main shortcoming of our work lies in its not having been systematic. This was due largely to our inability to read the originals, which meant we were lamentably limited to whatever translations might be available.

Now things are different. We are certain that there will be more and more cultural exchange between us and the Eastern European countries which today are our fellow People's Democracies. In this exchange, literature is bound to occupy the foremost place. In the past we were limited by objective conditions and had to resort to re-translation, but now conditions will improve from day to day.

The Chinese people are following the economic and cultural reconstruction of the People's Democracies of East Europe with the greatest interest and enthusiasm. It is quite safe to predict that what we have done in the past in the way of introducing Eastern European literature into China will appear negligible both qualitatively and quantitatively in comparison with the cultural exchange of the future.

Chinese Studies in USSR

Soviet sinologists have made substantial contributions to the world's knowledge of China. Their achievements in this field may be directly traced to their approach to the study of China, so different from the approach of many western scholars who study China merely to serve the imperialist aims of their capitalist masters. Soviet scholars have no such ulterior motives. They undertake their investigations with a desire to understand China objectively, to know the sentiments of the Chinese people and to comprehend the historical forces which have moulded the Chinese nation into its present form.

Dr. G. N. Voytinsky, a Soviet historian, has just published the first half of two-volume work entitled "*A Brief History of China*". This volume begins with the Revolution of 1911 and concludes with the outbreak of World War II.

In the second volume, Dr. Voytinsky plans to record the events which have taken place in China during the last ten years, tracing these developments up to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

M. Chikanov has just published a monologue on the Chinese land reform in 1947. V. Simnevskay was recently awarded the degree of Doctor of Science on the basis of his thesis, "*An Analytical Study of the Chinese Revolution of 1911*". The woman sinologist, L. D. Pozdneyeva, has completed a long essay on the influence of Lu Hsun upon modern Chinese literature, which provides a systematic study of the great writer's life and works and traces his long-standing friendship for the Soviet Union. V. N. Khrivzov, another young sinologist, has written an essay proving how Confucianism has always been an instrument of subjugation wielded by the Chinese reactionaries.

In November, 1949, the Institute of Pacific Relations of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. published a special volume containing studies on China's history and economy. It also includes an article on the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people. This volume carries a preface by the Soviet member-correspondent E. Zhukov, in which he analyses the national structure of the people's democracy in China.

The historian Vyatkin published a book dealing with the American imperialists' policy in China during the Great Revolution of 1925-27. This book clearly exposes the imperialist intrigues in China.

The Soviet people's interest in China is by no means confined to political affairs. The works of Lu Hsun have been translated and will soon be issued in a two-volume edition. Russian translations have appeared of Ting Ling's "*The Sun Shines Over the Sang Kan River*", and of Chao Shu-li's "*The Transformation of the Li Family's Village*". The Fiction Publication Bureau of the U.S.S.R. has also published the poetic works of Pai Chu-yi, a ninth century Chinese poet who sang of the sorrows and hardships of the people during the Tang Dynasty.

The study of the Chinese language has been carried on in a very dynamic way in the U.S.S.R. Professor A. Dragunov, member of the Academy of Science, has just completed a new grammar which contains many lively quotations from pamphlets published by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The most ambitious work of all is the compilation of a Chinese-Russian dictionary by the Academy of Oriental Science of Leningrad. This three-volume dictionary contains 300,000 words, including many new terms and colloquial expressions used in daily life.

CURRENT CHINA

Dec. 26, 1949 — Jan. 10, 1950

International Arena

A series of diplomatic events has taken place during these fifteen days. All of them have pointed to the fact that China's role on the international arena is growing steadily greater. On the one hand, the young Republic has been entering into closer relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. On the other, a number of capitalist countries, i.e., Great Britain (Jan. 6), Norway (Jan. 6), Denmark (Jan. 6), Ceylon (Jan. 6), India (Dec. 30) and Burma (Dec. 16), have expressed their intentions of establishing diplomatic relations with the new China. Thus far Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has replied to the governments of Burma (Dec. 21), India (Jan. 4), Britain (Jan. 9), and Ceylon (Jan. 9), informing them to send representatives to Peking to conduct negotiations on this matter.

In Moscow, Chairman Mao Tse-tung stated on Jan. 2 that he was settling with the Soviet Union "questions of interest to the People's Republic of China." "Among these questions," the Chinese leader told a TASS correspondent, "are first of all the existing Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between China and the U.S.S.R., the question of Soviet credits for China, the question of trade and trade agreement between these two countries and others." This statement of Chairman Mao has been widely acclaimed in this country. The consensus of the people is that settlement of the questions he listed will expedite China's construction work and contribute to the cause of world peace and democracy.

In Peking, a postal and telecommunications agreement has been signed between China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At the same time, Korea has appointed Ri Zu Yen as its Ambassador to China. On Jan. 1, the Trade Mission of Poland arrived at Peking. One week later, Czech Am-

bassador, Dr. F. C. Weiskopf, also reached the Chinese capital.

On Jan. 8, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai forwarded another note to the United Nations, stating that the Chinese government holds as illegal the presence of the delegates of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in the Security Council and asking that those delegates be expelled.

New U. S. Plot

On the military front, Chengtu, the provincial capital of Szechuan, was captured on Dec. 27. The Kuomintang forces led by Hu Tsung-nan have been entirely put out of action as a result of the successful annihilation campaign carried out by the People's Liberation Army around that city. The liberation of Chengtu signified that complete victory had been won on China's mainland, except Tibet.

