

People's 人民中国 China

July 16

ON CONTRADICTION

Mao Tse-tung

NEW VICTORIES IN CONSTRUCTION

Editorial

CHINA'S FIRST COLLECTIVE FARM

Tien Liu

THE CHENGTU-CHUNGKING RAILWAY COMPLETED

Chao Ching-hsueh

14

1952

*A Victory on the Yangtse
River — Su Ming*



People's China

26 Kuo Hui Chieh, Peking, China

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

Editor: Chiao Kuan-hua

1952, No. 14

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國內定閱價目表 (平寄郵費在內,掛號郵費另計)

半年 十二期 人民幣四萬八千元 全年 廿四期 人民幣九萬六千元

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U.S.A., South America		\$3.50
Canada		Can. \$3.50

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

New Victories in Construction

As the glorious Chinese Communist Party celebrated its 31st birthday on July 1 and the People's Republic of China approached the third anniversary of its foundation, three events within the brief period of ten days highlighted the accelerating speed with which the construction of the new China is taking place, creating major transformations both in the map of the country and the life of the people.

Even before the stage of the rehabilitation of the national economy has been formally completed, before the stage of large-scale national construction has formally begun, a great new river control project on the Yangtse has been carried out. The Chengtu-Chungking railway has been opened along its whole length. Free medical service has been extended to several more million people—employees of government institutions and people's organisations. Each of these achievements provides new and striking testimony to the superiority of the New Democratic system.

Accomplished under the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Government even while the Chinese people continue to be engaged in repelling imperialist aggression in Korea and their country is subjected to imperialist attempts at embargo and blockade, these achievements heighten the confidence of the 475 million people of China in the all-conquering power of their own labour. They show once more that nothing can stop the march of China towards her Socialist future.

The completion ahead of schedule of the dams, dykes and great detention basin that comprise the Chinkiang flood control project on the Yangtse river on June 20 guarantees against flood 533,000 hectares of land producing an annual harvest of 1,500,000 tons of rice alone. It secures the life of 3 million people in the area. Paralleling the great Huai river control project, already in its second stage, and work along many other Chinese rivers, it brings closer the day when flood and drought will be banished from all China.

The 505-kilometre Chengtu-Chungking railway, the best-constructed in all China, was completed on July 1, after having been built in record time, thanks to the enthusiasm of the workers and the application of advanced engineering methods developed in the U.S.S.R. Bringing to fruition a dream of forty years, this

railway opens the way to the industrialisation of the Southwest and creates new outlets to a nation-wide and world market for the great riches of Szechuan province. And it is only part of the new railway building programme already under way. The Tienshui-Lanchow railway, penetrating the great Northwest, is due to be finished in October. The beginning of work on the Chengtu-Tienshui line, first rail link between Southwest and Northwest China, was announced on July 2. The far hinterlands of China are being drawn into a countrywide railway system.

The extension of free medical service to new categories of the people points the way to the future universal, free, socialised medical service of China. Preparations are simultaneously made for this in the tremendous public health activity in which a quarter of the country's population have already been inoculated against epidemic diseases; great numbers of medical workers of all grades are being trained throughout the country, and the whole nation is being made health conscious.

Almost three years ago, the Chinese people threw off the yoke of imperialist and feudal rule and straightened their backs in freedom. Today the great land reform movement, already completed in areas containing a rural population of 400 millions, has uprooted the economic system of feudalism throughout the country. With unbounded enthusiasm and epic heroism the people have rehabilitated the national economy. They have achieved striking success in cleaning up the corruption, waste and bureaucratism, left over from the old society, in state-operated organisations and the various abuses among law-breaking elements among the bourgeoisie. Now in early July, it was announced that the Northeast, the most industrialised area of China, has in the main already completed its economic restoration work and is proceeding to new, planned large-scale construction. This transition will soon become nation-wide.

The democratic united front of the Chinese people led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, marches forward in firm confidence to meet the tasks of industrialisation, blazing the trail for the peoples of all Asia, strengthening the victorious camp of peace, democracy and Socialism throughout the world.

The Peace Forces Will Triumph!

The Executive Bureau of the World Peace Council, meeting in extraordinary session in Berlin from July 1-6 and discussing all the pressing problems of peace, has taken decisions which will further stimulate the struggle of millions of people all over the world for peace.

In its *Resolution on the Question of the Termination of the War in Korea* the Executive Bureau calls for the immediate termination of hostilities by the signing of an armistice based on respect for international law and customs. Today, one of the most urgent tasks of the struggle for peace is the ending of the war in Korea and the restoration of peace to her people. The peace-loving peoples forced the American aggressors to agree to holding armistice talks. But after more than one year, the talks have not yielded agreement because of the American aggressors' provocative actions designed to sabotage their successful conclusion. Every effort must therefore be made by the peace movement to realise the concrete proposals contained in this resolution. A successful effort will force the imperialist aggressors to accept a just peace immediately.

The same resolution also demands that all countries should ratify and adhere to the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925, prohibiting the use of bacteriological warfare. The United States, as incontrovertible evidence has shown, has used germ warfare against the Korean and Chinese peoples. Now the so-called "European Defence Community Treaty" which the U.S. warmongers forced their satellites to sign in Paris contains clauses on the production of atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons. The Soviet Union proposed that all countries sign and ratify the Protocol at the session of the Security Council. In rejecting this proposal, the United States—which has not ratified the Protocol—made the implication of its refusal clear for all the world to see. But the criminals who have tried to murder Korean and Chinese by the million will not by this trick escape the trial for war crimes that awaits them.

As part of their war plans, the American imperialists are reviving the military forces of Japan and Western Germany in order to use them as tools in unleashing a new war against the wishes and interests of the Japanese and German peoples. The *Resolution on the Struggle Against the Remilitarisation of Japan and for a Democratic Japan* rightly describes the San Francisco "peace treaty" as unlawful and calls for its replacement by a genuine treaty

signed by all states concerned. The treaty should stipulate "the withdrawal of all occupation forces and the prohibition of foreign military bases in Japan," and "the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the need for their development in an atmosphere of democracy and peace."

The Berlin extraordinary session in its *Address to the Governments of the Four Great Powers and to All the Peoples* calls for immediate convening of a four-power conference to adopt all necessary decisions for a peaceful settlement of the German problem. It considers it best for the German people to effect their unity independently through free elections and to form a government which would conclude a peace treaty with all states with whom Hitlerite Germany was at war.

The resolutions on Germany and Japan closely accord with public sentiment. The struggle for their realisation will be intensified by the peace movement.

For the past two years, the peace movement has developed to an unprecedented degree. Nearly one-third of the world's population has signed the manifesto for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. The success of the peace camp has shaken the vitals of the American imperialists and made them more isolated than ever before. It is precisely because of this that they are making war preparations to stave off their inevitable doom. In this critical situation it is even more important to strengthen the unity and the resolute actions of the peace-loving people throughout the world to defend world peace. The decision of the Executive Bureau to hold a world people's peace congress in Vienna on December 5, 1952 will, therefore, inspire still further the partisans of peace. The Chinese people's delegates have fervently endorsed all these resolutions. They will return home determined to exert still greater efforts for the successful convening in Peking of the September Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

"Peace can be saved. Peace must be saved," says the World Peace Council in its call. Let all people who want peace close their ranks and march forward courageously. Peace will conquer war!

ON CONTRADICTION

Mao Tse-tung

(Continued From Our Previous Issue)

IV. The Principal Contradiction and the Principal Aspect of a Contradiction

As regards the problem of the particularity of contradiction, there are still two sides which must be specially singled out for analysis, that is, the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction.

In the process of development of a complex thing, many contradictions exist; among these, one is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of other contradictions.

For example, in capitalist society, the two opposing forces in contradiction, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, form the principal contradiction. The other contradictions—for example, the contradiction between the remnant feudal class and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the rural petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the proletariat and the rural petty bourgeoisie, the contradiction between the liberal bourgeoisie and the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the contradiction between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism, the contradiction between the capitalist countries themselves, the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies, etc.—are determined and influenced by this principal contradiction.

In semi-colonial countries like China, the relationship between the principal contradiction and non-principal contradictions presents a complicated situation.

When imperialism wages a war of aggression on such a country, the various classes in that country, apart from the traitors, can temporarily unite to wage a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and that country becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within that country (including the principal contradiction between the feudal system and the great masses of the people), are relegated tem-

porarily to a secondary or subordinate position. Such was the case in China in the Opium War of 1840, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Boxer War of 1900, and it is the case in the present Sino-Japanese War.

But in another situation, the relative positions of contradictions undergo a change. When imperialism does not apply the pressure of war, but adopts comparatively mild forms, political, economic, cultural, etc., to carry on its oppression, the ruling classes in the semi-colonial countries will capitulate to imperialism; the two will form an alliance for the joint oppression of the great masses of the people. At such a time, the great masses of the people often adopt the form of civil war to oppose the alliance of imperialism and the feudal class, while imperialism often adopts indirect methods in helping the reactionaries in the semi-colonial countries to oppress the people without taking direct action: this reveals the special sharpness of the internal contradiction. Such has been the case in China in the revolutionary war of 1911, the revolutionary war of 1924-1927, and the ten years' agrarian revolutionary war since 1927. Furthermore, the civil wars between the various reactionary ruling blocs in the semi-colonial countries, e.g., the wars between the warlords in China, also belong to this category.

When a revolutionary civil war reaches the point of fundamentally threatening the existence of imperialism and its jackals—the domestic reactionaries—imperialism will, in an endeavour to maintain its rule, often adopt methods other than those mentioned above. It either tries to split up the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to directly help the domestic reactionaries. At such times, foreign imperialism and the domestic reactionaries stand completely in the open at one pole while the great masses of the people stand at another, thus forming the principal contradiction which determines or influences the development of other contradictions. After the October Revolution, various capitalist countries gave aid to the Russian reactionaries: this is a

case of armed intervention. Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal in 1927 is a case of disintegrating the revolutionary front.

But whatever happens, there is no doubt at all that at every stage in the process of development, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role.

From this it can be seen that if in any process a number of contradictions exist, only one of them is the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Thus, in studying any process—if it is a complicated process in which more than two contradictions exist—we must devote our whole energy to discovering its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, any problem can be readily solved. This is the method Marx taught us when he studied capitalist society. When Lenin and Stalin studied imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism, and when they studied Soviet economy, they also taught us this method. Thousands of scholars and practical workers do not understand this method, and the result is that, bewildered as if lost in a sea of mist, they cannot find the crux of a problem and naturally cannot find the method of solving contradictions.

As said above, we cannot treat all the contradictions in a process as being equal, but must distinguish between the principal and the secondary contradictions, and pay particular attention to grasping the principal one. But, in any contradiction, whether principal or secondary, can we treat the two contradictory aspects as being equal?

No, we cannot. In any contradiction, at any time, the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven. Sometimes there seems to be a balance of forces, but that is only a temporary and relative state; the basic state is unevenness. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be the principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect refers to the one which plays the leading role in the contradiction. The quality of a thing is mainly determined by the principal aspect of the contradiction that has taken the dominant position.

But this state is not a fixed one; the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the quality of a thing changes accordingly. In a certain process or at a certain stage in the

development of a contradiction, the principal aspect is A and the non-principal aspect is B; at another stage of development or in another process of development, the roles are reversed—a change determined by the extent of the increase and decrease respectively in the intensity of the struggle of the two aspects of the contradiction in the development of a thing.

We often speak of “the supercession of the old by the new.” The supercession of the old by the new is the universal, for ever inviolable law of the world. A thing transforms itself into something else according to its nature and the conditions under which it finds itself and through different forms of leap; that is the process of the supercession of the old by the new. Everything contains a contradiction between its new aspect and its old aspect, which constitutes a series of intricate struggles. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect grows and rises to become the thing that dominates while the old aspect dwindles and becomes the thing that gradually approaches extinction. And the moment the new aspect has won the dominant position over the old aspect, the quality of the old thing changes into the quality of the new thing. From this it can be seen that the quality of a thing is mainly determined by the principal aspect of the contradiction that has won the dominant position. When the principal aspect of the contradiction that has won the dominant position undergoes a change, the quality of a thing changes accordingly.

In capitalist society, capitalism transformed itself from a force which occupied a subordinate position in the old era of feudal society into one that has won the dominant position, and the nature of society has also changed from feudal into capitalist. In the new era of capitalist society, feudal forces have transformed themselves from forces originally in the dominant position into subordinate forces, and then gradually approached extinction; such is the case, for example, in Britain and France. With the development of the productive forces, the bourgeoisie has transformed itself from a new class playing a progressive role into an old class playing a reactionary role until it is finally overthrown by the proletariat and transforms itself into a class which is deprived of its private means of production and of its power, and which will then also gradually approach extinction. The proletariat which is much more numerous than the bourgeoisie, and which grows up simultaneously with the bour-

geoisie, but is under its rule, is a new force; from its initial position subordinate to the bourgeoisie, it gradually grows stronger and becomes a class which is independent and plays a leading role in history until finally it seizes political power and becomes the ruling class. At such a time, the nature of society changes from that of the old capitalist society into that of the new Socialist society. This is the path that the Soviet Union has already traversed and all other countries will inevitably traverse.

As regards the situation in China, while imperialism occupies the principal position in the contradiction which makes her a semi-colony, and oppresses the Chinese people, China has changed from an independent country into a semi-colony. But this state of affairs will inevitably change; in the struggle between the two sides, the strength of the Chinese people which grows under the leadership of the proletariat will inevitably change China from a semi-colony into an independent country, whereas imperialism will be overthrown and the old China will inevitably change into a new China.

The change of the old China into a new China also involves a change in the situation between the old forces of China's feudalism and the new forces of her people. The old feudal landlord class will be overthrown, and from the ruler it will become the ruled; this class will also gradually approach extinction. The people under the leadership of the proletariat will, from the ruled, become the rulers. At the same time, the nature of Chinese society will undergo a change, that is, the old, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society will change into a new, democratic society.

Instances of such mutual transformations are found in our past experience. The Manchu dynasty, which had ruled China for nearly three hundred years, was overthrown during the revolution of 1911, while the Revolutionary League under Sun Yat-sen's leadership won victory for a time. In the revolutionary war of 1924-1927, the revolutionary forces in the South, the alliance between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, grew from weakness to strength, and won victory in the Northern Expedition, while the Northern warlords, once all-powerful, were overthrown. In 1927, the people's forces under the leadership of the Communist Party, suffering from the attacks of the Kuomintang reactionary forces, became very weak, but having cleaned up opportunism

within their ranks they gradually became stronger once more. In the revolutionary bases under the leadership of the Communist Party, the peasants have transformed themselves from being the ruled into the rulers, while the landlords have undergone an opposite transformation. It is always in such a manner that the new displaces the old in the world, that the old is superseded by the new, that the old is eliminated and the new is brought forth or that the old is thrown off and the new ushered in.

At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, difficulties outbalance advantages; at such times, difficulties constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and advantages the secondary aspect. But through the efforts of revolutionaries, difficulties can be gradually overcome, an advantageous new situation is created, and the difficult situation yields place to the advantageous one. Such was the case after the failure of the revolution in China in 1927 and during the Long March of the Chinese Red Army. In the present Sino-Japanese War China is again in a difficult position; but we can change this state of affairs and bring about a fundamental change in the situation of both China and Japan. Conversely, advantages can also be transformed into difficulties, if the revolutionaries commit mistakes. The victory of the revolution of 1924-1927 turned into a defeat. The revolutionary bases that had grown in the southern provinces after 1927 all suffered defeat in 1934.

