

PEOPLE'S CHINA



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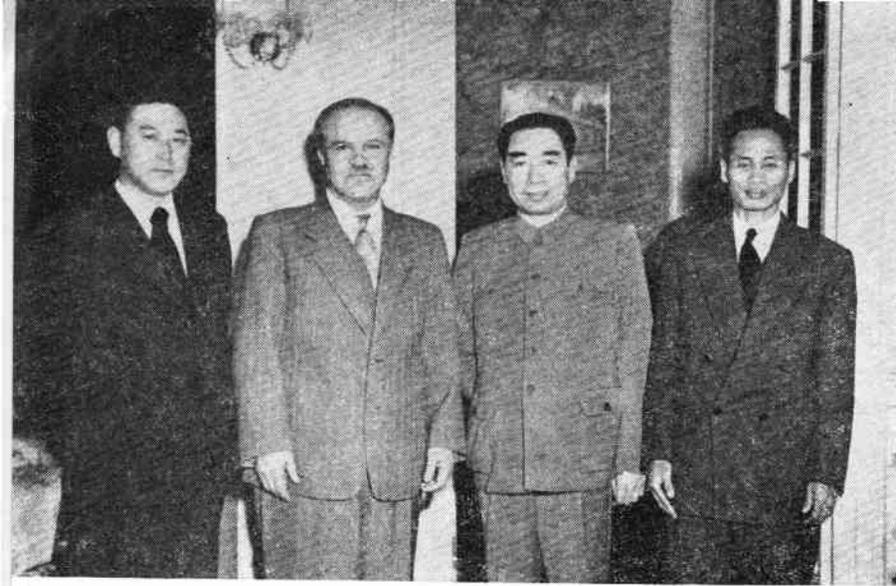
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AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE



The Foreign Ministers of the People's Republic of China, the U.S.S.R., the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam at the Geneva Conference. *Left to right:* Nam Il (Korea), V. M. Molotov (U.S.S.R.), Chou En-lai (China) and Pham Van Dong (Viet-Nam)



Members of the Chinese Delegation taking a walk in the grounds of their villa. *Left to right:* Chiao Kuan-hua, Wang Chia-hsiang, Shih Che, Chou En-lai, Chang Wen-tien, Huang Hua, Li Ke-nung and Chen Chia-kang

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai and the British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden at the Chinese Delegation's villa



Kung Peng (2nd from right), spokesman of the Chinese Delegation, receives a women's delegation from Haute Savoie, France



A Constitution For Socialism

Liu Tsun-chi

THE publication of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China has brought joy to the whole Chinese people.

This Draft Constitution sets forth the achievements of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people and puts before the nation and the world a grand design for building a socialist society, along with the political, economic and social institutions to ensure its successful fulfilment.

The Chinese people see in the Draft Constitution an affirmation of the gains made as a result of their victory in the century-old struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism, and the achievements made since the founding of the People's Republic of China as a result of their constructive work and the various social reforms they have carried through.

The articles of the Draft Constitution dealing with the political and economic system of China and the rights and duties of its people both reflect the real life of the Chinese people today and advance it another step into the future.

The Draft Constitution, in line with the basic demands and common aspirations of the Chinese people, provides that the state "shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society . . . through socialist industrialization and socialist transformation." And now that,

founded on the realities of the situation today, it will be set down as the law of the land, there is no doubt that this great task will be carried out.

A Constitution of a Socialist Type

The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which is to be submitted to the First National People's Congress for adoption, is of a socialist type, taking into account China's special features during its period of transition to socialism.

This socialist character is manifest in the first place in the articles on the class nature of the state. Although the constitution of every state basically serves the interests of the ruling class, not a single constitution of capitalist countries admits this fact. Our constitution, like those of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, has no need to conceal its class nature. Article 1 of the Draft Constitution states:

The People's Republic of China is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

The Chinese working class that led the nation in bringing the long past of imperialist and feudal oppression and enslavement to an end, is now striving to bring about the victory of socialism not only in its own interests but in the fundamental interests of the masses of the people.

At the same time, as the Preamble to the Draft Constitution states, a broad people's democratic united front, led by the Communist Party of China and composed of all democratic classes, parties, groups and people's organizations, will continue to play its part in mobilizing and uniting the people of the country for the struggle to accomplish the main task of the state in the period of transition, and oppose all internal and external enemies.