In a frenzy over this ignominious finale of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the American imperialists plunged into frantic activities in connection with their invasion of Taiwan. On Jan. 3, the New China News Agency gave particulars of an agreement which had been secretly reached between the U. S. government and the Kuomintang. According to this plan, the U. S. government is to extend more aid to the Kuomintang. And the Kuomintang, in return, is to "reform" the Taiwan "government" by installing the American-picked K. C. Wu and Sun Li-jen; and to let the American Military Commission in Taiwan take full charge of the island's political, military and economic affairs. Should such aid fail to halt the advance of the People's Liberation Army, American imperialists would occupy Taiwan under the pretext of asking the United Nations to exercise trusteeship control over the island.

This new imperialist scheme has given rise to righteous indignation among the Chinese people. Newspapers all over the country have voiced strong protests.

Economic Rehabilitation

As remarkable as the military victories have been the achievements in economic rehabilitation.

On Dec. 28, traffic was resumed on the 1,384-kilometre Canton-Hankow Railway. On Jan. 1, the 1,212-kilometre Peking-Hankow Railway was restored to through traffic for the first time in 13 years. This has made it possible for trains to run from Manchouli on the Sino-Soviet border in Manchuria all the way down to Canton in South China. This event has been widely hailed as symbolising the complete unification of China's mainland and the great future of new China in construction.

In Peking, a series of conferences has been held to plan the nation's economic rehabilitation.

The National Agricultural Production Conference, held from Dec. 8 to Dec. 11, worked out a plan for 1950. In this year, grain output is to be raised by five million tons. A total of 650,000 tons of cotton is to be grown.

The National Iron and Steel Conference, held from Dec. 16 to Dec. 25, drew up a production plan for 1950. According to this plan, the Northeast (Manchuria) will be given top priority in investments, new construction and allocation of technical personnel.

The National Navigation and Highway Conference, held from Nov. 19 to Dec. 27, adopted a plan for 1950. In the first half of the year, navigation service along the North China coasts, the Yangtze and other inland water-ways is to be organised, while preparatory measures will be taken for restoration of nation-wide navigation and inauguration of international shipping service after the liberation of Taiwan. The highway construction plan includes the repairing or rebuilding of over 10,000 kilometres of motor roads.

The Postal Administration Conference, held from Dec. 10 to Dec. 28, mapped out a 1950 plan which provides for the restoration of

postal routes to the year 1936 total of 53,995 kilometres.

Another important event occurred on the economic front on Jan. 5. This was the floating by the government of the first issue—comprising 100,000,000 units—of the People's Victory Bonds. Bearing an annual interest of 5 per cent, the Bonds will be completely redeemed in five years. The par value of the bonds is calculated on the basis of the prices of rice, flour, cloth and coal in six major cities; the cost of one unit during

the first half of January is \$14,055 People's Bank currency. An enthusiastic drive is underway all over the country to subscribe to the Bonds.

Tasks of 1950

It was amidst these diplomatic, military and economic successes that the Chinese people celebrated the New Year. They were happy and confident. On New Year's Day, the New China News Agency issued an editorial pointing out the

nation's tasks in 1950. These tasks are, on the home front: to conclude the people's liberation war, to rehabilitate production, to prepare for or to begin agrarian reform in newly liberated areas, and to strengthen the unity of the people of the nation. On the international front, they are: to cement the unity of China with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the peoples of all countries. Towards these goals the nation is marching steadily forward.

Chao Kuo-yu Breaks the Record

by Lung Men

"Two hours and twenty minutes!" announced the factory technician, stopwatch in hand.

Chao Kuo-yu had smashed all records for making a cone pulley. The crowd of workers who had gathered round his lathe burst into cheers and pressed forward to congratulate him.

Chao himself was the happiest of all. He had never dreamed that he, an ordinary worker in a Mukden factory, would be able to do something for his country. Even now he did not realise the full meaning of his having broken the record.

Gradually, out of his record and a number of similar achievements by other workers in Manchuria, there was born a movement to set up new records all along the production front. It took some time for the movement to take shape, but with the encouragement and leadership of the Communist Party, it began to gain momentum. Now it is spreading like wildfire throughout the length and breadth of Manchuria.

The movement's primary objective is to increase and improve production in state-owned enterprise by re-determining the production quota for each worker. It aims, at the same time, to reduce production costs to a minimum.

Chao Kuo-yu set up his two-hour and twenty-minute record at the Number 3 Plant of the Mukden Machine Tool Factory on August 2, 1949. In April that year it had taken workers of the same plant twenty-four hours to produce the

same type of cone pulley. Later, the time was cut down, first to sixteen hours, then to eight; but there it came to a stop.

Then the news came out that Number 4 Plant could do the job in four hours. Chao and his mates refused to believe it.

"They must have another pair of hands on the job," said one of Chao's pals. "Why, the record during the Japanese occupation was five hours."

The Number 3 Plant workers decided to go and find out just what was really going on. Sure enough Number 4 were really turning out cone pulleys in four hours flat. There was no doubt about it.

This was a challenge. "If they can do it, why can't we?" The question troubled the workers in Number 3 Plant a great deal. Finally the matter was raised at a meeting of the plant's New Democratic Youth League on July 25. The question was followed by a long, oppressive silence.