Such also is the contradiction in our studies when we pass from ignorance to knowledge. At the very beginning of our study of Marxism, our ignorance or scanty knowledge of Marxism stands in contradiction to knowledge of Marxism. But as a result of industrious study, ignorance can be transformed into knowledge, scanty knowledge into considerable knowledge, and blindness in the use of Marxism into the masterly application of it.

Some people think that there are contradictions different from this. For example: in the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the productive forces are the principal aspect; in the contradiction between theory and practice, practice is the principal aspect; in the contradiction between the economic basis and its superstructure, the economic basis is the principal aspect: and there is no change in their respec-

tive positions. This is the view of mechanistic materialism, and not of dialectical materialism. True, the productive forces, practice, and the economic basis generally manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role; whoever does not admit this is not a materialist. But under certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory, and the superstructure, in turn, manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role; this must also be admitted. When the productive forces cannot be developed unless the relations of production are changed, the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role. When, as Lenin put it, "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement,"[17] the creation and advocacy of the revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role. When a certain work (this applies to any work) is to be done but there is as yet no directive, method, plan, or policy, defining the directive, method, plan, or policy is the principal and decisive factor. When the superstructure like politics, culture, and so on hinders the development of the economic basis, political and cultural reforms become the principal and decisive factors. In saying this, are we running counter to materialism? No. The reason is: we recognise that in the development of history as a whole it is material things that determine spiritual things, it is social existence that determines social consciousness; but at the same time we also recognise and must recognise the reaction of spiritual things, the reaction of social consciousness on social existence, and the reaction of the superstructure on the economic basis. This is not running counter to materialism; this is precisely avoiding mechanistic materialism and firmly upholding dialectical materialism.

If, in studying the problem of the particularity of contradiction, we do not study these two conditions—the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradiction in the process as well as the principal aspect and the non-principal aspect of a contradiction—that is, if we do not study the distinctive character of these two conditions of contradiction, we shall then get bogged down in abstract studies and shall not be able to concretely understand the

condition of a contradiction, and consequently not be able to find the correct method to solve the contradiction. The distinctive character or particularity of these two conditions of contradiction represents the unevenness of the contradictory forces. There is nothing in the world that is absolutely even in its development, and we must oppose the theory of even development or the theory of equilibrium. At the same time, the concrete conditions of a contradiction and the change in the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction in its process of development, show precisely the force of the new things in superseding the old. The study of various conditions of unevenness in the contradiction, the study of the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradiction, of the principal aspect of the contradiction and the non-principal aspect of the contradiction, constitutes one of the important methods by which a revolutionary political party determines correctly its political and military strategic and tactical directives. All Communists should note this.

V. The Identity and Struggle of the Aspects of a Contradiction

Having understood the problem of the universality and particularity of contradiction, we must proceed to study the problem of the identity and struggle of the aspects of a contradiction.

Identity, unity, coincidence, interpermeation, interpenetration, interdependence (or interdependence for existence), interconnection or co-operation—all these different terms mean the same thing and refer to the following two conditions: first, the two aspects of every contradiction in the process of development of a thing find the presupposition of their existence each in its opposite aspect and both co-exist in an entity; second, the two contradictory aspects, according to given conditions, tend to transform themselves each into its opposite aspect. This is what is meant by identity.

Lenin said:

"Dialectics is such a theory: it studies how the opposites can be identical and how they become identical (how they change and become identical)—under what conditions they transform themselves into each other and become identical—why the human mind should not regard these opposites as dead,

[17] Lenin, *What Is to Be Done*, Chapter I, Section 4: "Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle." English edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

rigid things, but as living, conditional, changeable things which transform themselves into each other.”[18]

What is the meaning of this passage of Lenin’s?

The contradictory aspects in every process exclude each other, struggle with each other, and are opposed to each other. Such aspects of a contradictory nature are contained without exception in the processes of all things in the world and in human thought. A simple process has only one pair of opposites; a complex process has more than one pair of opposites. Various pairs of opposites in turn become opposed to one another. In this way all things in the objective world and human thought are formed and impelled to move.

But if this is so, there is an utter lack of identity, or unity; how then can we speak of identity or unity?

The reason is that the contradictory aspects cannot exist in isolation. Without the other contradictory aspect which is opposed to it, each aspect loses the condition of its existence. Just imagine, can any of the aspects of all the contradictory things or contradictory concepts in the human mind exist independently? Without life, there would be no death; without death, there would also be no life. Without “above,” there would be no “below”; without “below,” there would also be no “above.” Without misfortune, there would be no good fortune; without good fortune, there would also be no misfortune. Without easiness, there would be no difficulty; without difficulty, there would also be no easiness. Without landlords, there would be no tenant-peasants; without tenant-peasants, there would also be no landlords. Without the bourgeoisie, there would be no proletariat; without a proletariat, there would also be no bourgeoisie. Without imperialist oppression of the nations, there would be no colonies and semi-colonies; without colonies and semi-colonies, there would also be no imperialist oppression of the nations. All opposite elements are like this: because of certain conditions, they are on the one hand opposed to each other and on the other hand they are interconnected, interpenetrated, interpermeated, and interdependent; this character is called identity. All contradictory aspects, because of certain conditions, are characterised by non-identity, hence they are spoken of as

contradictory. But they are also characterised by identity, hence they are interconnected. When Lenin says that dialectics studies “how the opposites can be identical,” he is referring to such a state of affairs. How can they be identical? Because of the condition of mutual sustenance of each other’s existence. This is the first meaning of identity.

But is it enough to say merely that the contradictory aspects mutually sustain each other’s existence, that is, there is identity between them and consequently they can coexist in an entity? No, it is not enough. The matter does not end with the interdependence of the two contradictory aspects depending on each other for their existence; what is more important is the transformation of the contradictory things into each other. That is to say, each of the two contradictory aspects within a thing, because of certain conditions, tends to transform itself into its opposite, to transfer itself to the opposite position. This is the second meaning of the identity of contradiction.

Why is there also identity? You see, by means of revolution, the proletariat, once the ruled, transforms itself into the ruler, while the bourgeoisie, originally the ruler, is transformed into the ruled, transferred to the position originally occupied by its opposite. This has already taken place in the Soviet Union, and will take place throughout the world. I should like to ask: if there is no interconnection and identity between opposites under certain conditions, how can such a change take place?

The Kuomintang, which played a certain positive role at a certain stage in modern Chinese history, because of its inherent class nature and the temptations of imperialism (these being the conditions), has since 1927 transformed itself into a counter-revolutionary party; but, because of the intensification of the contradiction between China and Japan and the policy of the united front of the Communist Party (these being the conditions), it has been compelled to agree to resist Japan. Contradictory things change into one another; therein is contained a certain identity.

The agrarian revolution we have carried out is already and will be such a process in which the land-owning landlord class is transformed into a class deprived of its land, while the peasants, once deprived of their land, transform themselves into small holders of land. The haves and the have-nots, gain and loss, are

[18] Lenin, *Extracts From Hegel’s “Logic.”*

interconnected because of certain conditions; there is identity between the two sides. Under Socialism, the system of the peasants' private ownership will in turn be transformed into the public ownership of Socialist agriculture; this has already taken place in the Soviet Union, and will take place throughout the world. Between private property and public property there is a bridge leading from the one to the other, which in philosophy is called identity, or transformation into each other, or interpermeation.

To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or the people's dictatorship is precisely to prepare the conditions for liquidating such a dictatorship and advancing to the higher stage of abolishing all state systems. To establish and develop the Communist Party is precisely to prepare the condition for abolishing the Communist Party and all party systems. To establish the revolutionary army under the leadership of the Communist Party and to carry on the revolutionary war is precisely to prepare the condition for abolishing war for ever. These contradictory things are at the same time complementary.

As everybody knows, war and peace transform themselves into each other. War is transformed into peace; for example, the First World War was transformed into the post-war peace; the civil war in China has now also ceased and internal peace has come about. Peace is transformed into war; for example, the Kuomintang-Communist co-operation of 1927 was transformed into war, and the peaceful world situation today may also be transformed into a second world war. Why? Because in a class society such contradictory things as war and peace are characterised by identity under certain conditions.

All contradictory things are interconnected, and they not only coexist in an entity under certain conditions, but also transform themselves into each other under certain conditions—this is the whole meaning of the identity of contradictions. This is exactly what Lenin meant when he said, "...how they become identical (how they change and become identical)—under what conditions they transform themselves into each other and become identical..."

Why should the human mind "not regard such opposites as dead, rigid things but as living, conditional, changeable things which transform

themselves into each other"? Because that is just what objective things are. The unity or identity of the contradictory aspects in objective things is never a dead, rigid, but a living, conditional, changeable, temporary, relative matter; all contradictory aspects transform themselves, under certain conditions, into their opposites. Such a state of affairs, reflected in human thought, becomes the materialist-dialectical world outlook of Marxism. Only the present-day reactionary ruling classes as well as those in history, and metaphysics which is in their service, do not regard opposites as living, conditional, changeable things that transform themselves into each other, but as dead, rigid things, and propagate this erroneous view everywhere to delude the masses of the people, and thereby attain the aim of perpetuating their rule. The task of the Communists is precisely to expose such erroneous reactionary and metaphysical thought, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and to hasten the transformation of things, to attain the aim of the revolution.

By the identity of contradiction under certain conditions we mean that the contradictions we are talking about are real contradictions, concrete contradictions, and that the transformation of contradictory aspects into each other is also real, concrete. The innumerable transformations in mythology, for example, K'ua-fu's racing with the sun in the *Book of Mountains and Seas*[19], Yi's shooting down of nine suns in *Huai-Nan Tzu*[20], Monkey's seventy-two metamorphoses in the *Pilgrimage to the*

[19] The *Book of Mountains and Seas* is a collection of legends ascribed to the days of the Warring States between the fourth and second century B.C. In one of the legends, Kua-Fu is described as a super-human being who runs a race with the sun. Winning the game, he makes a tour in the heart of the sun but finally dies of thirst.

[20] Yi is one of the legendary heroes of ancient China, particularly famous for his archery. According to a legend in *Huai-Nan Tzu*, a book representing the philosophical ideas of its author Liu An, a philosopher in the second century B.C., there were ten suns in the sky in the days of Emperor Yao. In view of the damage done to vegetation by the suns, Yao ordered Yi to shoot at them, and the latter succeeded to bring down the ten suns. In yet another legend, the archer is said to have shot down nine but left the tenth intact.

West, [21] the numerous episodes in *Strange Tales From the Carefree Studio*[22] of ghosts and foxes metamorphosed into human beings, etc.—the transformations of opposites into each other as told in these legends are a sort of childish, imaginary, subjectively fancied transformations that are called forth among men by the innumerable transformations of complicated, real contradictions into each other, and are not concrete transformations as manifested in concrete contradictions. Marx said: “All mythology masters and dominates and shapes the forces of nature in and through the imagination, hence it disappears as soon as man gains mastery over the forces of nature.”[23] Although stories of endless metamorphoses in such mythology (and also in nursery tales) can delight people because in them man’s conquest of the forces of nature, etc., is imaginatively embodied and, moreover, the best mythology possesses “eternal charm” (Marx), yet mythology is not formed on the basis of certain conditions of concrete contradictions and therefore is not the scientific reflection of reality. That is to say, in mythology or nursery tales the aspects that constitute contradiction have no concrete identity but only a fancied identity. Marxist dialectics is that which scientifically reflects the identity in changes of reality.

Why is it that an egg can be transformed into a chicken while a stone cannot be transformed into a chicken? Why is it that there is identity between war and peace while there is no identity between war and a stone? Why is it that human beings can give birth to human beings but not to anything else? The reason is none other than that identity of contradiction

exists only under certain necessary conditions. Without certain necessary conditions, there can be no identity whatever.

Why is it that in Russia the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February, 1917 was directly linked with the proletarian-Socialist revolution of October of the same year, while in France the bourgeois revolution was not directly linked with a Socialist revolution, and the Paris Commune of 1871 finally ended in failure? Why is it, on the other hand, that the nomadic system in Mongolia and Central Asia has been directly linked with Socialism? Why is it that the Chinese revolution can avoid a capitalist future and can be directly linked with Socialism without traversing the old historical path of the western countries, without passing through a period of bourgeois dictatorship? The reason is none other than the concrete conditions of the time. It is when certain necessary conditions are present that certain contradictions arise in the process of development of things and, what is more, that these contradictions and all contradictions of this kind depend upon each other for existence and transform themselves into each other; otherwise nothing is possible.

Such is the problem of identity. What then is struggle? What is the relation between identity and struggle?

Lenin said:

“The unity (coincidence, identity, resultant) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute.”[24]

What does this passage from Lenin mean?

All processes have a beginning and an end; all processes transform themselves into their opposites. The stability of all processes is relative, but the mutability manifested in the transformation of one process into another, is absolute.

The movement of all things assumes two forms: the form of relative rest and the form of conspicuous change. Both forms of movement are caused by the mutual struggle of the two contradictory factors contained in a thing itself. When the movement of a thing assumes the first form, it only undergoes a quantitative but not a qualitative change, and consequently

[21] The *Pilgrimage to the West* is a mythological novel written in the sixteenth century. Sun Wukung, hero of the novel, is a personified monkey. He has the mysterious power of changing himself into 72 forms, such as birds, animals, plants and so forth. There is an abridged English translation by Arthur Waley entitled: *Monkey*.

[22] The *Strange Tales From the Carefree Studio* is a collection of short stories written by Pu Sung-ling in the seventeenth century. It comprises 431 pieces, most of which are stories of fairies, ghosts and fairy foxes, collected from folklore. There is an English translation by Herbert Giles entitled: *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*.

[23] Marx, *Critique of Political Economy*, English edition, p. 310-311, Charles H. Ken & Co., Chicago.

[24] Lenin, *On Dialectics, Selected Works*, Vol. XI, English edition, International Publishers, New York.

appears in a state of seeming rest. When the movement of a thing assumes the second form, it has already reached a certain culminating point of the quantitative change of the first form, caused the disassociation of the entity, produced a qualitative change, and consequently appears in a state of conspicuous change. Such unity, solidarity, amalgamation, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, stability, equilibrium, coagulation, attraction, as we see in daily life, are all the appearances of things in the state of quantitative change. On the other hand, the disassociation of the entity, the breakdown of such solidarity, amalgamation, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, stability, equilibrium, coagulation, and attraction, and the change into their opposite states are all the appearances of things in the state of qualitative change during the transformation of one process into another. Things are always transforming themselves ceaselessly from the first into the second form, while the struggle within the contradictions exists in both forms and reaches its solution through the second form. We say therefore that the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary, and relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute.

When we said above that because there is identity between two opposite things, the two can coexist in an entity and can also be transformed into each other, we were referring to conditionality, that is to say, under certain conditions contradictory things can be united and can also be transformed into each other, but without such conditions, they cannot become contradictory, cannot coexist, and cannot transform themselves the one into the other. It is because the identity of contradiction obtains only under certain conditions that we say identity is conditional, relative. Here we add: the struggle within a contradiction runs throughout a process from beginning to end and causes one process to transform itself into another, and as the struggle within the contradiction is present everywhere, we say the struggle within the contradiction is unconditional, absolute.