The Draft Constitution lays down as an objective prescribed by law that China is to be developed and transformed into a socialist state. It points out that China today has four types of ownership of the means of production. Of these, state ownership (ownership by the whole people) is socialist in nature, and cooperative ownership is either socialist or semi-socialist. Their part in the national economy will be developed and strengthened. On the other hand, ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership are to be transformed into socialist forms of ownership by evolution, the former through cooperation, and the latter through state-capitalism. It is stipulated that capitalist ownership will be replaced step by step with ownership by the whole people. This is the way by which China will march towards the goal of a socialist society.

Peaceful Advance to Socialism

The Draft Constitution points out that the special political and economic conditions which exist in China make it possible for the goal of socialism to be reached in a peaceful way. It stipulates that the state will protect according to law the private ownership of means of production and other property owned by peasants, handicraftsmen and capitalists. However, with the steady growth of the state-owned sector of the national economy and with the introduction of administrative and educational measures by the state, the private ownership of the means of production will be gradually and peacefully transformed into collective ownership by the working people or ownership by the people as a whole. This will ensure a steady growth of the productive forces. Such a peaceful transformation is possible because the state power led by the working class is now firmly established in China; the socialist, state-owned sector now dominates the national economy; and the

working people of the country have become more highly politically conscious than ever. This is vividly shown by the fact that in the past two years millions of peasants have been drawn into the movement for cooperation in agricultural production. Meanwhile capitalist industry and commerce, under the policy adopted by the state of "use, restrict and transform," is being step by step turned into various forms of state-capitalist economy.

All Power Belongs to People

As a constitution of a socialist type, the Draft Constitution makes adequate and specific provision to ensure that all power belongs to the people. The democratically elected National People's Congress is the supreme organ of state power; and in it is vested the entire legislative power of the state. No one individual, no other organs are allowed to exercise state power over or against the will of the National People's Congress. The Congress elects the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and decides on the appointment of the Premier and other members of the State Council, all of whom are required to carry out the decisions of the Congress and submit reports of their work to it. The National People's Congress has the right to remove any of the above-mentioned officials from office.

The relations existing between the local governments at every level, that is, local people's councils at every level, and the local people's congresses at corresponding levels, are similar to those existing between the State Council and the National People's Congress. The electoral units and electorates which elect deputies to the people's congresses at the various levels have the right to recall their deputies at any time according to the procedure laid down by law. All these provisions help to further the democratization of our country.

The Draft Constitution places all government workers under the supervision of the people. It provides that organs of the state shall maintain close contact with the masses and heed their opinions, and that citizens have the right to bring charges against any government worker for transgression of law or neglect of duty. In China, the people are the masters, while all government workers, in the words of Chairman

Mao Tse-tung, must be "the servants of the people."

Equality of Nationalities

The provisions of the Draft Constitution concerning relations among the nationalities also reflect the characteristics of a constitution of a socialist type. In contrast to the relations existing among nationalities under the capitalist system, relations among the nationalities in China are not determined by the economic dominance of any single nation. China is one big family of nations in which all nationalities are united, free and equal. The Draft Constitution prohibits discriminatory and oppressive acts against any nationality, and forbids any action that may undermine unity among them. Since the political, economic and social developments of the various nationalities in China are not entirely similar, the state will take care of the needs of the different nationalities, and, in the matter of socialist transformation, will give full consideration to special features of their development. The Draft Constitution provides that all the nationalities are free to develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs, habits and religious beliefs. It has also a special section laying down the organizational principles under which the national minorities shall exercise their extensive rights of autonomy.

Citizens' Rights and Duties

The superiority of a constitution of a socialist type in comparison with bourgeois constitutions finds striking expression in the provisions of the Draft Constitution on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. All citizens in China enjoy equal and extensive democratic rights. Still more significant is the fact that the Draft Constitution not only guarantees such rights but also lays down that the state shall provide the material conditions needed to ensure that citizens can enjoy them.

The right to elect and be elected is extended to all citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status or length of residence, with the exception of the insane and those persons who are by law deprived of their right to elect and

be elected. All election expenses are borne by the state. Any obstruction or infringement of the citizens' right to elect is strictly forbidden. All citizens have freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. "The state provides the necessary material facilities to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms." All citizens have freedom of religious belief.

The provisions on citizens' right to work and the rights of the working people are another important feature that distinguishes a socialist constitution from those of capitalist countries. The Draft Constitution stipulates:

Work is a matter of honour for every citizen of the People's Republic of China who is able to work.