It was Chao Kuo-yu who finally volunteered to take up the challenge.

He had no experience of working on a cone pulley. So he decided to start off by making a motion study. He soon became convinced that mere physical exertion would not cut down the time required to any great extent. What was needed was to improve the tools of the machine.

Chao worked on this idea from dawn to dusk. "I thought about it

while I was eating, while I was walking to and from work; I even dreamed about it," he recalled afterwards.

At last he was able to submit designs for improving a number of tools. These were approved by the factory administration, and finally the day came when Chao Kuo-yu found himself standing nervously in front of a new improved machine.

This was to be the test. The sweat poured off him as he observed how many pairs of eyes were watching—but he came through with flying colours. Not only was the time for making the pulley reduced to two hours and twenty minutes. Production cost was cut by \$60,350—or 8%.

Chao's success caused a sensation throughout the entire factory.

One or two of the workers in other plants were not so delighted as the rest.

"It's alright for you, old chap," one of them remarked. "You've cut down the time from twenty-four hours to just over two. But what about the rest of us? If we can't stay the pace with you, that's the end of our rice-bowls."

Even one of Chao's old pals gave him a friendly warning. "It's no good to go and get everyone's back up," he argued. "If you slow down just a bit, you'll be on good terms with them all again."

But Chao took no notice of either wisecracks or bad advice. He had the full support of the Communist Party as well as of the factory

management. He was inspired by the Bolshevik spirit of achieving the impossible and was fortified by a Marxist knowledge of the value of labour.

So to friends and critics alike he said: "I don't work just for my own sake. I only want to produce more so that we workers can have more to enjoy."

And Chao meant what he said. He was always ready to give others a helping hand. He once spent two days improving another worker's tailstock.

In fact, the movement he started is not simply an emulation drive for individuals. It is something more important. It aims at creating material conditions which will make it possible to banish want and misery from society.

Chao Kuo-yu has learned the meaning of hunger and drudgery in his twenty-six years of life. He was born in Liaoyang county, Manchuria, and at the age of fifteen he went to work for the Japanese.

In those days, the foremen waited at the factory gate, whip in hand, ready to give a vicious lashing to anyone late for work. If any worker failed to turn up at work twenty-five or more days a month—either because of sickness or for any other reason—he was sent to cold and barren North Manchuria for hard labour.

After the Japanese imperialists were driven out by the Soviet Red Army, a horde of greedy Kuomintang officials descended upon Manchuria. They started to strip the factories of their equipment, which they sold to line their own pockets. When the factories were at last back in operation, they were in extremely bad condition.

The workers had been overworked and underpaid in the past. Under the corrupt and inefficient management of the Kuomintang reactionaries, things became worse than ever. They were always on the brink of starvation. With the slightest emergency they became a prey to untold hardship and privation.

Chao remembers well—how can he forget it?—when his child was critically ill, he went to the Kuomintang-appointed factory manager asking for an emergency loan. His

request was immediately turned down.

"But, manager, the little one is dying," he entreated.

"One more word from you and you're fired," was the reply.

That was on August 4, 1948. Three days later, the child died.

A new lease of life came to the workers when Manchuria was liberated. For the first time they were treated as human beings, were well looked after and amply provided for. They were given political and technical training with pay.

Chao Kuo-yu's turn to go on one of these courses came two months after the liberation of Mukden.

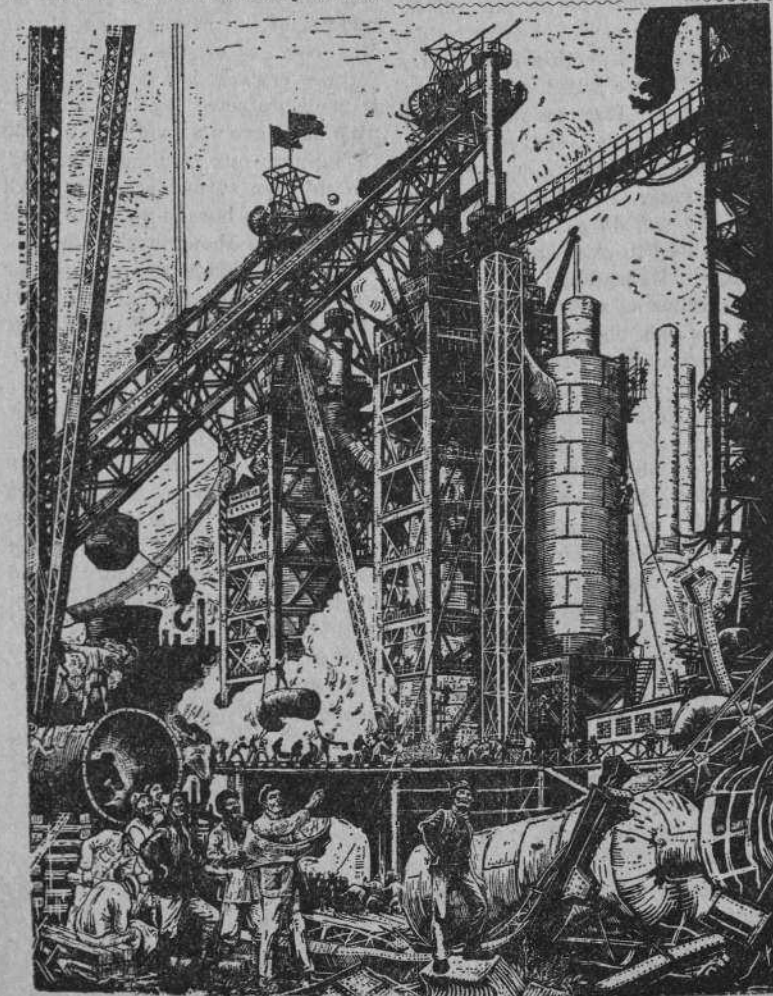
"I learned plenty on that training course," Chao told his friends when he returned to work at Plant Number 3. "I learned about how the working class is providing leadership for new China. I learned whom the Communist Party works

for. And I learned whom I am working for, myself."