Conditional, relative identity, combined with unconditional, absolute struggle, constitutes the movement in opposites in all things.

We Chinese often say, "Things opposed to each other complement each other."^[25] That is to say, there is identity of opposites. This remark is dialectical, and runs counter to metaphysics. To be "opposed to each other"

means the mutual exclusion or struggle of the two contradictory aspects. To "complement each other" means that under certain conditions the two contradictory aspects become united and achieve identity. Struggle resides precisely in identity; without struggle there can be no identity.

In identity there is struggle, in particularity there is universality, in individual character there is common character. To quote Lenin, "there is an absolute even *within* the relative."^[26]

VI.—The Role of Antagonism in Contradiction

Among the questions concerning the struggle within the contradiction, there is the question, what is antagonism? Our answer is: antagonism is a form of struggle within the contradiction, but not the universal form of struggle within the contradiction.

In human history, antagonism between the classes exists as a particular manifestation of the struggle within the contradiction. The contradiction between the exploiting class and the exploited class: the two mutually contradictory classes coexist for a long time in one society, be it a slave society, or a feudal or a capitalist society, and struggle with each other; but it is not until the contradiction between the two classes has developed to a certain stage that the two sides adopt the form of open antagonism which develops into a revolution. In a class society, the transformation of peace into war is also like that.

The time when a bomb has not yet exploded is the time when contradictory things, because of certain conditions, coexist in an entity. It is not until a new condition (ignition) is present that the explosion takes place. An analogous situation exists in all natural phenomena when they finally assume the form of open antagonism to solve old contradictions and to produce new things.

It is very important to know this situation. It enables us to understand that in a class society revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevit-

[25] The quotation appeared first in the *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty* written by Pan Ku, a celebrated historian in the first century A.D., and has ever since been a popular saying.

[26] Lenin, *On Dialectics*. Source, see note 24.

able, that apart from them the leap in social development cannot be made, and the reactionary ruling classes cannot be overthrown so that the people will win political power. Communists must expose the deceitful propaganda of the reactionaries that social revolution is unnecessary and impossible, and so on, and firmly uphold the Marxist-Leninist theory of social revolution so as to help the people to understand that social revolution is not only entirely necessary but also entirely possible and that the whole history of mankind and the triumph of the Soviet Union all confirm this scientific truth.

However, we must study concretely the conditions of various kinds of struggle within the contradiction and should not inappropriately impose the above-mentioned formula on everything. Contradiction and struggle are universal, absolute, but the methods for solving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions. Some contradictions are characterised by open antagonism, some are not. Based on the concrete development of things, some contradictions, originally non-antagonistic, develop and become antagonistic, while some contradictions, originally antagonistic, develop and become non-antagonistic.

The contradiction between correct ideology and erroneous ideologies within the Communist Party is, as said earlier, the reflection in the Party of the class contradictions when the classes exist. In the beginning, or with regard to particular matters, such a contradiction need not immediately manifest itself as antagonistic. But with the development of the class struggle, it can also develop and become antagonistic. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shows us that the contradiction between the correct ideology of Lenin and Stalin and the erroneous ideologies of Trotsky, Bukharin, and others, was in the beginning not yet manifested in an antagonistic form, but subsequently developed into antagonism. A similar case occurred in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. The contradiction between the correct ideology of many of our comrades in the Party and the erroneous ideologies of Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao, and others was also in the beginning not manifested in an antagonistic form, but subsequently developed into antagonism. At present the contradiction between the correct ideology and the erroneous ideologies in our Party is not manifested in an

antagonistic form, and, if comrades who have committed mistakes can correct them, it will not develop into antagonism. Therefore the Party on the one hand must carry on a serious struggle against erroneous ideologies, and on the other must give the comrades who have committed mistakes sufficient opportunity to realise them. Under such conditions, struggles pushed to excess are obviously not appropriate. But if those people who have committed mistakes persist in them and increase the gravity of their mistakes, then there is the possibility of such contradictions developing into antagonism.

Economically, in capitalist society (where the town under bourgeois rule ruthlessly exploits the countryside) and in the Kuomintang-ruled areas in China (where the town under the rule of foreign imperialism and the native comprador, big bourgeoisie most savagely exploits the countryside), the contradiction between the town and the countryside is one of extreme antagonism. But in a Socialist country and in our revolutionary bases, such an antagonistic contradiction becomes a non-antagonistic contradiction; and it will disappear when a Communist society is realised.

Lenin said: "Antagonism and contradiction are utterly different. Under Socialism, antagonism disappears, but contradiction exists." [27] That is to say, antagonism is only a form of struggle within the contradiction, but not its universal form; we cannot impose the formula everywhere.

VII. Conclusion

Having reached this point, we can make a few remarks to sum up. The law of the contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of nature and society, and therefore also the basic law of thought. It is the opposite of the metaphysical world outlook. It means a great revolution in the history of human knowledge. According to the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, contradiction exists in all processes of objective things and subjective thought and runs through all processes from beginning to end—this is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction. Contradictory things and each of their aspects have respectively their specific

[27] Lenin's critical notes on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transitional Period*.

features—this is the particularity and relativity of contradiction. Contradictory things, according to certain conditions, are characterised by identity, and consequently can coexist in an entity and transform themselves each into its opposite—this again is the particularity and relativity of contradiction. But the struggle within the contradiction is ceaseless; it exists whether at the time when the opposites coexist or when they are transforming themselves into each other, and the manifestation of the struggle is especially obvious when they transform themselves into each other — this again is the universality and absoluteness of contradiction. In studying the particularity and relativity of contradiction, we must note the distinction between what is principal and what is non-principal in contradictions as well as in contradictory aspects; in studying the universality of, and the struggle within, the contradiction, we must note the distinction between various forms of struggle within the contradiction; otherwise we shall commit mistakes. If, after study, we have really understood the essential points mentioned above, we shall be able to smash those dogmatic ideas

which violate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and are detrimental to our revolutionary cause, and also enable our experienced comrades to systematise their experiences so as to impart to them the character of principle and avoid repeating the mistakes of empiricism. These are a few simple conclusions we have reached in the study of the law of contradiction.

ERRATA

In the first part of this essay published in our previous issue, No. 13, 1952, page 5, column 2, line 8, should read:

that a thing in its movement and the things round it should be regarded as interconnected and interacting upon each other.

Page 7, column 2, line 6, should read:

Engels explained the universality of contradiction in these terms: "If simple...."

Page 14, column 1, line 13, should read:

study the class basis of the two parties, the resultant contradictions between the two parties and other forces during different periods. For example: in the...

Page 15, column 2, line 12, should read:

Engels, and likewise Lenin and Stalin, have always....

Page 5, line 3 of note [4] should read:

in the Han dynasty (208 B.C.—220 A.D.)

Increase the Party's Militant Strength to Advance The Great Tasks of National Construction

Editorial of the Peking People's Daily

Greeting the 31st anniversary of the Communist Party of China, the Peking People's Daily of July 1 editorially recalls the role of the Party in leading the Chinese people's struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea, in the land reform, in increasing production and practising economy and in the other great nation-wide mass movements. The editorial particularly mentions the San Fan movement (against corruption, waste and bureaucratism in government organisations) and the Wu Fan movement (against illegal activities on the part of private businessmen). The editorial continues:

... These two great campaigns have been a vivid and profound education to the people throughout China. They have consolidated the people's democratic united front and brought into being a new social morality; they have made possible profound reforms in the work of all government agencies and organisations; many new plans and new persons have come to the fore, thus providing favourable conditions for the forthcoming large-scale work of national construction.

In these two great campaigns, the entire organisation and every member of the Communist Party of China has gone through a

historic test. This test was essential in the course of the immense revolutionary victories when we entered the city from the countryside and developed from the stage of state power in scattered revolutionary bases to state power on a nation-wide scale. Facts have proved that the Communist Party of China is not only capable of giving leadership to the Chinese people in achieving the revolutionary victory but is also able to lead the Chinese people in building up their new state with amazing speed.... A few Party members who failed in this test have fallen by the wayside. But our Party, as a militant unit, is advancing on the road to new victories.

Our task of purifying and building up the Party is to raise the quality of Party members in accordance with the standard required of a Communist and to increase the Party's militant strength so as to lead the Chinese people in the struggle for the industrialisation of the country and for a Socialist future. The Party must clean out bourgeois and alien class elements which have crept into the Party; it must clean out corrupt and degenerate elements, and those intractable elements which refuse Party education....

In factories, mines, co-operatives, state organisations and schools, as well as in the villages, the Party should not in the least relax its efforts in giving regular, systematic ideological and political leadership. The work of purifying and building up the Party must go hand in hand with the construction work of the state and, in particular, with economic construction centred on industrialisation. The aim is to give leadership and advance national construction; it is long-termed and designed to transform our country from an agrarian into an industrialised one, and to lead her to the future of Socialism.

Each passing day brings us nearer the task of large-scale economic construction. On the one hand, the working class and the rest of the broad masses of the people of all China want to continue to strengthen the work of resisting American aggression and aiding Korea, and the struggle to consolidate our national defences. On the other hand, disregarding all enemy obstruction, they are advancing with high spirits to the great upsurge of economic construction.

The development of the movement to increase production and practise economy launched by the broad masses of workers in industry, agriculture and other productive enterprises is the signal for the coming large-scale economic construction.

The mass labour emulation drive and the constant emergence of advanced production experience, new plans and records, cannot but give rise to great changes in the face of our work. We must attach great importance to these new changes. We must continue actively to rally the masses and push forward all phases of the movement to increase production and practise economy.

In this movement, the whole Party must make an effort to learn. Communists in industry and agriculture and on the other

economic fronts must assume the role of pace-setters and lead the masses constantly to raise their political consciousness. They should humbly learn from the masses so as to continuously enrich their own knowledge. They must become masters of their trade, master technique and raise their managerial and administrative ability. Leading cadres at all Party levels must further unite all scientific and technical personnel willing to serve the people; they must go deeper in the work of investigation and research, to analyse the situation and sum up experiences.

There is no doubt at all that our Party is capable of giving leadership in the work of economic construction of the state....

At the time of the first five-year plan of the Soviet Union for Socialist construction, Comrade Stalin gave us very important directions in his speech at the First All-Union Conference of Managers of Socialist Industry in February, 1931. Comrade Stalin said: "What does directing production mean? There are people among us who do not always treat the question of factory management in a Bolshevik way." Comrade Stalin criticised those who directed by signing papers, criticised those business executives who were so disgracefully backward in regard to knowledge of technology that counter-revolutionary elements were able to engage in wrecking activities. He pointed out: "We must ourselves become experts, masters of business enterprises; we must turn to technical science," must "cast aside the old slogan, the obsolete slogan of non-interference in technique." In guiding economic construction, we must also increasingly master economic management and technique.

Party members must fight against all backward and conservative ideology, and against erroneous capitalist ideas on economic work.... There must be systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution.

...In these past thirty-one years our Party has led the Chinese people to effecting a world-shaking change in which we have been victorious, and our victory is hailed by the Chinese people.... All Party comrades should continue to rely closely on the masses and learn from them. We must carry out criticism and self-criticism regularly; we must be humble and prudent; we must not be conceited and rash; we must be courageous in carrying out the new, great historic task before us.

The Land Reform in China Today

June 30 this year marked the second anniversary of the *Land Reform Law* of the People's Republic of China. For two years, guided by this law, the gigantic land reform movement has been spread systematically through the newer liberated areas of the country following on its completion in the older liberated areas. Its achievements have been truly immense. The land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class has been overthrown, and the system of peasant land ownership has been established in an area with a rural population of 400 million people in the greatest movement of its kind in history.

In the six major administrative areas into which New China is divided, the situation today is as follows:

In **NORTHEAST CHINA**, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and the old liberated areas, the land reform was carried through on the basis of the directives on land reform of the Communist Party and the people's rule prior to the promulgation of the law.

In **NORTH CHINA**, the land reform has been completed. Suiyuan province was the last to accomplish it in the spring of this year. There, a total of more than 755,000 hectares of land was distributed among 1,300,000 landless and landpoor peasants. The Ikhechao and Ulantsab Leagues, Mongolian minority areas of the province, with a rural population of 200,000, will have their land reform completed this August in accordance with the Central People's Government's directive postponing the reform in national minority regions until conditions there are fully prepared for it.

In **NORTHWEST CHINA**, the land reform was completed this spring in areas containing 85 per cent of the rural population of 29 million. Some 1,066,000 hectares of land were distributed among 7,500,000 landless and landpoor peasants. There remain only 4,600,000 peasants in 62 counties in Sinkiang province, four counties in Chinghai, and two areas in Kansu, all inhabited by national minorities, where the reform will be carried out gradually within the coming years.

In **EAST CHINA**, the land reform has been completed in areas containing 93 per cent of the rural population numbering more than

100 million people (including handicraftsmen, artisans, traders, etc.). Over 60 million landless and landpoor peasants received shares of 7,333,000 hectares of land. The only small areas that still have to complete the reform are the islands off the coast of Fukien and Chekiang provinces and a stretch along the banks of the Huai river in northern Anhwei.

In **CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA**, the land reform was completed among 81 per cent of the rural population of 118,750,000. Some 8,666,000 hectares of land were distributed among those who needed it. The rest of the peasants in some parts of Kwangtung and Kwangsi will complete the reform before next spring.

Lastly, in **SOUTHWEST CHINA**, the land reform has been completed among 81 per cent of the rural population; 80 per cent of the area's arable land was distributed among those who needed land. The carrying out of the reform next spring in the remaining parts of Yunnan and Kweichow provinces will mark the completion of the work in that administrative area.

Thus the feudalism that ruled old China for three thousand years has been ended forever, removing the age-old burdens of the people. "How can submerged stones float to the surface again?" an emancipated peasant asked, then added, "The feudal dynasties, Chiang Kai-shek, the landlords and despots, they are all submerged stones now."

Peasant Productive Forces Freed

Only a few months ago, great numbers of villages in many widely separated parts of the country had still not thrown off the last chains of the feudal system of land ownership and exploitation. Now the chains have been smashed. The face of the rural areas has undergone a rapid change. Formerly shackled, the gigantic productive potential of the peasants has been freed. It is rapidly developing agricultural production, preparing the way for the industrialisation of the country. Because the land has come back to them, the peasants are showing new activity in every sphere of work on the land. Spring sowing started earlier this year than usual. New water conservancy works, large and small, are being constructed; the work of reclaiming wasteland, afforestation and anti-pest campaigns are being pushed ahead.

Various by-occupations are being revived or developed. New crops, new agricultural techniques are being introduced.

New relations of production have come into being. The emancipated peasants are organising an ever-increasing number of mutual-aid teams. In Central-South China, more than a million teams comprising 5 million peasant families have been formed. In Southwest China, there are half a million teams. More advanced forms of co-operative agriculture are being developed. The first collective farm has been organised in the Northeast. There is a new attitude to labour. A nationwide campaign has been launched to raise the yield per hectare. In many provinces, the peasants aim to harvest 500 kilogrammes of rice per *mou*. In Kiangsi province alone, 15,000 mutual-aid teams have challenged each other to emulation competitions for raised production. The spirit of patriotism and interna-

tionism burns brightly among the tillers. To support the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea, patriotic emulation campaigns have been started aiming to raise production by at least 10 per cent over last year.