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to work. Working people have the right to rest. The state prescribes regulations on working hours and holidays. The state is also steadily expanding material facilities for the working people's rest and recreation. Aged, sick and disabled working people do not have to worry about poverty and incapacity; they are entitled to material assistance. "To guarantee to working people the enjoyment of this right, the state provides social insurance, social relief and public health services and, step by step, expands these facilities."

The right of citizens to education, and freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities is guaranteed by the Draft Constitution. Material facilities for the enjoyment of such rights and freedoms are also provided by the state.

Whether a state is advanced or not can be judged by the extent to which its womanhood is emancipated. The Draft Constitution, while providing that all rights and duties are accorded to citizens irrespective of sex, also specifically provides that "women have equal rights with men to elect and be elected," and that "the state protects marriage, the family, the mother and child."

Over ten million Chinese reside overseas. When China was ruled by reactionary governments, they received from the mother country none of the protection to which they were entitled. Today the Draft Constitution provides:

The People's Republic of China protects the proper rights and interests of Chinese resident abroad.

A Constitution of Peace

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution attests that the People's Republic of China adheres to the fundamental principle of peace and cooperation in its foreign relations. It makes clear that China will continue to foster and consolidate the unbreakable friendship already established with the great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; that it will also continue to foster and consolidate the ever-growing friendship between its people and peace-loving people throughout the world. China will also continue to carry out its policy of establishing and developing diplomatic relations with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

The Draft Constitution declares that:

In international affairs, our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity.

The great significance of such a statement lies not only in the fact that the Draft Constitution has embodied in legal form the foreign policy which has been consistently carried out ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China, but affirms the fact that the promotion of world peace and the cause of progressive mankind fully accords with China's fundamental interest in building a socialist state.

The following provision laid down in the Draft Constitution regarding the right of asylum fully conforms to this principle:

The People's Republic of China grants asylum to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in the peace movement, or for scientific activities.

A People's Charter

The Draft Constitution sums up the Chinese people's experience in their long revolutionary

struggle. That experience tells us China cannot take the path of capitalism; it must advance along the road of socialism. This conclusion is also drawn from the experiences of the liberation struggles of the peoples of all other lands.

The Draft Constitution has been drawn up in the light of political, economic and social realities in China. It is based on the experience of millions, not the illusions of a few. In the past four years and more since the founding of the People's Republic, the implementation of the Common Programme, China's provisional constitution, has resulted in a radical change in the conditions of the country. During that time the Chinese people have accumulated rich experience in the successful government of their own state, in making hitherto unheard of progress. That is the foundation on which the Chinese people will build under the new constitution. Since life has made such considerable advances, some of the provisions laid down in the Common Programme (such as land reform) are already out of date. They are therefore not included in the Draft Constitution.

The first draft of the Constitution was submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. It was then seriously discussed over several months by more than 8,000 persons representing all sections of the population, democratic parties and people's organizations; and revisions had been made before the Draft Constitution was published. Now it is being discussed by the entire nation, so that before the National People's Congress is convened, it will be subjected to a final revision, embodying the collective wisdom of the people of the whole country. When it has been confirmed on such a broad basis of detailed, democratic discussion, the Constitution will assuredly be a charter for the 600 million Chinese people in their victorious march to socialism.

A Major Happy Event

Soong Ching Ling

Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government

EARLY in 1940, in his *New-Democratic Constitutionalism*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "To be sure, China lacks many things, but chiefly she needs two: independence and democracy." We have gained independence and democracy since the founding of the People's Republic of China which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. We have the Common Programme as the focus of our common struggle. We are now, by summing up the precious experience of our country in all fields in the past four years and more, drafting a constitution for the construction of socialism. This is an unprecedented, great and glorious event.

This constitution of ours will tell people throughout the world that China is a people's democratic country led by the Communist Party of China, that all nationalities have united in one big, free and equal family, and that our foreign policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of mankind.

Yes, we have the strength and the ability to eliminate all exploitation and poverty by peaceful means. Furthermore, the Constitution will guarantee the transformation of our country into a socialist society, prosperous and happy.

It is only natural that our achievements are not to the liking of those who cling to capitalist constitutions, who talk about democracy while in fact they fool the people. But facts speak louder than words. We have *really* stood up. Our delegation at the Geneva Conference not only made proposals for an honest solution of differences and to safeguard peace, but also demanded independence and demo-

cracy on behalf of the peoples of all Asia. As a result, the criminal schemes and sabotage of the U.S. imperialists have been paralysed and there has been a turn in the international situation.