In short, he had gained a new outlook towards life and towards labour.

It was this new outlook which had prompted Chao Kuo-yu to accept the challenge at the Youth League meeting. It was this which aroused his zeal in devising improved tools. It was this, more than anything else, which was responsible for his breaking the record which inspired his fellow workers throughout liberated Manchuria.

PEOPLE'S CHINA is going to publish in its next issue (Feb. 1) an article giving a general survey of Manchuria's flourishing 'Setting New Records Movement' in which the Labour Hero Chao Kuo-yu, whose achievements are described here, played a leading role.



Anshan Steel Plant Restored

by Li Hwa

A New New Year

by Tang Lai-chih

From its snow-bound Manchurian countryside to its subtropical South Sea shores, liberated China jubilantly and proudly celebrated the New Year.

Waving red flags, colourful festoons over the doorways and huge scarlet lanterns clad big cities and small towns in festive garb. Sounds of drums and cymbals and the carols of the *yangko* dancers filled the air with a joyous spirit.

It was the happiest of New Years—drastically different from any which the Chinese people ever passed before. For, in old times, every such festival was a living enactment of the old Chinese poem: "Wine and meat rot on the tables of the rich. Corpses lie frozen on the streets." But this New Year, the "rich" were not the only ones to celebrate. The common people, too, all had a share in the festivities.

In Peking, the luxurious gift shops did not do as brisk a trade as they used to over the New Year holidays. Dance-halls and expensive restaurants were not as crowded. But the bookstores, theatres and parks were thronged with people in worker's overalls, in peasant clothes and in cotton-padded uniforms. Shining limousines were absent from the shopping centres, but so were the hordes of beggars, young and old. It was festival for the common people.

Workers celebrated the New Year most heartily. In many Peking factories, parties were held and entertainment programs presented on several successive evenings, starting on New Year's Eve. On the New Year's Day, the capital's main thoroughfares were filled with joyful processions organized by working men and women.

A worker of the North China Farming Implement Factory said: "For thirty long years my family of ten never had enough to eat and wear. Now both my son and I are working and we can afford two

sacks of flour every month. And we even had money enough to let my son get married last autumn."

In the suburbs of Peking, many peasants put on their holiday best and turned out to sing and dance along the village roads. A 62-year-old man was found in one dancing group, beaming with smiles. In a brief speech made at the celebration gathering, he recalled how at this time last year the Kuomintang troops plundered the villagers' homes and took away their meagre food-stuffs; and how the village chief forced them to dig trenches for the Kuomintang army in the middle of a driving snow-storm. But now, after the agrarian reform, everybody has land to till and is well-protected against hunger. "We must grow a good crop in 1950 to support our own government," the old man stated forcefully. All the peasants burst into cheers and then started shouting the slogans: "Now that things are going your way, don't forget the PLA," and "Now that you've stood up on your feet, remember Chairman Mao to greet."

For all the emancipated Chinese people, this was indeed a happy New Year. But they are determined to make the coming ones even happier. While heartily rejoicing, they did not for a single moment forget the gigantic and challenging tasks confronting them in 1950. They will have to liberate Taiwan, Tibet and Hainan. They will have to heal the wounds wrought by protracted warfare, overcome the economic and financial difficulties entailed by further

military operations and set the war-torn country onto the path of peaceful economic construction.

A salient feature of the New Year's celebrations was the intense interest the public displayed in the People's Victory Bonds which were soon to be floated by the government. At each and every stage of the celebrations the Bond was given publicity in the form of songs, short plays and recitations. In every corner of the country people were heard saying: "Buy Victory Bonds. Complete and consolidate our victory."

In Peking, a mass rally of 50,000 people was held on New Year's Day in Chungshan Park. The most exciting event of the day was "Catch the War Criminals". Small pictures of Chiang Kai-shek, Li Tsung-jen and other instigators of the civil war were hidden in the park. From the moment the starter's pistol was fired, thousands of hands busily combed every corner of the park, trying to find the hidden pictures. Workers climbed to the top of ice-bound trees. Girl students explored the carvings of the marble railings. Before long all the war criminals were triumphantly "captured".

While the search for war criminals was going on, the sound of cheerful singing rang through the park. A group of workers sang: "Get the damaged roads repaired, start the fire under the boiler. . ." A band of soldiers joined in with: "Work hard at the front and in the rear, final victory is near." From far away came a voice: "Buy Victory Bonds. Build up a new China." Here was a sound-picture of New China celebrating the New Year.