In the process of the movement for land reform, the people's democratic dictatorship has been greatly consolidated. The membership of the peasant associations is growing rapidly. In the Southwest, for example, 33 million out of the total rural population of 90 million have joined the associations. In every village there is now a women's association and a branch of the New Democratic Youth League. Rid of the dead weight of the past, the Chinese countryside surges with a new democratic political life. In every household the picture of Chairman Mao has an honoured place. The peasants know that it was he and the Communist Party who led them to freedom.

—H.C.

China's First Collective Farm

Tien Liu

The first collective farm in China has appeared on the steppe 20 kilometres east of Chiamussu, on the south bank of the Sungari river in Sungkiang province, Northeast China. On this boundless grassland, long known to local inhabitants as "the great waste," a new, joyous life is being born. The farm is appropriately named Hsinghuo—"The Spark," symbolic of the beginning of a great new era for China's over 400 million peasants, showing the way to large-scale modern Socialist agriculture.

As early as 1947, the Communist Party and the government, in order to open new perspectives of happiness to peasants who had just rid themselves of the yoke of feudal land system, decided to establish a model farm—the Huachuan Irrigated Farm—on the grassland east of Chiamussu. Peasants who joined the farm were given land, houses and implements so that they might realise the advantages of collective labour, mechanised farming and large-scale agricultural production through their own experience, and be stimulated to advance voluntarily along the path to a collective-farm economy.

The beginning, however, was beset with unforeseen difficulties. The cadres of the farm lacked experience. They first organised the peasants into working groups of four families each, which were given land in accordance with the labour-power of their members. As it turned out, however, it was not easy for the peasants to forsake their traditional ideas of private ownership in a short time. Many groups, therefore, "partitioned" the state-owned land further among their component families just as had been done in villages where the land reform was in progress. In some others, where land was not "partitioned," some members shirked work while each tried to get a bigger share after the harvest.

As a result, the harvest in the first year was poor. Each fully-working member cultivated an average of only one hectare, and the per-hectare yield, despite adequate rain, was some 2,360 kilogrammes of rice.

From this failure, however, both cadres and peasants learned the lesson which led to success. The Communist Party organisation on the farm strengthened its educational and

political work in 1948 to overcome the selfish small-holder ideology and tendencies towards "agrarian-Socialist" equalitarianism that existed among the peasants. The Huachuan Irrigated Farm administration, in its organising activity, upheld the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit.

The result was that, by 1949, three different types of labour organisation had appeared on the Huachuan Irrigated Farm. A few backward peasants said they preferred to receive their own shares of land from the farm, which they proceeded to cultivate individually. Others, the overwhelming majority, formed small mutual-aid teams of from three to six families each, picking their associates on the basis of friendship and mutual interests. Still others, the most progressive, formed farming groups of the nature of agricultural producers' co-operatives.

Working Together as a Group

The whole area of the Huachuan Irrigated Farm had been divided up into several sub-farms, each composed of yet smaller groups. After a short time, it emerged that the best group was Group No. 5 of Farm No. 3 which was formed of five families working in an agricultural producers' co-operative. This was the predecessor of the present Spark Collective Farm, led by Chin Pai-shan. The main characteristic of this group was that there was no line of demarcation between the plots of the members, nor was their land divided into sections. This was a big advantage.

The labour enthusiasm of the peasants, free from landlord exploitation, was high, and No. 5 Group's yield was good. Despite the serious prevalence of insect-pests in 1949, the average yield was 2,400 kg. of grain per hectare. On land that was not affected by insects, the yield was as high as 3,200 kg. Labour efficiency was far greater than in the past, the average area cultivated by each working member reaching 1.78 hectares as compared to only one hectare in 1948. The achievements of Group No. 5 led to its being elected the model group of the Huachuan Irrigated Farm.

Two grave defects, however, were felt by the group. First, the majority of the members had not agreed to their chairman Chin Pai-shan's proposal that the co-operative's harvest should be distributed according to the amount

of actual work done by each member. Instead, they had favoured a division according to the size of land subscribed. This put those families with fewer members but with greater working capacity at a disadvantage, the reason being that a family that was more numerous could invest a correspondingly greater share of land.

Among the sufferers from this situation was Chin Pai-shan, the organiser of the group. He and his wife worked hard and regularly exceeded their norm of 40 work-days a year. Had all payments been calculated in work-days instead of land-shares, they would have got 700 kg. of grain instead of the 400 kg. they actually received. This drawback was to a certain degree offset at first by the friendly working relations existing within the little group and the democratic management of group affairs, but it could not but adversely affect labour enthusiasm in the long run. Secondly, a shortage of work hands was constantly felt. The members were hard put to it when they were called upon to attend to a variety of pressing jobs at one and the same time. For these reasons, it was decided that, in the coming year, the group would turn itself into a collective farming group which would distribute the fruits of the joint labour of its members on the basis of work-days only—and that the membership of the group should be expanded.

The achievements of Group No. 5 had already created a great sensation among all the peasants of Farm No. 3 of which it formed a part. As soon, therefore, as it called for more members, almost all the peasants on the No. 3 Farm applied to join. In 1950, a collective farming group containing 14 families was formed around it, and the distributive system of "to each according to his labour" was put into force.

From then on, all the members could enjoy the full benefit of collective work. The labour-shortage problem, too, was overcome, since a shock force was available in busy seasons to handle any emergency situation. In 1950, for instance, when 7 hectares of land were threatened by insect pests, the whole membership was mobilised and the pests were quickly conquered. In that year, the average area cultivated by each member rose to 1.8 hectares, while the yield rose to 3,400 kg. per hectare—the highest ever registered on any part of the Huachuan Irrigated Farm.

Surveying waste land for reclamation to keep pace with the growing productive power of the farm



Chairman Chin Pai-shan and farm members select the site for their new nursery

"The Spark"—China's First Collective Farm

at the Huachuan Irrigated Farm, Chiamussu, Northeast China,
shows the way to large-scale modern Socialist farming

These electric pumps at the Huachuan Irrigated Farm raise water from the Sungari river to irrigate the land of the collective farm





An electric husker at the Hsinghuo—the Spark Farm



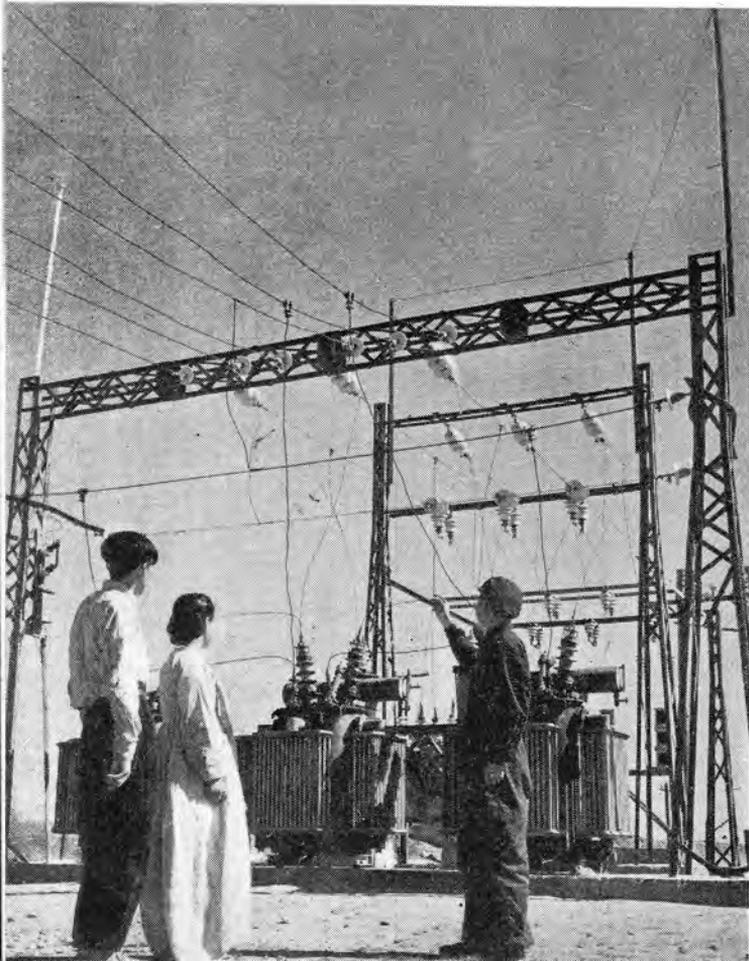
The Huachuan tractor station prepares for spring ploughing on the Hsinghuo Collective Farm

The New Way of Life of China's Peasants on

The Nation's First Collective Farm

Many Korean-Chinese are members of this prosperous farm on the south bank of the Sungari river

Explaining the working of the Huachuan Farm's pumping station transformer to collective farm members



Typical houses of collective farm members at the Hsinghuo Farm



At the farm's free clinic



Chairman of the women's association, Chin Tsai-chin, leading a production meeting of Hsinghuo women farm members



The co-op can supply all its members' needs



Telling the youngsters how the farm ended the bad old days

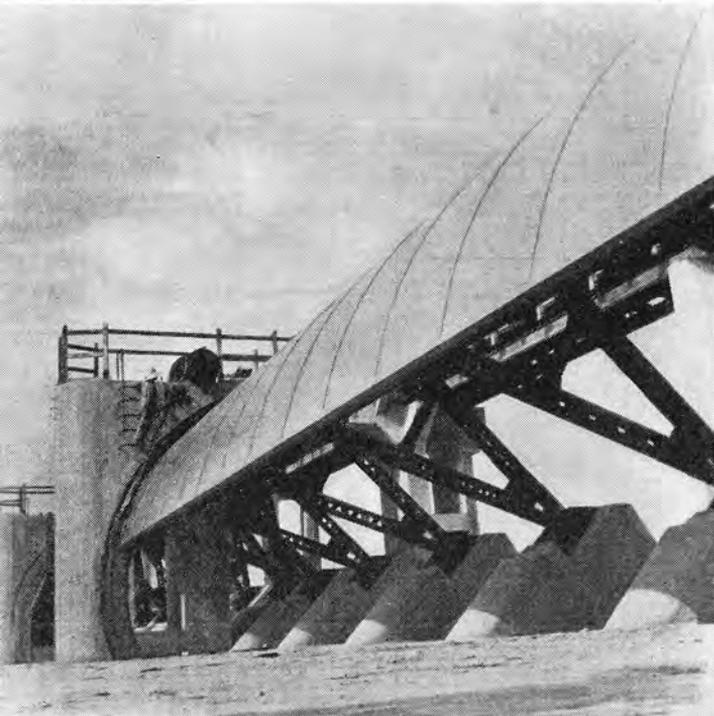




This 1,054 metres long movable dam at Taipingkou with 54 sluice gates controls the flow of water into the Yangtse flood detention basin—it is the biggest dam in China

The Yangtse Flood Detention Basin

The completion of this project on the middle reaches of the Yangtse river eliminated an age-old flood menace



A close-up of the Huangshantou dam's sluice gates

★

Workers cheer the victory on completion of the Taipingkou movable dam on June 16



As a result, more applications for membership rolled in, and the former Group No. 5 quickly grew to 36 families. The Huachuan Irrigated Farm management advanced 180 million yuan to build a new farm settlement for these organised peasants, and in February, 1951, the first collective farm at Huachuan was born and named "The Spark."

Every achievement of the collective farm has been inseparably linked with the intensive political and educational work carried out among its members by the Communist Party, as well as with the selfless labour of the members themselves.

From the beginning of the Huachuan Irrigated Farm in 1948, the Party strove through political education to overcome the backward "individual labour" ideas of the peasants. A winter school was established; a vocational training class was opened. Meetings of various kinds were held to propagandise the advantages of organising for co-operative production, the superiority of large-scale mechanised farming and the bright prospects of Socialism and Communism. At the same time, the Party called on its own members and all other advanced elements to educate and unify the peasants both through the influence of example and by giving them practical aid.

The Party—Organiser of the Collective Farm

The selflessness and exemplary labour of the Communist Party members served as a constant stimulus to their fellow-workers. Party member Sun Chin-tao, who had been elected a model worker of the Huachuan Irrigated Farm as long ago as 1948 and was later chosen model worker of the province, became production commissioner of the new collective farm. He led the members personally in field labour and planned all work-schedules carefully to guarantee a good harvest. He attended meetings, did planning work and counted his members' work-day units at night so that his day's work might not suffer. Sun himself outdid all others in both field labour and public work.

The close concern of the Party and government for the collective farm, and the financial aid which the state gave, also contributed greatly to its speedy development and consolidation. In the foundation year, 1951, in addition to the loan advanced by the state to build dwelling houses, the farm was assisted in purchasing

more than 40 oxen and many farming implements.

New Type of Peasants

In creating a happy new life for the peasants, the Party has also been remoulding them into people of a new type, people who love labour, the collective, public property and the Motherland.

The collective farm was built on a voluntary basis, the peasants realised that only collective labour could make their life richer and happier. They realised that the harder they worked and the more the farm would grow, the more abundant would their life become. For these reasons, they came to regard each and every affair of the farm as inseparable from their own interests. Many examples can be given of the love of public property that arose as a result.

The peasants love the Motherland fervently and are doing everything possible to express this love in deeds, because they know that the happy new life they now enjoy, and the prospects of still greater happiness that have opened before them, would only be possible under the people's rule. In 1950, they set themselves a goal of increasing production by 35 kg. of grain and 250 kg. of hay per hectare. After the harvest, they donated a total of 3,500 kg. of grain and 25,000 kg. of hay to the Chinese people's volunteers fighting in Korea, while the farm women donated a 150 kg. hog and 143 straw bags, products of subsidiary occupations. The collective farm members are deeply grateful to the valiant People's Liberation Army and the Chinese people's volunteers, the guardians of their new life. During the Spring Festival, they made presents of 18 kg. of pork to nine families of P.L.A. fighters in the collective farm itself, an additional 27 kg. of pork to fighters' families on their old home farm—No. 3, and sent greetings to every family on the Huachuan Irrigated Farm with members in the people's armed services.

This new farm is creating a new type of life. The collective farm is run democratically on the basis of self-discipline, using criticism and self-criticism as a major weapon for the improvement and progress of all.

The governing body in the collective farm is the Members' Conference. The conference

elects the chairman and members of the management committee of the farm, discusses and approves the production plan, drafts the scale by which work and remuneration are calculated, examines expenditures, ratifies the current budget, receives reports and work-summaries from the management committee and the chairman, examines and approves all applications for membership. In a word, the Members' Conference must ratify every important decision before it can become effective. According to the regulations of the farm, it must meet at the beginning and end of each agricultural season to hear reports on work done and projected. In practice, it gathers much oftener, having held 30-odd sessions, or an average of one every ten days, in the course of the farm's foundation year, 1951, when there were many vital problems to be settled.

The management committee of the farm carries out the decisions of the conference. It has a chairman, who is also chairman of the conference, a vice-chairman, and commissioners for production, culture and education, finance, food and accounting. The chairman and vice-chairman, and the commissioner for finance, food and accounting, do not take part in field work. They are paid on the scale of medium members of the labour force.

From Each According to His Ability; To Each According to His Work

Compared to their past circumstances, the collective farm is a paradise for the peasants. Here they can give rein to their special abilities and realise their ideals. Each member has an important part to play in the collective life.

Different types of work are assigned to the members according to their specialties. Under the direction of the executive committee, a production team, a horticultural team and a livestock-raising team have been formed. In addition, an electrically-operated husking mill and an iron foundry have been established. The thirty-four men and twelve women in the production team, working under the direction of the production commissioner, are responsible for all field work on the farm's ninety-nine hectares of land. To cope with the needs at various times, this team is sometimes divided into sub-teams which numbered three during the spring ploughing and sowing season and five during the harvest.

The proper allotment of work-points according to labour performed and the scientific

counting of work-days are of key importance in organising collective labour and developing the labour enthusiasm of individuals. The best method of calculation was not found without difficulty. At first, the collective farm adopted the work-points system of seven grades, ranging from eight to eleven points for male members and that of three grades for female members ranging from six to seven points. Aside from other disadvantages, this system was seen to be unjust to women and a violation of the principle of equal pay for equal work. Last autumn, with the growth of public property and the acquisition of more modern farming implements and machinery, it has been developed into a more reasonable system of payments for "work-days." For instance, every 120 sheaves of grain (weighing 12 kg. each) harvested are counted as one work-day. Any man or woman who achieves the standard in quantity and quality is credited with a full work-day. The new method has proved to be an effective stimulant to eager labour by all.

Distribution on the farm is based on the principle of "to each according to his work." The harder and better one works, the higher the remuneration.

The total income of the collective farm accrues directly to the members, with the exception of a sum paid to the Huachuan Irrigated Farm for taxes to the state and another set aside as a public reserve fund. In 1951, the members got 24.5 kg. of grain, plus a certain quantity of vegetables and hay, for each work-day. The lowest income for an able-bodied worker for the year was some 4,500 kg. of grain, while the highest exceeded 7,000 kg. The average per capita income of the family with the lowest income was 1,850 kg. while that for the highest-income family was 1,650 kg. Obviously such an income left each family with a considerable surplus after necessities had been met.

In order to expand production and buy more modern machinery, the collective farm has decided to invest between 12 and 15 per cent of its total income in 1952 in a public fund to be used for these purposes. Asked whether this would affect the individual earnings of members, Chairman Chin Pai-shan replied that it would not. "Last year," he said, "our yield per hectare was 4,215 kg. of grain while the goal this year is to reap 5,500 kg. Each member, therefore, will get more instead of less."

The farm also plans to enlarge its membership from 36 families to 60, and its cultivated area from 99 to 160 hectares in the course of 1952, while the average land cultivated per working-member will go up from 2.5 hectares to 3 hectares. That is to say, each fully working member will harvest, on the average, 16,500 kg. of grain. What a sum compared with the income of an individual peasant plodding away on his own land!

Happy Life

The achievements of the collective farm prove conclusively that the peasants, under the guidance of the Communist Party, are moving towards the kind of happy life enjoyed by the peasants of the Soviet Union.

Already the farm members are enjoying greater abundance than ever before and are free of all worry in matters of food and clothing. Every family is housed in a newly built house with big, bright windows and electric lights. Portraits of Mao Tse-tung and Stalin hang on the white walls of each apartment. Books and newspapers have become indispensable to all. Instead of eating coarse grains only, as in the past, the peasants now consume rice as their main staple, while coarse grains now constitute only 10 per cent of their diet.

The purchasing power of members is constantly on the upgrade. Peasant Shen Tse-cheng, to cite a typical example, bought 84 feet of cloth, 2.9 kg. of cotton, two pairs of gloves and one pair of boots during the last three months of 1951. He also bought 18 newly-published books and copies of magazines.

Even more striking is the case of Chiang Ching-hsiao, whose situation was more difficult than that of anyone else on the farm. In 1948, when he came to the Huachuan Irrigated Farm, he was clothed in rags which barely covered his body, and he worked in the fields dressed in nothing but a gunny-sack tied around his waist. That year, Chiang and his whole family of five cropped only 635 kg. of grain. But in 1949, after Chiang joined Group No. 5, his life began to improve radically, and he was able to retain a surplus of some 600 kg. after paying all his expenses. In 1950, things got still better, and in 1951, the year when the Spark Collective Farm was set up, his share of the earnings was 6,650 kg. of grain or over 1,300 kg. for each person in his family. This was ten times Chiang's earnings in 1948. The result can be seen in the new clothes he and his family

wear, in the books and magazines on his desk, in the three new sets of bedding and thirty suits of clothing the family has bought during the past two years. White rice now makes up 80 per cent of the grain products this family eats.

Better material conditions have lifted the cultural level of the collective farmers. Out of 124 persons between the ages of seven and fifty who now live on it, 115 are studying. They include 57 adults who attend winter night schools, eight youths enrolled in a high school at Chiamussu and 50 children in the primary school that has been set up on the farm.

Bright Prospect

That the labour of the farm members has rapidly become so much more productive, that crop yields are rising all the time, is a result of the superiority of the collective farm system over other forms of agricultural organisation now existing in New China such as mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. It has been brought about by linking together many small-peasant economies and utilising implements and draught animals in a more rational way, even though the means of production are still simple and consist mainly of manual tools and draught animals with the addition of some simple machinery. As time advances and cultivation is gradually mechanised, the advantages of the collective farm system will become even more evident to peasants outside "The Spark."

The farm is already undertaking its own research work. This year, all seeds planted were selected specially to suit the local soil conditions. Grass will be mown more often and an experimental plot is being set up to study further improvements in farming techniques.

By the end of 1952, the farm will be still more flourishing and beautiful. It will have a new school, nursery, co-operative, office and club. Its membership, its land and the yield per hectare will all grow.

Leaving the past of poverty and bankruptcy forever behind them, along with the system of exploitation of man by man, the peasants of the Spark Collective Farm at Huachuan are moving forward along the path to Socialist agriculture, seeing the outlines of the bright future in the great gains they have already made.

The Chengtu-Chungking Railway Completed

Chao Ching-hsueh

On the memorable day of July 1, 1952, the 31st anniversary of the Communist Party of China, a train carrying railroad builders, model workers and Young Pioneers pulled out of Chungking station for Chengtu at 10:30 a.m. amidst thunderous applause. Meanwhile, in Chengtu, 30,000 people thronged the square in front of the railway station and gave a rousing send-off to a flower-decked train on the maiden run to Chungking. It was a gala day for the people of Szechuan. It marked the realisation of a forty-year-old dream of a modern railway for the province.

This new economic artery of the Szechuan area is 505 kilometres long, linking Chengtu with Chungking via eight counties and over fifty towns and villages. It not only reduces travelling time between Chengtu and Chungking, but linked with Yangtse river navigation, brings these Southwest areas into closer and swifter communication with other major administrative areas in the country. It opens up new vistas for the people of the Southwest.

That part of the Szechuan basin with a population of 12 million served by the new railway is well-known for its rich natural resources. The western section of the railway traverses the Chengtu plain, the granary of the Southwest. Then it crosses an area noted for its tobacco which sells as far afield as Shanghai and Canton. Neikiang, centre point of the line, produces 70 to 80 per cent of the cane sugar of the entire Southwest area. There are also the famous salt wells at Tzeliuching, 45 kilometres south-east of Neikiang, which supply more than half the salt consumed in the Southwest. The eastern section of the railway traverses the territory of Lungchang, Jungchang, Yungchuan and Kiangtsing, the home of delicious oranges and tangerines as well as a type of linen popular throughout the country for summer clothing. The Yungchuan area also produces much more coal than it can consume. The Chungking terminus of the railway is a centre of heavy industries where the steel rails and parts needed in building the line were manufactured. Other native products of the province such as hemp, bristles, hogs, cotton, tung oil, silk, wine and medicinal herbs all enjoy nation-wide fame.

Prior to the construction of the new line, however, the miserably inadequate transportation facilities stood in glaring contrast with the richness of the area. Transportation costs for many items were almost prohibitive even over relatively short distances. Thus, coal from Yungchuan was five times the pit-head price when it reached the Chengtu market. The exorbitant price of coal retarded the industrialisation of Chengtu where it was even cheaper to use fire-wood as cooking fuel.

Transport difficulties also affected agricultural production. In the Neikiang-Tzechung area, due to shortage of foodstuffs, the acreage planted to sugar cane dwindled by more than one-third in 1941. Yet in nearby Chengtu and Tatsu, one-fourth to one-third of the annual crop was a marketable surplus.

Traffic with other parts of the country was even more difficult. Industrial products from Shanghai had to travel a round-about route through Northwest China to reach Chengtu. Thus, transport difficulties greatly impeded the normal flow of commodities between the Southwest and other areas.

Szechuan's Railway Lifeline

This was why, for the past forty years, the people of Szechuan so earnestly urged and dreamed of the building of a railway life line for the development of their rich resources. The Manchus, the warlords, and then the Kuo-mintang reactionaries extorted large sums from the people ostensibly to build this line. But, of course, nothing ever came of these promises, and, up to the time of liberation, not a single rail had been laid.

As soon as the Southwest was liberated, however, the People's Government immediately set out to find means to satisfy the needs of the people. When it was finally announced that the line was to be built by the Chinese people's own efforts with home-made materials throughout, not a few people were sceptical. For in the entire history of railway construction in China, the necessary capital, technical skill and all the materials down to the last spike

had to be imported from abroad. These doubts, however, were soon swept away by the most eloquent of arguments—facts.

Construction of the railway was started on June 15, 1950 and completed in record time, exactly two years later, on June 13, 1952. About 25,000 members of the People's Liberation Army spearheaded the building of the roadbed. They fought on the construction front as heroically and resourcefully as they did on battle fronts during the War of Liberation. In November, 1950, some 100,000 emancipated peasants took over from them. Realising that the railway was being built for the benefit of their own present and future, the peasant builders worked with enormous enthusiasm. They quickly adopted the experience of their predecessors and, in addition, advanced many rationalisation proposals that greatly enhanced efficiency. Many of them have since become highly skilled railroad builders.

Workers in the Southwest contributed by fulfilling all orders for steel rails, implements and tools ahead of schedule.

The railroad builders were solidly supported by the entire country. Thousands of tons of building materials and equipment, including locomotives, bridge spans and steel products, poured into Szechuan each month from Northeast, North, East and Central-South China. Maintenance workers from Shanghai and Tsinan not only helped to put the maintenance work of the new railway on a sure basis but also trained hundreds of skilled maintenance workers on the job. Workers throughout the country watched the progress of the railway with keen interest. They helped at every opportunity to ensure the high quality of products for the line. Teamsters voluntarily reduced their charges and gave priority to goods bound for the railway.

This mass support has ensured that the Chengtu-Chungking railway fully measures up to the exacting technical standards of a people's railway. The Kuomintang plan had called for a narrow-gauge line, and even on paper it had many inconsistencies. The present standard-gauge Chengtu-Chungking railway has been designed in accordance with the standards and requirements specified by the Ministry of Railways of the Central People's Government. The roadbed has been considerably widened

over the original plan. Curves and slopes were improved during the actual construction, reducing the original total length of 530 kilometres to 505. Advanced Soviet building methods were adopted, and these in no small measure contributed to the high quality of the road, particularly in the designing of the rails, the laying of the roadbed and many bridges.

The railway has not only set a record in tempo of construction, it is also the most reliably and best built line in the entire country. What is more, it is the first time that the Chinese people have built a railway entirely with their own hands and their own resources. This has been a special source of pride to the people.

Letters have poured into newspaper editorial offices throughout the country expressing heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao, the organiser and inspirer of the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking railway. The fact that, in a little over two and a half years after the liberation of Szechuan province, the People's Government has completed a task that proved beyond the powers of past regimes, speaks eloquently of the superiority of the system of people's democracy.

A People's Railway

The Chengtu-Chungking railway is the people's own railway. From the very day construction work was started, it brought new happiness to the people of the Southwest. Orders for construction materials for the railway revived more than 400 steel and machine tool plants in Chungking alone. Other industries such as cement, the building trades, bricks and tiles, saw mills, chemical and electrical appliances were also restored and developed.

As the railway opened to traffic section by section, towns along the route began to experience an unprecedented prosperity. Yungchuan, for example, has taken on an entirely new appearance. New buildings are going up all around the railway station and many new industrial and commercial enterprises have started operations to meet the rapidly expanding market. It has become an important collecting point for grains. Every day long mule trains bring in grains from the countryside for transport to Chungking and other major cities.

With the opening of the new railway, it is estimated that over 1,200 items of local pro-

ducts of the Southwest, including Sikang and Tibet specialties such as yak wool and medicinal herbs which were not available in other areas in the past, can now be shipped to East, North and Central-South China in large quantities. For example, hemp can now be brought by rail from Chengtu to Chungking at a little more than 6 per cent of the former cost of transportation by truck. This immeasurably increases the possibility of sales in faraway markets.

Inter-regional price differentials are already being rapidly reduced with benefits to production in general. Sugar cane yields in the Neikiang area increased by 36 per cent last year over 1950 and cane sugar production in

the current year is expected to reach a new high of 200,000 tons. Output of linen in Lungchang increased by more than 120 per cent over last year, and the tobacco output in the Chengtu area increased nearly fourfold compared with 1951.

Great and beneficent as it is, the Chengtu-Chungking railway is only a beginning. In a few years' time, the Chengtu-Tienshui line will be completed which will link up the Southwest with the Northwest and the rest of China. With the completion of other lines for the Southwest in the near future, the Chengtu-Chungking railway will then become an integral part of the nation-wide railway network.

A Victory on the Yangtse River

Su Ming

The Chinese people hail a great new victory in national construction—the completion ahead of time of the huge flood detention basin, capable of storing from 5,500 to 6,000 million cubic metres of water, along the dangerous middle reaches of the Yangtse river.

Modern flood gates opening from the Yangtse will permit the waters when they rise to danger level to pass harmlessly into the detention basin.

This newest achievement is unprecedented in scale in China, closely rivals the Huai river project and is one of the great engineering works of the world. By removing a four-centuries-old menace of flood, it will bring security to the 3 million people who live on the Kiangnan plain in Hupeh province—a rich rice and cotton-growing area. It will protect 533,000 hectares of land producing a normal annual harvest of 1,500,000 tons of rice, and a large quantity of cotton.

This achievement has involved over 15 million cubic metres of earth-work and stone work; 110,000 cubic metres of concrete work, as well as more than 100 million ton-kilometres of transport—providing supplies for the project and its builders. Many other auxiliary works were also completed: the laying of 130

kilometres of light railways, 90 kilometres of highways and so on.

The whole project was grand in conception. It included: (1) the fortifying of the 133-kilometre-long Chin dyke along the northern bank of the middle section of the Yangtse river (here known as the Chin river); (2) the construction of the flood detention basin itself, by building an oval-shaped dyke around an area of 920 square kilometres south of the Yangtse and east of the Hutu river, with a storage capacity of 5,500 million to 6,000 million cubic metres of water; (3) the building of a regulator—a movable dam 1,054 metres long with 54 openings (sluices) at Taipingkou, the northern or entering end of the detention basin to let in the flood waters from the Yangtse river; and (4) the building of a second regulator 337 metres long with 32 openings (sluices) at Huangshantou to control the flow of water from Yangtse river and the flood detention basin into Tungting lake through the Hutu river in case of emergency. (Still another movable dam will be built later at Wuliangan to control the outflow from the basin back to the Yangtse river.)