Workers' Art Exhibition

Workers of nine factories in Peking contributed to the Art Exhibition which is now being displayed at one factory after another. The exhibition consists of cartoons, woodcuts and drawings—numbering 180 in all—which reflect the life of the workers and their high enthusiasm in production. It shows how amazingly the workers' artistic activities have flourished within less than one year which has passed since the liberation of Peking.

The artistic and literary activities of the workers of Arsenal No. 70 can be singled out for special praise. Besides putting on artistic exhibitions and dramatic performances, they publish four periodicals. At the same time, they have a broadcasting station and a chorus of one hundred members and run several Russian classes which are attended by more than two

Local Congresses of Writers and Artists

Writers and artists in three different localities held congresses during the last month of 1949. These congresses were convened for the purpose of building unity, of creating a local structure of leadership and of reviewing and summarizing the past in order to raise literature and art to a new level.

In Mukden, the Northeast Congress of Writers and Artists, held from Dec. 10 to Dec. 20, was attended by 650 delegates. Liu Chih-min, the critic, delivered a report which was the centre of discussion of the congress. In his report, Liu pointed out that since new subject-matter had come into existence in the fields of literature and art, writers and artists must transform themselves so as to adapt themselves to the new conditions and must organize them-

hundred workers. Cultural activities also flourish at the Shihchingshan Steel Works and the Shihchingshan Power Plant as well as at other factories in and around Peking and in other industrial cities and centres. This is in keeping with Chairman Mao's motto that literature and art must have the closest links with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

It should be pointed out that all these activities in Peking are under the expert guidance of a Committee of Literary and Artistic Activities in the Factories. This Committee has been jointly organized by the Cultural Committee of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party, the Literature and Art Section of the New Democratic Youth League and the Educational Department of the All-China Federation of Labour.

* * *

selves more tightly. Only by doing this will they be able to give expression to the heroic people of the Northeast and to their heroic efforts in construction work.

In Taiyuan, the Shansi Congress of Writers and Artists was held from Dec. 3 to Dec. 17, and was attended by 330 delegates. The centre of discussion of this congress was the problem of cooperation of writers and artists of the new, modernized forms with those of the obsolete, classical forms of literature and art which still hold sway in the more remote regions.

The Hopei Congress of Writers and Artists was held in Paoting from Dec. 10 to Dec. 20. It was attended by 245 delegates who surveyed the amateur literary and artistic movements among the masses of the people. The cultivation of these movements was con-

sidered as the major task of Hopei writers and artists in the future.

Each of the three congresses set up its local Federation of Writers and Artists as a branch of the All-China Federation.

Dr. Mei Lan-fang

At a recent meeting in Tientsin to discuss the reform of Chinese classical drama, Dr. Mei Lan-fang, world famous actor, expressed optimism as to the future of the reform movement.

There is already a unified leadership, he pointed out, in the Bureau of Classical Drama, of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Besides this, the Association for the Reform of Classical Drama and various organizations of writers, artists and dramatists are devoting considerable attention to this matter. If only the classical dramatists avail themselves of these favourable circumstances and strive for progress, the movement is sure to succeed.

At the same meeting, Dr. Mei also modified an opinion expressed on a previous occasion. At that time he had acknowledged the necessity only of the ideological reform of classical drama, but advocated keeping its technique intact, thus separating ideology from technique. As a result of discussions held during the Tientsin meeting, however, Dr. Mei was now convinced that content was inseparable from form, and ideology from technique—and that in each case the former is the predominant factor.

In an interview, Dr. Mei told the correspondent of the *Progress Daily*, Tientsin, that he would continue giving public performances and mentioned the possibility of visiting the USSR to study the arts in the land of Socialism.

Ten Years of Mao Tse-tung's

New Democracy

(Continued from page 12)

tasks on top of the democratic tasks and try to carry them out simultaneously—that is called 'trying to do the whole thing at once.' That is Utopian, and it will be rejected by true revolutionaries."

This anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution is "led by the proletariat and carried out by the masses of the people." In order to understand these two points, we must know the status of various classes and their interrelations under the historic conditions of the Chinese revolution. An analysis and exposition of the character of the Chinese national bourgeoisie is given in *New Democracy* as follows: "Revolutionary on the one hand, compromising on the other—such is the dual character of the Chinese bourgeoisie." This condition has made it impossible for the Chinese bourgeoisie to shoulder the task of leading the Chinese revolution. "The Chinese proletariat, peasants, intelligentsia, and other petty bourgeoisie are the basic forces that determine the destiny of the country."

Comrade Mao continued:

"But China, being a colonial and semi-colonial country, is encroached upon by others. Therefore the Chinese bourgeoisie has a revolutionary spirit at certain times and to a certain degree. Here the task of the proletariat lies in not ignoring this revolutionary nature of the bourgeoisie or the possibility of establishing a united front against imperialism and the bureaucratic warlord government."

Led by the proletariat, united with the broad masses of the people, and internationally aligned with the world anti-imperialist revolutionary camp headed by the U.S.S.R., China's new democratic revolution will be guaranteed complete victory. All

these truths were clearly pointed out in *New Democracy* ten years ago.

* * * *

This path traversed by the Chinese revolution has been a difficult one. The enemies encountered en route were all very stubborn. Yet the Chinese people were able to surmount all their difficulties and to defeat all their enemies, both domestic and foreign, and in the end, they have won victory. Without correct ideological guidance, this victory would not have been possible. History has proved that Marxist-Leninist theories are the only ones that could lead the Chinese revolution to victory. In *New Democracy*, Mao Tse-tung said: "Since scientific Communism was introduced into China, the outlook of the Chinese people has been widened, and the face of the Chinese revolution has changed. Without the guidance of Communism, China's democratic revolution cannot be successful, not to mention the later stage of the revolution. . . . The whole world now looks upon Communism as its saviour; and so does China."