This huge work was completed by 300,000 workers—local peasants from Hupeh and Hunan, men of the People's Liberation Army, technicians and engineers and industrial workers from many parts of the country—in 75 days

of tireless, devoted labour, and 15 days ahead of schedule!

* * *

The Yangtse river, China's longest, is in the main a bountiful giant. Its water irrigates one-fifth of China's soil. Half of the country's rice and 40 per cent of its cotton are grown in its basin. Together with its tributaries, its 40,000 kilometre navigational system carries half of China's inland trade. But the Chin section on the middle reaches is treacherous, especially the section from Shasi to Hohsueh. During the biggest flood season, the water level here was 10 to 14 metres above ground level. Only the Chin dyke was there to protect the lives and properties of 3 million people. But the Chin dyke was neglected and even wilfully destroyed by past misrulers of the people. The 1931 flood, the worst in recent years, made more than 3 million people homeless and destitute; nearly 25,000 perished in the flood waters alone. Harnessing the Chin section of the Yangtse river was an urgent problem.

Now, after 75 days of arduous, creative labour, the completed work can deal with the heaviest flow of water known in fifty years.

A Nation-wide Effort

This is another concrete example of the superiority of the people's democracy. Personnel and materials were pooled from all over the country. The leadership of the Communist Party and the Central People's Government, the high political consciousness and patriotic creative labour enthusiasm of New China's working people and the aid of Soviet experience made this miraculous achievement possible.

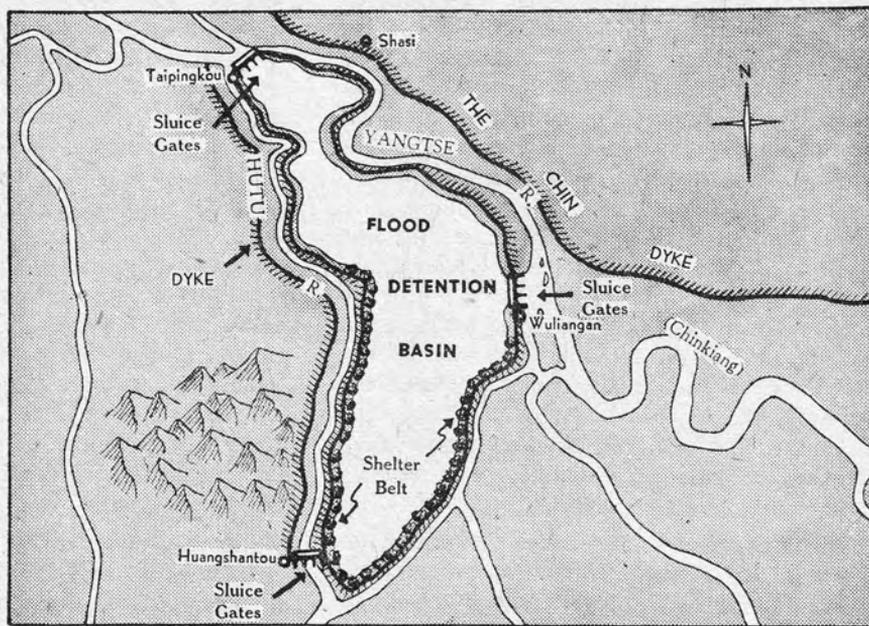
It has meant a battle, not only with nature, but with backward bourgeois engineering ideas. Experts trained in the West believed it impossible to do the work in less than three years. Based on advanced Soviet experience, however,

it was shown that it could be done in three months. The Chinese workers and technicians, applying advanced Soviet experience, did it in two and a half!

Normal American engineering practice demanded tens of thousands of foundation piles to bear the weight of the 440,000-ton movable dam. It would have taken one and a half years, even with 50 modern pile-drivers, to do this alone. In fact, no foundation piles have been used. The use of advanced Soviet technique ensures the Taipingkuo dam against sliding.

Lacking many modern machines and facilities, the builders showed a brilliant capacity for improvisation. For example, though there were only a third of the required number of concrete-mixers, the workers ingeniously devised so scientific a division and co-ordination of labour that they trebled the normal speed for completing concrete sections of the movable dam. Thousands of rationalisation ideas were put forward by the men at every stage of the work. Two rationalisation proposals made by four technicians working on the flood gates saved for the country a huge amount of steel material worth 4,300 million yuan.

The completion of such a great project within such a short space of time is unheard-of in the history of water conservancy in China. It has increased the confidence and the ability of the Chinese people in undertaking still larger-scale projects with bigger successes in the era of Mao Tse-tung.



Better Health for the People

Free Medical Service Extended

July 1, 1952, the 31st anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, brought with it very good tidings in the field of public health. On that day, the Government Administration Council promulgated a directive for the extension of the free medical service to cover all state-employees—workers in government organs and enterprises, personnel in people's organisations (such as the All-China Democratic Women's Federation) and the democratic parties.

The directive stipulates that the state will pay expenses incurred through illness, including doctors' and surgeons' fees and hospitalisation, for all those who are entitled to the free medical service. In cases where an individual finds it difficult to pay the cost of meals in hospital or travelling expenses to and from the doctor, subsidies may be obtained.

A free medical service was introduced long ago in the old liberated areas. Since the liberation of the whole country, it has been extended

systematically, first at certain focal points in some areas and for limited categories of people, then, with the promulgation of the *Labour Insurance Regulations* in 1951, it was extended to workers in industry, mining and railway. In the same year, free medical service was introduced on a trial basis in the old revolutionary base of northern Shensi and in a number of national minority areas. This year, it was adopted in various revolutionary bases of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-1936). Now the newly promulgated directive has further extended the scope of free medical service to include millions of people employed by the government, people's organisations and democratic parties.

This extension of the free medical service is a big step forward towards a fully Socialised medical service in China. It shows the government's concern for the health of public workers. It is also another concrete expression of the superiority of the New Democratic system.

The Patriotic Health and Sanitation Campaign

A mass patriotic health and sanitation campaign, launched and led by the People's Government in China this spring, has already resulted in vermin, flies and mosquitoes being virtually wiped out in some cities and their number being decisively reduced in every community throughout the country. This astounding success has been achieved because of the enthusiasm and determination with which the broad masses of the people carried out this campaign in the cities and villages. The efforts of the people, backed up by giant sanitation projects carried out by the government, have entirely changed the appearance of the cities. One of the important factors for the success of this patriotic movement has been the indignation and hatred aroused in the people towards the U.S. imperialists who are waging bacteriological warfare against Korea and China.

During this health and sanitation campaign and the drive for the prevention of disease, the residents of New China's capital, Peking,

achieved outstanding successes. Mosquitoes and flies are now practically non-existent and, for the first time, Peking residents can sleep comfortably without mosquito nets. Nor are there any flies in the markets. In the months of April and May alone, it is estimated that over 460,000 rats and mice and more than 59 million flies were killed in organised "hunts."

In Tientsin, North China, over 80% of the population took part in the city clean-up. Residents, including workers, soldiers and students, totalling 210,000 people, mobilised themselves to fill in or disinfect water-logged holes and stagnant pools covering a total area of over 266 hectares. Heaps of rubbish were cleared away. In Chingwantao, a dangerous, unwanted 2,300-metre long ditch was filled in. From 590 villages in Hopeh province alone, over one million tons of rubbish were removed.

In Shenyang (Mukden), Northeast China, residents cleared away more than 208,000 tons of rubbish during March and April and filled up over 40,000 square metres of insanitary

holes. The site of the "rubbish mound," formerly a notorious city dumping ground, is now a well-designed public square. Thirty-six residential groups won the "No Flies Group" title. The residents of Changsha cleared up 12,000 tons of rubbish. A broad street with modern drains now runs through the former "rubbish district." Several hundreds of thousands of people in two counties of Hunan province turned out and cleared away 400,000 tons of rubbish in ten days.

Chungking, "renowned" for its filth in pre-liberation days, has been improved beyond recognition during the past two years as a result first of municipal construction and second, the recent sanitation drive. As a result of this movement, over 90 million flies were wiped out, and it is now hard to find flies in the city area. Over 200 water purification stations were set up to make the water from the rivers and wells fit to drink.

The mass health campaign has not only improved the general appearance of China's cities but has also greatly improved public health.



Students of Peking's No. 1 Girls' Middle School take a morning run near the Pei Hai Park

All-China General Association of Physical Culture Founded

On June 20, 1952, the All-China General Association of Physical Culture was formally established at a meeting held in Peking, which was attended by 147 representatives from all parts of the country, the People's Liberation Army, government officials and specially-invited celebrities—physical culture experts, physiologists, combat heroes, model workers, and women fliers.

At the meeting, it was pointed out that, during the past three years, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government, the Preparatory Committee of the All-China General Association of Physical Culture has achieved excellent results in promoting physical culture among the masses. During the past three years, even according to incomplete data, over 400 sports meetings were held in provinces and municipalities with about a million athletes competing. In many places, sports meetings were

held specially for workers, soldiers, students or women. Records established at these meetings showed a steady improvement.

In schools, physical exercises are being systematically introduced and are becoming a part of the regular timetable. In the army, athletic activity is also one of the regular items of training. In the countryside, in areas where the land reform has been completed for some time, athletic activities have become common among the peasants. In Chintaichai village of Hueian district, Chahar province, for instance, every adult, youth and child takes part in athletic activities every day.

On December 1, 1951, broadcasting stations introduced physical exercise programmes. Now every morning a 12-minute physical training programme is broadcast from the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking and forty local stations in other big cities. The number of people joining in these wireless-

led physical exercises has grown tremendously. According to incomplete returns from Peking, Shanghai and eleven other cities, the number is now about 1,048,000. Students are the most active participants. In Peking alone, 230,000 students do these daily exercises. Workers in many government organs, factories and enterprises now join in these radio directed physical exercises as a regular practice. The expansion

of the broadcasting network has also enabled these programmes to reach rural districts and villages over a still wider area.

The founding of the All-China General Association of Physical Culture is an important step forward in the development of the people's physical culture.

—K.C.F.

Gather and Think Together

Rewi Alley

Through courtyards paved with great stones
Worn by the feet of ages; over marble bridges
By the sweet green of swaying trees
That sing so gently in the Summer's breeze
Under the golden glaze of palace roof tiles,
Mellowed red walls, all blending together
In quiet grandeur.

Then as we saunter, come quiet words

"Yes
at the end of last century
and at the beginning of this one
came united armies of the West;
they plundered and burnt; the records
of our past, the Hanlin Library, the
great palace of Yuan Ming Yuan, were
destroyed, along with much else; our people
wished to be let alone, but
opium was good business then."

And now our group—

A Ceylonese in yellow robe,
Indians, Australians, Americans,
Burmese, Japanese, New Zealanders,
A Soviet writer, a Chinese leader—
Just a few of the people from Asia and the Pacific
Now here in New Peking, the Peking plundered so
often

Now a place of the people; here to talk of one simple
thing
Peace among men.

"There were some eighty bronzes
set out along this front
but the Japanese Imperial Army took them
to make munitions to slaughter our people.
Yes, there were many other precious things
but Kuomintang officials sold them,
sold their birthright for pounds and dollars
to buy trash; the patience
of our people became exhausted."

Rewi Alley, educational worker and well-known in the co-operative movement, was a New Zealand delegate to the recent preparatory conference for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

Lastly, we enter a quiet court; slowly
Mount steps into a silent room, beauty
Without, stark, fantastic reality within,
For here is the place where the West,
The United Nations, the culture of power
Stands judged;

here
the evidence, bit by bit
piece by piece, has been assembled
an unfolding of the horror of man's
degradation; his utter debasement
his plans for mass murder
by bacteria.

From Kwantien Hsien, a school boy
shows how, on a snow-covered field

he and his comrades found bomb fragments
piles of infected feathers; then others
brought cardboard bombs that came with
parachutes,
long steel bombs with compartments,
bombs that fell asunder
to liberate death; products of the minds
of things that were men, now degenerates.

With shocking clarity, the press of the West
Stands its own accuser; showing how all
Has been so well prepared; planned
To the last detail, infected fish and frogs,
Crows and rats; and we look with shame at the
America
That has reduced herself in the eyes of new man
Defeated herself, drugged and infected herself.

And the scientist who has explained to us,
looks over his spectacles, pauses a moment
then says as though to himself, "we
shall never forget"—bitterly; and an Indian
fighter for peace, lifts his head and says
contemptuously
"fools"; and these words echo in all places
where common men
gather and think together.

The British People Want Friendship With China

Jack Dribbon

Secretary of the Britain-China Friendship Association

Britain faces one of the most critical periods in the history of her relations with China. The people of Britain want to end the war in Korea as quickly as possible, but this demand is ignored by the government, and instead it endorses every action taken by the United States which aims at extending the war to China.

The United States is hell-bent on keeping the war going unless the impossible terms presented to the Chinese and Koreans are accepted.

Though fully accepting the proposals of the United States on only partial repatriation, the *Times* on May 6 was forced to admit that full repatriation of all prisoners of war has been an accepted principle for "nearly two hundred years" and that the Geneva convention of 1949 is precisely what the Chinese and Koreans are demanding should be applied.

The hypocrisy of part of the press in Britain is absolutely revolting. On the same day, the *Times* wrote that "it is repugnant to liberal and Christian sentiment to force a man to return to his country against his will," but at the same time it maintained deadly silence on the brutal and bestial crimes committed by United States forces in China and Korea.

America Calls the Tune

The support of the British government for United States policy increases the danger of war with China. This policy, laid down by a foreign power, if persisted in, will bring to us nothing but disaster. The press of Britain tries to hide the truth about whose policy we are operating, but the press of the United States boasts that it is their policy. The *New York Times* on May 6 wrote:

"Tonight the United States delegation notified the Security Council that General Clark had been named to replace General Ridgway, but there was, of course, no suggestion that the council's approval was needed...this underlines the fact that the United Nations, as such, exerts no supervision over the conduct of the war or the armistice negotiations."

Why America Prolongs the War

There are two major reasons why the United States insists on prolonging the war. Following in the footsteps of the Japanese, the Americans want Korea as they want Taiwan as a base for attack on China. Foster Dulles wrote: "The United States will not stand idly by while any part of the world remains under Communist rule. American action in Korea was a step in this direction." And as to Taiwan, Secretary of Navy Kimball said "The United States navy would stand on the side and cheer any

An extract from the report of the secretary to the Annual Meeting of the Britain-China Friendship Association, May 10, 1952.

Chinese nationalist attempt to invade the mainland from Formosa."

The second major reason for the United States prolonging the war is the dread fear of a trade slump. The *Kiplinger Washington Letter*, circulated privately to businessmen, on April 12 wrote: "Just as prices spurted when the Korean war started, so they will dip when it ends." It does not enter the minds of United States businessmen or statesmen to develop their economy by peaceful trade. The *Herald Tribune* of April 7 cries aloud that "in all the campaign speeches and reports from Congress on economic subjects, not a single proposal or plan has been developed... to deal with the situation in the event of sudden peace." And on May 9, Cyril Osborne, a Conservative M.P., took up the cry: "Peace in Korea could bring absolute chaos to the economy of the western world."

The People Pay

To pay for this futile and bloody war in which Britain is now engaged, the living standards of the people have to be sacrificed. Prices are rising, social services are being cut. About 800,000 men and women are unemployed or only partly employed. Dozens of textile mills are closed and thousands of textile workers unemployed.

Opportunities for finding employment through British-Chinese trade are prevented by the United States and callously disregarded by the government. The contracts signed by the British and Chinese delegates at the International Economic Conference are only tasters of what proper normal trade relations with China could bring to us. Trade running into hundreds of millions is a possibility. In 1951, British exports to China were less than two and three quarter million pounds, the lowest on record.

China offers an ever-expanding market to Britain in trade on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. China's march forward to industrialisation is in no way lessened by the American-imposed embargo which Britain dutifully carries out. On the contrary, it is because of the embargo that "China's industry has made a further leap forward in its range of output."

End The War

The British people can have no interest in war with China. On the contrary, it is in the best interests of the British people to offer encouragement and to help forward the advance of China and to build friendship with her people.

Whatever has been done in the past to further this aim is nothing compared to what must be done in the future. Our main task in the coming months, to which every effort must be directed, is to end the war in Korea. The British people will respond to this call. They will build lasting peace, friendship and trade with China.

Mrs. Pandit Refutes American Slanders

Continuing their campaign of slander against the people's China and their attempts to destroy the ever-growing friendship for peace between the Chinese and Indian peoples, the U.S. imperialists' press has done all it can to distort the significance of the recent visit of the Indian Cultural Mission to China.

The leader of the delegation, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, refuted these slanders in a statement issued on June 26 through the Indian Information Service.

Associated Press, quoting unnamed sources, carried the slander that members of the delegation were under "strict control" while in China. To this, Mrs. Pandit replied as follows:

"A number of interpreters were assigned to the mission for obvious reasons. Chinese courtesy is proverbial... It was necessary to take interpreters with us when we went out, whether sightseeing or shopping or for any other purpose, since none of us knew Chinese."

Another lie was that, during the May Day parade, special measures were taken by the Chinese government "including assignment of substantial army units along with the parade to prevent any possible disturbances."

"This again is untrue," states Mrs. Pandit. "No army units were posted anywhere for the purpose mentioned. The parade was a most disciplined, orderly and impressive one, and only civilians in very large numbers participated."

The *New York Times* even alleged that Mrs. Pandit was "distressed" to learn that people were working without pay on the Huai river project. But here is Mrs. Pandit's own reply to this "report."

"Reference has also been made to the conscription of 'forced labour' for the purpose of building the Huai river dam. So far as we know, there was no question of 'forced labour.' It is a well-known fact that the Huai river dam was built through the willing co-operation of about two million peasants who were paid cattles of rice which is the usual form of payment for work done by them."

Mrs. Pandit concluded:

"The over-all impression of the mission was one of admiration for the enthusiasm and the disciplined energy with which the people of China are tackling the difficult tasks that face them, and for the measure of success they had obtained."

The publication of Mrs. Pandit's statement once more exposes the bankruptcy of the enemies of friendship between the peoples.

Peking Scientists Refute U.S. Germ War Denials

Twenty-nine Peking bacteriologists have refuted in a blunt statement an attempt by certain American scientists to deny that the U.S. imperialists have resorted to germ warfare.

"On behalf of Peking bacteriologists whose duty it is to defend mankind and peace," says the statement, "we want to point out the unscientific arguments of the American scientists Doctors C. H. Curran and R. Dubos in their recent statements in the American press. In the first place, we must declare that we have fully established U.S. use of bacteriological warfare in Korea and Northeast China. U.S. military aircraft have dropped large quantities of insects and infected objects in these areas, and bacteriologists working in different laboratories have isolated pathogenic organisms from these insects and other objects.

"We will now point out the errors in the statements of Doctors Curran and Dubos. A U.S.I.S. New York dispatch of March 31 reports Dr. Curran as saying in an article in the *New York Times* that 'the germs of both bubonic plague and typhus die quickly upon exposure to both bright sunshine and cold air.' He writes: 'They do not survive in temperatures below freezing. For this reason, it would be impossible to disperse them in winter time.'

"But every bacteriologist knows that cold is the best means to preserve most germs. And Dr. R.

Dubos, a noted bacteriologist, in his book *Bacterial and Mycotic Infections of Man*, explicitly stated that germs can resist cold and even survive many days in a freezing environment (pages 381 and 491). In the chapter on bubonic plague of the same book, Dubos specifically stated that the germs remain virulent 'even up to ten years.' (page 419)

"While it is true that direct sunshine is injurious to germs, Dr. Curran deliberately omits the fact that U.S. military aircraft spread germs at night or in cloudy weather. He also deliberately makes no mention of the fact that the U.S. aggressors' bacteriological weapons include many specially cultured cold-resistant insects, as well as animals and even rats as carriers of pathogenic organisms. We clearly know that sunshine has no, or hardly any, effect on pathogenic organisms inside or on the bodies of insects and rats. Hence the main argument in Curran's denial of the use of germ warfare cannot be established.

"In his statement in the *New York Times* of April 3 commenting on the photographs published in the *Peking People's Daily* of March 15, Dr. Curran says: 'From a close scrutiny of the pictures it is quite obvious that none of the insects illustrated are capable of carrying disease.' In the same issue of this *New York Times*, Dr. Dubos also tries to defend the criminals who use germ warfare against the

people of China and Korea. He arbitrarily and maliciously concludes: 'It was an almost amateurish attempt at scientific fakery and none of the bacteria were what they were set out to be. And none of the bacteria they were alleged to be could be carried by insects.'

"All bacteriologists know that insects can spread germs in various ways. One way is that blood-sucking insects ingest the germs and, after the germs multiply inside the host, it spreads the germs to human beings. Another way is that insects spread germs as mechanical carriers, especially pathogenic organisms affecting human gastro-intestinal tracts and those which are directly contagious to man. Since this is the case, there is no reason to deny that flies can carry anthrax bacilli, typhoid bacilli, or dysentery bacilli, or that wolf spiders can carry organisms of the Pasteurella group. We deeply regret that Doctors Curran and Dubos, who have made scientific contributions, blindly and sophistically try to defend the inhuman germ war criminals, while captured American airmen have already admitted the crime.

"All scientists with conscience express deep hatred for the aggressors who usurp the achieve-

ments of scientific researches and turn science into a tool for mass slaughter. We Chinese bacteriologists, who have established the American use of germ warfare by our own investigations and examinations, condemn those depraved scientists who work in germ factories and prove themselves traitors to science and human conscience.

"We consider that the data published thus far by the Chinese and Korean peoples fully establish the fact that the American aggressors are using germ warfare. We hope that all decent scientists throughout the world, including those in the United States, will see the threat and shame the American germ war criminals are bringing to civilisation and the dignity of science, will see their own noble task in the defence of human justice and the dignity of science and will take active measures to check germ warfare."

The signatories include Tang Fei-fan, director of the National Vaccine and Serum Institute; Samuel H. Zia, professor at the Chinese Union Medical College; Li Hsi-kan, professor, Department of Bacteriology, Medical College, Peking University; Fang Kang, research associate of the National Institute of Health; and Ma Yu-cheng, technical expert of the National Vaccine and Serum Institute.

Peace Conference Chronicle

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

More delegates to the conference preparatory committee who were unable to attend the preparatory meeting from June 3-6 have arrived in Peking. They are Professor Mario Silva; Otto Raul Gonzalez, poet; Jose Manuel Sanchez, trade union leader and railway mechanic; and Atala Valenzuela, woman teacher, all of Guatemala. Professor Mario Silva is a leader of the peace movement in his country.

Edelberto Torres, secretary-general of the Committee in Defence of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua, also arrived in Peking with the Guatemalan delegates.

The National Committee of the Lien-Viet (National United Front of Viet-Nam) and the Viet-Nam Peace Committee has called on the people of Viet-Nam to support the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions to be held in Peking by the end of September this year. The two committees have already set up a preparatory committee to mobilise support for the conference and to make arrangements for Viet-Nameese representation.

A four-hour meeting in Tokyo commemorating the Korean war anniversary on June 25 gave support to the coming conference. The meeting stressed the need to fight for peace in Asia and the rest of the world and for implementation of the Sino-Japanese trade agreement recently concluded in Peking.

Six leading figures in the Japanese peace movement who were refused passports by the Yoshida government to attend the preparatory conference have expressed warm support for the conference in a letter to Chairman Mao Tse-tung written on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the Japanese imperialist attack on China in 1937. The letter is signed by I. Oyama, member of the House of Councillors; J. Matsumoto, former Vice-Chairman of the House of Councillors; K. Uda, general manager of the Yokogawa Steel Corporation; I. Kamichika, director of the Women's News Service; N. Sakurazawa, chairman of the World Government Association, and M. Hatanaka, general secretary of the Japanese Press Correspondents' Association.

The signatories condemn the malicious policies carried out in Japan directed against China and tell of the lot of the Japanese people under the yoke of rearmament for the purpose of war against the U.S.S.R. and China. The preparations for the conference, coming at this juncture of Japanese affairs, says the letter, caused the Japanese people to "spontaneously and in one accord lift their voices in gratitude."

Active preparations continue in many other countries to send delegates to the conference when it convenes in Peking in the latter part of September.

The Battle for Peace at Panmunjom

Our Correspondent

The attention of the world is focussed on two small tents in the ruined hamlet of Panmunjom. It is here that the champions of peace, the representatives of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers, are making their unyielding stand for peace in Asia against the aggressors, for one of the most urgent tasks of the struggle for world peace—the bringing about of an armistice and the early restoration of peace in Korea.

Firm in the support of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the Korean and Chinese peoples have carried on their struggle and forced the American aggressors to agree to start armistice negotiations a year ago. Despite the most varied delaying tactics and provocations by the American warmongers during the past year, they have steadily pursued their aim of peace, until today there remains only the one question of P.O.W. repatriation to be settled on the conference agenda.

On this question, too, the Americans have continued to use all their cunning and venom to prevent a settlement and cover up their plans for the forcible detention of captured personnel of the democratic forces to use as cannon fodder for new adventures. But one after another, their subterfuges have been exposed and gone bankrupt, not least because of the heroic resistance of the Korean and Chinese P.O.W's to their goalers' continuing blackmail, terror and so-called "screening" in order to force them to denounce their right of repatriation.

On July 1, the American delegates were forced by the reality of the military situation and the pressure of world opinion to return to the meetings of the armistice teams and, dropping their bluster about their "final and irrevocable" ultimatum, state that they "sincerely seek an armistice in order to stop bloodshed in Korea" and that they were willing to seek a settlement of the P.O.W. repatriation question "which in a reasonable degree meets the requirements of both sides."

Sincere at all times in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the Korean and Chinese side at the talks accepted this American statement, and at the July 3 meeting, proposed that in conformity with the principles of paragraphs 51 and 52 of the draft armistice agreement (which stipulate that all prisoners of war, held at the time the armistice agreement comes into effect, should be released and repatriated as soon as possible; that their repatriation should be in conformity with the lists which "have been exchanged and checked by the respective sides prior to the signing of the agreement," and that these war prisoners shall not take part again in acts of war after repatriation), both sides should reclassify

P.O.W's according to nationality and area and check P.O.W. name lists so that P.O.W's could be repatriated to lead a peaceful life. To facilitate practical negotiations, it was also proposed that meetings should enter into executive (closed) sessions. These started on July 4.

The signing of an early armistice, however, clearly depends on whether the U.S. sticks to its big lie of "screening." Having much experience with these aggressors, however, the Chinese and Korean peoples know well that the utmost vigilance is required at every stage to ensure the bringing about of a just peace.

New Provocations

This was grimly proved again only recently when the American air force carried out their grave provocation of bombing among other non-military installations, the Yalu river power stations which are not military objectives but supply electricity for the peaceful use of the people. The seriousness of this provocation was at once recognised by all who have the interests of peace at heart. Protests were immediately raised in all the peace-loving countries and peace-loving bodies in many lands. The most solemn protests were made by the organised peace movement in China and by its leading people's organisations. Typical of many resolutions was that of the All-India Peace Council which stated that "such attacks can only extend the area of the Korean war and create a serious danger to world peace."

Even in the camp of the U.S. satellites, there was a feeling of panic at the reckless playing with fire of the American warmongers. The bombing of the Yalu river hydroelectric installations, stated a U.P. London dispatch of June 25, brought about a "seething political crisis" in Britain as a result of which the "fate of the (Churchill) government is at stake."

The danger of the adventurist acts of the American aggressors was underlined by the Peking *People's Daily* which on June 28 wrote editorially:

"... all 'military pressure' of the American aggressors can have only one outcome—total defeat.

"All the serious consequences arising from this monstrous crime must be borne entirely by the American aggressors."

"No 'military pressure' will ever succeed in intimidating the Korean and Chinese people," stated a commentator at Kaisung. "The Americans will have to suffer serious consequences arising from their savage provocations which will never alter the consistent attitude of the Korean-Chinese side."



Ballad Singers of Kwangsi

China's countryside is rich in songs, particularly ballads with or without musical accompaniment. Kwangsi, perhaps, is outstanding in this, but practically every province has its own characteristic art. Today, however, they have a new trait in common—everywhere new ballads sing the new themes of contemporary revolutionary life.

Our Kwangsi peasants love to sing, and the ballad is their favourite song form. Ballad singing is indeed an inseparable part of their daily lives.

I lived for a time in north Kwangsi among the mountain villages of Liucheng county. Here each village retains a rich cultural heritage of centuries-old tradition. Each has its own ballad singers. They compose impromptu verses on all festive occasions or whenever a particular scene or event stirs their imagination. The villagers listen eagerly to these ballads. In the slack farming season, engrossed in the singing, they sometimes stay up late into the night until the first rooster calls the dawn.

Ballads have played an important role in all the peasant movements. With the liberation, as elsewhere, new ballads filled with a new political content have been composed; the old style ballads are now rarely heard. There is singing at every mass meeting. As naturally as other people speak, the peasants of Kwangsi express their political thoughts and the emotions they evoke in song.

Those singing evenings have left an unforgettable impression on me. Through the long, slow moving night, around a merrily crackling fire, the peasants sit warming themselves and talking. Suddenly one will raise his voice in song, singing of the land reform or the stirring exploits of the Chinese people's volunteers on the Korean front.

Once the delegates of the farmhands and poor peasants held a

meeting at the school house—a former temple in the Mountain Throat *hsiang*. Red flags waved gaily in the breeze. Dance troupes who had come with their delegates performed the *yangko*. Then two peasant women, the best ballad singers of the locality, sang about the hopes the peasants placed in their delegates. They composed their words and tune as they went along with miraculous facility and aptness. It started to rain, but the audience would not disperse. A rainbow stood in the sky like a gala archway.