Scientific Communism reveals its strength most vividly in its ability to foresee developments. The more Marxist-Leninist theory can be integrated with practice, the more clearly the distant future may be seen from the experiences of today. Very often, this foresight causes great amazement among ordinary and rather short-sighted people. But when facts emerge one after another, logically and in conformity with scientific predictions, people then become convinced of the power of scientific theory.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the product of the integration of Marxist-Leninist theory with Chinese revolutionary practice. The predictions contained in *New Democracy*, written ten years ago, have all now materialized. The revolutionary practice of millions and millions of the masses of the people has proved the invincibility of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and has thereby proved the invincibility in China of Marxist-Leninist theory.



THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN CHINA

(Continued from page 10)

Within the Chinese Communist Party, a constant struggle was waged on two fronts—against right opportunism and left adventurism. The Party placed special emphasis upon overcoming the dogmatic practice of mechanically adopting foreign experiences without regard for local conditions. Empiricists, who were reluctant to accept the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, were also combated. In this manner, the Party mastered the truth that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to revolutionary action." It thus accepted the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's ideology, which unites Marxist-Leninist theory with China's revolutionary experience. The banner of Mao Tse-tung became the banner of liberation and victory for the Chinese working class and for all Chinese people.

These are the conditions within China which led to revolutionary victory. But these conditions alone could not have brought victory. Favourable international conditions were also necessary. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:

"If the Soviet Union did not exist, if there had been no victory over fascism in the Second World War, if Japanese imperialism were not defeated, if the various New Democratic countries had not arisen, if the oppressed nations of the East had not begun to fight, if there were no struggle inside the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries between the popular masses and the reactionaries who rule over them, and if there were no sum-total of all these developments, well then, the reactionary forces bearing down upon us would certainly be immeasurably greater than at present. Could we be victorious under such circumstances? Obviously not. Furthermore, it would be impossible to consolidate the victory were it attained."

These are the reasons why the Chinese working class and the Chinese people have won victory in the revolution. A study of these reasons, a study of the experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolution, is of great practical revolutionary significance not only to Chinese workers but also to all workers abroad, particularly to the workers of Asian countries still under imperialist oppression.

(II) The Present Situation in the Chinese Labour Movement

(A) Chinese Trade Unions Are Growing Rapidly

When the Sixth All-China Labour Congress was convened in August, 1948, there were 2,830,000 organized workers in the country united under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Labour.

During the past year, with the rapid development of the people's War of Liberation, trade union organizations increased rapidly. For instance, of the 1,200,000 workers in Shanghai, nearly 710,000

have joined trade unions. Nearly half of the 400,000 workers in Tientsin are organized. In every liberated region and city, trade unions are being rapidly organized or expanded.

The All-China Federation of Labour plans to have completed within a year's time the organization of virtually all workers, and especially industrial workers, throughout the whole country. Before May 1950, ten national industrial unions will be set up: railway, shipping, postal service, tele-communications, metal, textile, culture and education, publication, fuel and food. Thus the Federation will be able to lead Chinese workers more effectively and mobilize them to take up the tremendous task of constructing a new China.

(B) The Labour Movement in Various Large Cities After Liberation

One special characteristic of the Chinese revolution lies in the fact that the cities were not occupied through uprisings of urban workers, but were seized by the People's Liberation Army after the extermination of the enemy's forces. Therefore, whenever a city has been liberated and the working class has assumed its position as master in the society and state, then the primary task of the trade unions is to educate the workers, to arouse their class consciousness, and to organize their help in taking over the enterprises that formerly belonged to the bureaucratic capitalists.

First of all, the working masses must be made to realize that after liberation, they are the master of the state and of society, as well as of state enterprise. They must be called on to organize shop stewards' councils immediately. They must elect representatives to work with the personnel of the people's government in taking over factory management and examining inventories. They must organize trade unions and devise ways to overcome difficulties which hinder the speedy resumption of production.

State enterprises are the property of the people's state. For the purpose of enhancing the sense of responsibility among the workers in their new role as masters, a system of democratic factory administration has been adopted in state-owned and all publicly-owned enterprises. We have adopted a policy of relying upon the workers and employees to run these factories and enterprises efficiently, we encourage workers to assume control over production and to set up factory administration committees, headed by the factory manager, which include delegates elected by the workers and staff members. By such measures, former bureaucratic capitalist enterprises have been transformed into new democratic enterprises.

In private enterprises, the workers immediately raised up their demands as soon as the city was liberated. Since the capitalists had now lost the support of the reactionary regime, they could only make concessions to these demands. As a result, the feudal forms of oppression formerly imposed on

the workers have, on the whole, been obliterated. The position of the workers has been greatly elevated and their living conditions have been generally improved.

However, the demands of the workers were sometimes too high, which had a detrimental effect upon production. Therefore, right from the beginning, we have explained to the workers in private enterprises the importance of the policy of restoring production and of assuring benefits for both labour and capital. We have strongly emphasized that any "leftist" deviation from this policy would harm the long-range interests of the working class.

Our policy of assuring benefits for both labour and capital is fundamentally different from the policy of cooperation between labour and capital which is advocated by the social reformists of Western Europe. Such labour-capital cooperation, as proposed by the Social Democratic parties, is to be adopted in countries still controlled by bourgeois governments; it is a reformist policy designed to deceive the workers and maintain the bourgeois rule.

Our present policy of assuring benefits for both labour and capital is adopted under a New Democratic government for the purpose of rehabilitating and expanding production, thereby consolidating the government which is led by the working class. The principal means for carrying out this policy is the collective contract signed by labour and capital in the various trades. Such contracts contain provisions regulating working conditions, and specifying the rights and obligations of both labour and capital. These contracts are signed by the two parties on an equal footing, which completely changes the former relationships between labour and capital.

When disputes still remain after signing such collective contract the two parties first try to reach agreement through negotiation. If this fails, the issue is placed before the Labour Bureau of the people's government, which solves the dispute through mediation or arbitration.

In the course of drawing up collective contracts between labour and capital, the trade unions have rapidly strengthened their organizations in private enterprise.

(C) *The Existing Wage System*

Under the New Democratic government, the wage system in state enterprises is based upon the principle of "payment according to work done" and "the more work, the more pay." We oppose equalitarianism in wage payments, and we have adopted various methods for encouraging technical progress and labour initiative. At the same time, we guarantee a minimum living standard for the workers and we coordinate the improvement of workers' living standards with the development of production.

At the Sixth Labour Congress, it was decided that the minimum wage of an ordinary worker should be sufficient for the maintenance of two persons, including the worker. Wages are to be cal-

culated in terms of commodities, thus ensuring that the real income of the workers will not be affected by price fluctuations. The principle of equal pay for equal work applies for all workers, including women and juveniles.

(D) *Labour Insurance and Welfare Work*

Under the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, the Chinese workers' lives were completely unprotected. China has never had a national labour insurance program of any kind. In cases of disability, injury, illness or death, the workers never received any relief from the state whatsoever. Now, following the establishment of the people's government, the enactment of suitable labour laws for the protection of workers has become an exceedingly urgent matter.

The Sixth Labour Congress laid down the general principle of creating a national labour insurance system. In accordance with this principle, the Administrative Committee of Northeast China issued its "Wartime Labour Insurance Regulations" in December, 1948.

This measure specified that all public enterprises are to pay each month into a labour insurance fund the equivalent of three per cent of their total payroll. However, the workers' medical expenses and their wages during periods of recuperation from injuries or illnesses are to be paid by the enterprise concerned and not from the insurance fund.

Statistics up to July this year show that over 1,000,000 workers and their relatives have benefited from the labour insurance program adopted in Northeast China. This region, for instance, has already set up 333 workers' hospitals and sanatoriums, staffed by 2,316 doctors and nurses.

Other regions of China are now drawing up plans modeled along similar lines.

(E) *Political, Cultural and Educational Work*

Since the cultural standard of the broad masses of the Chinese people is in general very low, more than 50 per cent of the workers are illiterate. They have also been subjected for a long period to the deceitful propaganda of imperialism and the Kuo-mintang reactionaries. Therefore, an important task of our trade unions is the political, cultural and technical education of the working masses, which must be closely linked up with the production campaign.

Immediately following the liberation of every city, we have launched a widespread education drive among the workers to sharpen their class consciousness and to familiarize them with our policies. We used the method of conducting large classes and of organizing short-term courses.

The people's government has stipulated that every enterprise and factory must set aside a monthly sum equal to 1.5 per cent of the total payroll. This sum is to go into a cultural and educational fund handled by the trade union. It shall be used to pro-

vide the workers with various facilities for receiving education in their spare time.

The government and the trade unions have also established various workers' schools and technical training courses. By July, 1949, in Northeast China alone there were 998 such schools and training centers with an enrollment of 325,957 workers. In addition, there are workers' political colleges and workers' cadre schools for advanced education. The government has also set up technical schools, with subsidies for working-class students, in various important industries such as railways, mines, postal and telegraph communications, electric power, textiles, etc.

Furthermore, spare-time study facilities for workers are universally offered in the form of broadcasts, night schools, lectures, study groups, libraries, literacy classes, blackboard newspapers, etc. The organized cultural and recreational activities provided for the workers are also designed to further the mass education movement.

In short, the liberated Chinese workers are now enjoying the cultural life that was so completely denied them by the former ruling class.

(III) *The Chinese Labour Movement and the World Labour Movement*

Chinese workers not only have always fought for their national independence and for democracy in China, but have always upheld the principle of solidarity and unity with the workers of the whole world. They took part in the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions. They have supported all its decisions as well as what it represents. They firmly oppose the strike-breakers who hope to undermine the world labour movement.

Chinese workers unite with the people of the whole country in supporting the sacred struggle to

defend world peace and people's democracy, a struggle led by the Soviet Union. They resolutely oppose the policy of aggression pursued by American imperialism. They oppose racial discrimination, and the oppression of one nation by another. They oppose the intrigues of the remnant fascist element who are plotting a new war.

The Chinese working class cherishes a boundless class sympathy towards and concern for their fellow workers in Asia and Australasia who are still under the brutal yoke of imperialism. They are ready to extend all possible fraternal assistance to them. The Chinese working class, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, will always remain loyal to the principles of internationalism, and will fulfill all its obligations and duties under these principles.