"Policy Singers"

Ballad singer Huang San-ti is known to every one of the 150,000 peasants in Liucheng county. No one uses his real name any more. He is known simply as *Sanko*—"Ballad." No guest is more welcome, or invited more pressingly to stay "just one night more." He has been singing now for 21 years and made his start when he was only 18. Before liberation his ballads were the strange romances handed down from of old. Now he has adapted his art to modern themes. Tell him the story of a labour model or combat hero once and he can immediately compose a ballad on it without missing a single detail. Once the county cultural centre gave a lantern show of coloured slides made by the young artist attached to the centre. Ballad was told the story beforehand and as each slide was shown, he sang along with it. Together with a quick grasp of things and his rich imagination, his emotional reactions are closely attuned to those of the peasants. It was an effective performance. Once he had a contest with another well-known ballad singer. It lasted several nights, and Ballad was the victor.

In September, 1951 the Communist Party county committee called a delegate conference on propaganda work in preparation for the land reform. A ballad propaganda team was formed, with Huang San-ti and others as leaders and a few

cadres to guide them on policy. They studied the land reform policy and composed ballads on how some of the landlords amassed their ill-gotten wealth and the "seventeen tricks" used by them to resist the land reform. Then they set out for the villages. In three months, composing fresh material on the way, they toured every village in the area. In Lohsia district they sang for six nights to audiences totalling more than 2,500 peasants. In Kenghsiang county, hundreds came to hear them sing despite the driving rain and gusty winds. The ballads, said the peasants, helped everyone to understand the policy better and hate the landlord system the more.

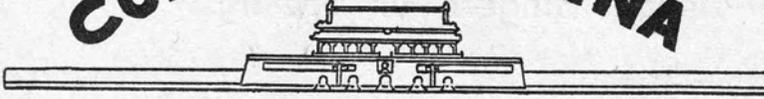
In Lungta village, Huang San-ti sang about the crimes of the local landlord despot. "Every word is true!" cried the peasants. Another singer told how his brother had been killed by a landlord and how he himself had slaved for ten years as his serf. Singer and audience were moved to tears. "A hundred hours of straight propaganda work can't compare with two hours of your singing," said the cadres who were helping the land reform in that district.

From north to south of the country, countless ballad singers have appeared. They sing of the great campaigns of the masses under the leadership of the Communist Party. The people call these people's artists: "policy singers."

Is it any wonder? Feudalism has been swept from our land, and together with it, the weeping years. A mass choir of strong and healthy voices sings the people's hopes and plans and the victories of the revolution.

Many of the ballads of the peasants have now been recorded and published to the delight of city-folk. By this means, the songs of the localities are being spread throughout the land, enriching and developing each other.

CURRENT CHINA



CPC Anniversary Celebrated

The 31st anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China was enthusiastically celebrated throughout China on July 1.

Big celebration meetings were held in Peking, Tientsin, Shenyang (Mukden), Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Canton, Sian, Lhasa and other major cities in China. Mass rallies in Chungking and Chengtu were held simultaneously with the ceremonies on the occasion of the opening of the new Chengtu-Chungking railway.

Workers celebrated the anniversary with emulation drives for higher output and greater efficiency. The workers of the North China Agriculture Machinery Plant in Peking publicised seven advanced working methods to increase efficiency. They were part of the 143 rationalisation proposals made by the workers. The Peking *People's Daily* was flooded with letters of gratitude from industrial workers. In their own simple language the workers described the wonderful changes in their life, their happiness, pride, enthusiastic spirit and confidence in their prosperous future. All this, they wrote, they owe to the great Communist Party of China.

2nd Anniversary of Korean War

The second anniversary of the war in Korea was marked on June 25 in Peking, Shanghai, Sian and other cities with meetings at which the Chinese people once again reaffirmed their determination fully to support the Korean people in their war of resistance against American aggression.

The newspapers published a communique of the Korean People's Army General Headquarters, revealing that between June 26, 1951 and June 15, 1952 the enemy lost 325,479 men killed, wounded and captured, as well as those who had surrendered. Included in these losses were 185,885 officers and men of the puppet Syngman Rhee's

forces, 129,945 American, 7,445 British, three French, 462 Turkish, 1,181 Canadian, 82 Filipino, 406 Thai, 53 Greek and 17 Columbian troops.

In the same period, the people's forces brought down 3,692 enemy aircraft and damaged another 2,230.

The China Peace Committee published a special report on the results of the nation-wide heavy arms donation campaign. The report showed that between June 1, 1951 and May 31, 1952 the Chinese people had donated more than 5,565,000 million yuan, which is equivalent to the cost of 3,710 fighter planes.

On the occasion of the anniversary, a special photo exhibition on the war in Korea was opened in Peking. The exhibition shows the heroic resistance of the Korean People's Army and Chinese people's volunteers and describes the support people throughout the world are giving the Korean people.

Peasants to Pay Less Tax

The Government Administration Council on June 16 announced new reduced rates for agricultural taxes. At the same time, a new system for their collection was introduced.

The new system is based on the average annual agricultural income of every member of a family. The new minimum tax rate is set at 7% of the peasant's annual income. For the majority of peasants the rate will range from 11 to 15%. Peasants in economic difficulties because of natural calamities, lack of manpower or disability, and families of people's army men are either completely exempted from tax or pay on a reduced scale.

Taxes this year will be collected only by the Central People's Government. All local additional taxes, which took up some 20% of the total public grain tax, have been abolished.

Under the Kuomintang regime, a peasant had to pay between 50 and 80% of his harvest to the landlord. Out of what was left to him, he had to pay between

30% and 60% in taxes to the Kuomintang government. The abolition of this ferocious tax system saved the peasants some 30 million tons of grain a year.

Banks Cut Rates on Loans

A 20-50% cut on rates of interest was announced by the People's Bank of China in a directive to its branch offices throughout the country. The reduction came into force on June 25.

The reduced rates for loans apply to and will stimulate both public-owned and private enterprises. The cut will reduce costs of industrial production. In agriculture, the new rates will also stimulate production as they apply to loans granted by the state to peasants.

In Shanghai, for instance, rates for loans to industrial enterprises have been reduced to between 0.0105 and 0.0165%, i.e. between 28% and 50%; rates for loans to commercial concerns have been reduced to between 0.0135 and 0.0195, i.e. between 19% and 39%. Rates for letters of credit have been reduced to 0.0135, i.e. by 31%. Interest rates for current deposits remain unchanged.

Interest rates have been on the decline since March, 1950, when the People's Government put a stop to the inflation which had been ravaging the country for more than 12 years. The first reduction of interest rates was announced in April, 1950, bringing down deposit interest by 70-85% and loan interest charges by 55-70%. Interest rates continued to fall in 1952. The present reduction is a direct result of successful campaigns to reduce waste, increase economies and production.

Aid for Indians and Japanese

A sum of 2,000 million yuan (equivalent to 421,941 rupees), has been collected by people all over the country for the relief of victims in famine areas of India. This sum was sent to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, president of the Red Cross Society of India, on June 21 by Li Teh-chuan, chairman of the National Red Cross Society of China.

Another sum of 200 million yuan was collected by the people and sent to Japan for the relief of the victims of an earthquake and tidal wave in Tokachioki, Hokkaido.

Soong Ching Ling, chairman of the People's Relief Administration of China, has received a letter from Tatsuji Fuse, chairman of the Japanese Association for the Rescue of Citizens, acknowledging the receipt of the money.

The Chinese people learned of the calamities through a letter sent by the Tsukisabu Housewives' Association to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Federation of Industrialists and Businessmen

Representatives of industrialists and businessmen from all over China held a 10-day conference from June 20 to June 30 in Peking, at which they planned the organization of their national federation—the All-China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Circles. The conference decided upon and set up a preparatory committee, which has been entrusted with the task of forming the federation.

The conference was presided over by Chen Shu-tung, who was elected chairman of the preparatory committee. In his opening address he said: "This meeting has rallied and united the industrial and commercial circles throughout the country. Our country will soon launch large-scale planned economic construction. People throughout the country want industrialists and businessmen to take an active part in speeding up the industrialisation of our country."

The preparatory committee will exercise the functions of the All-China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Circles until the latter comes into being. The committee is composed of 160 members of which 31 form its standing committee.

The preparatory committee will guide industrialists and businessmen in carrying out the principles of the *Common Programme* and will help them develop production and improve business management methods. It will look after the legitimate interests of industrialists and businessmen in general, and convey their opinions and make proposals to the People's Government.

The conference was attended by 414 representatives from all parts of China including Tibet, Inner

Mongolia and Taiwan (Formosa). 320 delegates represented private industry and trade including handicraftsmen and pedlars; state-owned enterprises and co-operative bodies were represented by 76 delegates. There were 18 specially invited delegates.

News Briefs

The first Soviet ambassador to New China, N. V. Roschin, who had been recalled home, left Peking on July 1. A farewell party in his honour was given by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association on the eve of his departure. He had held diplomatic posts in China for 12 years.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the Dean of Canterbury Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Mrs. Johnson and Alfred Thomas d'Eye, lecturer at Oxford University, on June 29. Also present on the occasion was Premier Chou En-lai.

Chronicle of Events

June 20

Today's Hsinhua dispatch reports that a new system of agricultural tax was announced by the Government Administration Council on June 16.

June 23

Thousands of residents in Shigatse, capital of west Tibet, give a tumultuous welcome to Panchen Ngerhthelani on his arrival.

June 24

The All-China Athletic Association is founded in Peking with Ma Shulun, Minister of Education, as its president.

June 25

The 2nd anniversary of the Korean war is marked throughout China.

The first Korean film *Young Guerrilla* is shown simultaneously in all of China's major cities to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of the Korean war.

Moslems in China mark the end of Ramadan (Moslem month of fasting).

June 30

The national conference of representatives of industrialists and businessmen from all parts of China closes its 10-day meeting. It has decided to set up a preparatory committee to organise the All-China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Circles.

July 1

The 31st anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China is celebrated throughout the country.

Free medical treatment extending to all personnel in government agencies, democratic parties, people's organizations and their departments throughout China begins.

The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regional People's Government moved

from Kalgan, Jehol province, to Kweishui of Suiyuan province.

July 2

A photo exhibition on the 3rd anniversary of the death of Georgi Dimitrov, former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary, opens in Peking.

Mrs. Monica Felton, Stalin Peace Prize winner, arrives in Peking as guest of the China Peace Committee.

July 4

A message of condolence on the death of Mauno Pekkala, president of the Finland-China Society, is sent to the society by the China Peace Committee.

July 5

People's Bank of China protests against illegal decision of U.S. courts permitting Kuomintang war criminal H. H. Kung to seize Bank's assets worth U.S. \$600,000 deposited in Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.

July 6

The new Chengtu-Chungking railway is formally opened to traffic.

July 7

The 15th anniversary of the Chinese people's Anti-Japanese War is commemorated throughout the country.

LETTERS

Thanks for Good News

GLABAIS, BELGIUM

When I read your *People's China* periodical and other interesting publications from China I am enthused and excited by the good words and the happy news I read in them.

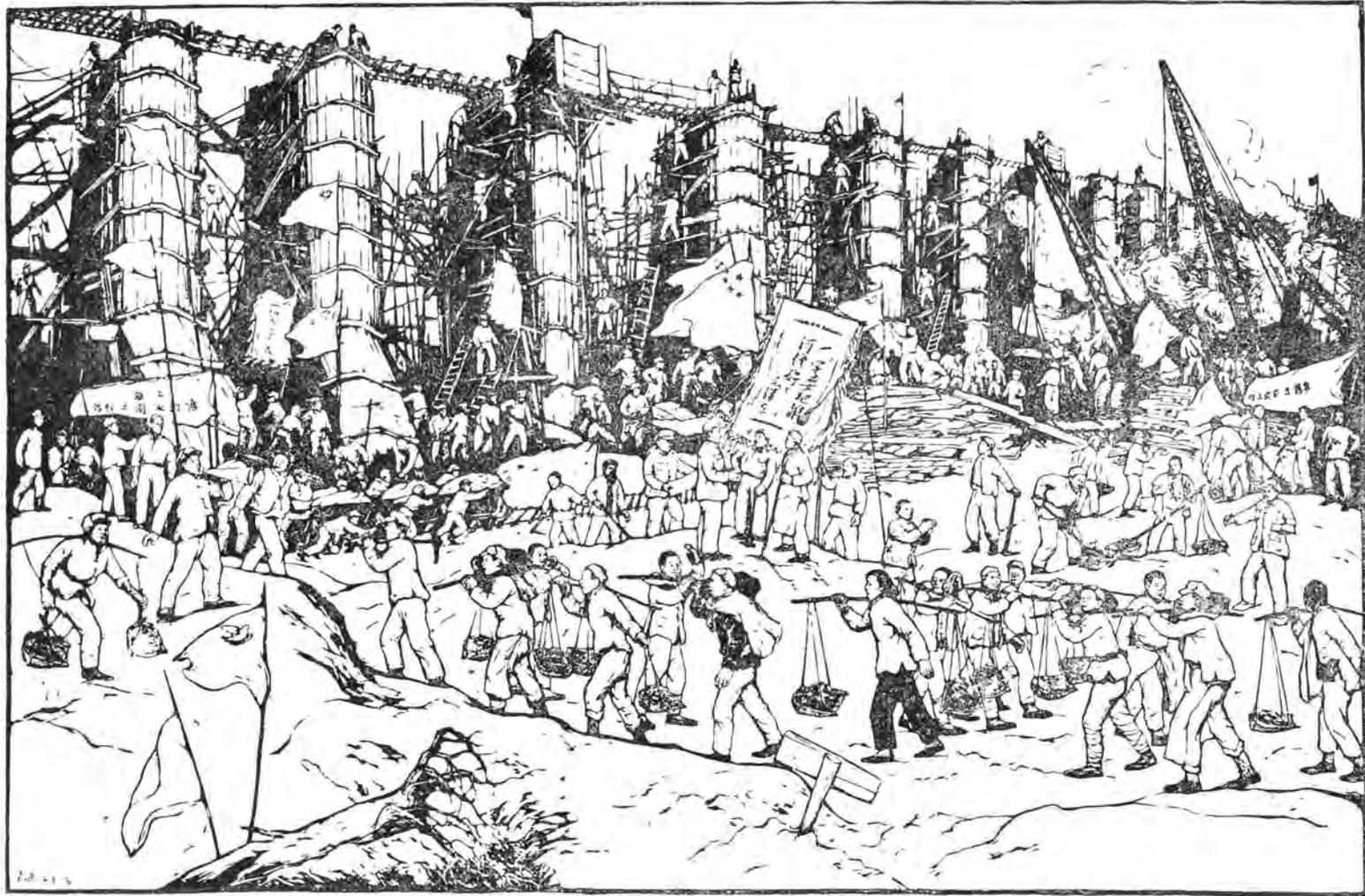
In Germany, from where I have just returned, people are demonstrating everywhere for the unity of Germany, for peace and especially against the puppets of the Bonn government, who are aiming at integrating West Germany in the aggressive and provocative Atlantic pact alliance.

People in Belgium and Germany are fully aware of the lies spread by the warmongers about the Democratic Republic of Germany and about our great friends, the Soviet Union and New China. You may be assured that in west Europe there is nowadays a great movement against American imperialism. I have never yet met one who says he wants to go to Korea because he is anti-Communist.

Among some of the population, literature on China is not easily obtainable; but ideas, like the wind, cross forbidden borders, they go everywhere they like.

I love your people, your country. Now I am learning Chinese. May be one day I shall be able to visit your lovely land.

J.S.



Building the dam on the Huai river

Woodcut by Yen Han