(IV) *Future Tasks of the Chinese Labour Movement*

After winning victory in the people's revolution, the Chinese working class has become the leading class in the country, and its responsibilities have naturally become heavier than before. If the working class is to play the central and leading role in political, economic and cultural reconstruction, it must first of all organize itself, raise its own class consciousness, and become the most politically alert, most highly organized and most disciplined force in China's new society. It must turn the trade unions into schools of New Democracy in which the workers may learn how to administer the state and how to manage their factories. This is a prerequisite for building an independent, democratic, unified, peaceful, prosperous and strong new China.

Toward this end, the Chinese labour movement must base its future work upon the following central

Thanksgiving

"All these are for Chairman Mao Tse-tung," said Labour Hero Yang Pu-hou, as he placed 19 pounds of honey and 4 pounds of water melon seeds with an accompanying letter before a government official in Yen-an.

The letter he brought along was signed by the entire populace of the 6th Village, Chuan Kou District, Yen-an. This is how it reads:

"Our beloved Chairman Mao:

"Thanks to your leadership, we are now all happy and well-provided. During 1949, we have reclaimed over 3,000 *mou* of waste land, and more than 70% of the labour power in our village has been organized to work on a cooperative basis, which means that the benefit goes to all of us. Our grain output has reached a total of more than half a million tons or about 90% of pre-war level. We hereby solemnly pledge before you that we will work still harder to step up production, and to build, under your guidance, a new village."

tasks:

(1) It must organize and give leadership to the workers in rehabilitating the country and developing production. This is of primary importance to the interests of the working class. It is also the most fundamental task of the Chinese trade unions.

In public enterprises, trade unions must do their utmost to enhance the sense of responsibility among the working masses who are now masters of these enterprises. They must encourage the workers to raise the productivity of their labour, to improve the quality of their products, and to reduce the costs of production so that the state may accumulate more capital with which to expand production.

In private enterprises, trade unions must correctly enforce the policy of ensuring benefits to both labour and capital. The development of production will increase the national wealth and speed up the industrialization of the country, thus creating the material conditions for transforming present-day China into a socialist state.

(2) Trade unions must become the pillar of the people's democratic government. They must organize and educate the masses to support the government. They must set an example in abiding by the law, and they must help reform those who do not faithfully carry out the laws of the state. They must stand on guard against sabotage and other disturbances caused by Kuomintang agents.

At the same time, they should gradually select and send their best cadres among the workers to take part in the work of the government at various administrative levels, thus consolidating the leadership of the working class in the government and gradually overcoming bureaucratic tendencies in government bodies.

(3) Trade unions must protect the interests of the working class and help the workers improve their livelihood. They must first draw up labour protection laws, such as a labour insurance law and a factory law, and then submit them to the Central People's Government for enactment. In cooperation with the government's financial and economic agencies, they should formulate a nationwide unified wage system based on "payment according to work done," thus safeguarding the workers' minimum living standards and stimulating production.

At the same time, in public enterprises the trade unions must oppose bureaucratic misinterpretation of the state laws, while in private enterprises, they must oppose excessive exploitation of the workers by the capitalists in violation of the law. They must also initiate all possible kinds of medical and welfare work in order to help the workers solve their difficulties and better their living conditions.

(4) Trade unions must intensify their educational work along political, cultural and technical lines. They must draft concrete measures for providing the workers with the necessary facilities and opportunities for study, requesting the people's gov-

ernment for assistance in carrying out these measures. At the same time, they must strengthen education on internationalism among workers. They must help the workers learn about the experiences of workers in the Soviet Union and about the resolutions and directives of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In this way, the Chinese working class will be a staunch fighter in the international democratic camp.

(5) In order to carry out the above-mentioned tasks, the Chinese trade unions must first of all organize, expand and consolidate their own organizations. This means that they must overcome all forms of "closed-door" policies. They must spare no effort in enlarging trade union membership so that they will become truly mass organizations, embracing all employed workers in the country.

At present, in conformity with the need for unified nationwide planning in the sphere of political and economic reconstruction, the All-China Federation of Labour must center its work around the establishment of national industrial unions. It must simultaneously strengthen its leadership over the regional trade unions, especially those in large cities, because only through such regional organizations can the practical daily work among the rank-and-file in the factories and other enterprises be effectively handled.

Moreover, in order to put our trade union activities on a sound basis, we must resolutely correct the system of discharging one's duty by merely making appointments and issuing orders from above. Instead, we must carry out elections for all trade union positions, and draw all trade union members into the work of their organization on the basis of voluntary and class-conscious participation. Thus, the broad masses of our membership will acquire the realization that trade unions are really their own organizations. Only in this manner can trade unions gain great prestige among the working masses and fulfill their colossal task of organizing and leading the vast working masses to participate actively in state, economic and cultural construction.

There are still many difficulties lying across the path of the Chinese workers' advance. This is because China's revolutionary war has not yet been completed; because all types of reconstruction work are still in the initial stages; and because imperialism and the remaining reactionaries within our country are still putting up a final struggle, trying to hamper the liberation of the Chinese people by means of blockade and destruction.

Nevertheless, we are firmly convinced that the Chinese working class, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will, with the most resolute, heroic and militant spirit, unite the people of the whole country in order to surmount these difficulties and advance steadily toward the goal of Socialism.

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People's China

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