The whole world has now come to recognize that the strength of the Chinese people and the peoples of other Asian countries cannot be ignored. Our constitution exactly and fully expresses this spirit and strength.

The Draft Constitution has been discussed and revised by more than 8,000 people in the past few months and will now be studied and discussed by people all over the country. The system of democracy has been brought into full play. Moreover, each word and each sentence has been polished and repolished, each clause subjected to the test of past experience. Our constitution will become a covenant subscribed to by every citizen.

The Draft Constitution specifically guarantees that women shall enjoy rights equal to those of men in every respect. It shows the special concern of the state for the physical and intellectual development of young people. It indicates that work is a matter of glory for each citizen. All these are new things of New China.

The whole Chinese people will welcome this constitution in a triumphant spirit.

This is a major, happy event in which people all over China will take pride!

This is a major, happy event which warrants the elation and admiration of the Asian people who are striving for national independence and freedom.

This is a major, happy event which will delight and inspire the peace-loving people of the world.

These are my heartfelt feelings about the drafting of this constitution.

This is the full text of the speech delivered by Soong Ching Ling at the 30th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on June 14 at which the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China was unanimously adopted.

FRUITS OF VICTORY

How the Chinese people greeted
their first democratic constitution

Our Correspondent

ON June 15, newspapers throughout the country announced the publication of the Draft Constitution by the Central People's Government Council. Whole pages were devoted to its text. The news was swiftly broadcast to every corner of the land.

City news-stands were quickly sold out. In Peking all papers were bought up as soon as they were off the press. In Shanghai the stands sold twenty-five times their usual number of copies.

Contributions and letters from readers pouring into the editorial offices of newspapers in Peking and other cities every day express the general popular acclaim. Ever since June 15 the major papers of the country have devoted pages and pages to comments and letters from leading public figures, professors, writers, artists, industrial and agricultural model workers, well-known women and religious leaders. This flood has demonstrated the whole-hearted support which the Draft Constitution has won among people in all walks of life all over the country.

First Democratic Constitution

In an article in the *Kwangming Daily* of Peking, Li Chi-shen, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, writes:

Our Draft Constitution is the first really democratic constitution in China's long history. It is the fruit of the great victory won in the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people over the last hundred and more years; it signifies a further step forward towards the consolidation and development of the system of people's democracy in China.

Chang Lan, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the

China Democratic League, states in another article:

For years the Chinese people have longed for and asked to have a constitution drawn up and put into force. In the past, the ruling classes, from the Manchus to Chiang Kai-shek, drew up travesties of constitutions, all of them designed to consolidate their rule and enslave the people. Fighting against great obstacles, the Chinese people have carried on a valiant struggle against such bogus constitutions and fought for one that would really serve the interests of the people. Now at last their long-cherished hope has been realized.

Commenting on the drafting of the Constitution, in which she participated, Ho Hsiang-ning, veteran member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, said:

The way our constitution has been drafted is a model of democracy. The first draft was put forward by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It was then discussed successively by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; the leading administrative organs of the greater administrative areas, provinces and municipalities; the various democratic parties and groups; various people's organizations, both central and local; and people in all walks of life. More than eight thousand people participated in these discussions and nearly 6,000 suggestions were made. The Drafting Committee discussed these various proposals and made successive improvements to the draft. Now it is submitted to the people of the whole nation for discussion. Such an example of democracy has never before been seen in China.

Workers Greet the News

The publication of the Draft Constitution has evoked a tremendous upsurge of political enthusiasm among the broad masses of the

working class. Workers in the big cities have held many meetings to celebrate the event. At a discussion meeting held in Peking, Li Tsung-chih, a worker of the Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Works, said:

In the old society we workers were looked down upon as "rabble." Our work was considered "undignified." Now that the Constitution honours labour as the glorious duty of every able-bodied citizen and upholds the working people's right to work, rest and education, our days of oppression and humiliation are gone for ever.

Two hundred outstanding workers of Peking, now spending their vacation at Peitaiho, wrote in a joint statement:

That we are today able to enjoy a rest at this beautiful seaside resort formerly reserved for the rich, is itself a splendid proof that what is said in the Draft Constitution about the worker's right to rest is true.

The publication of the Draft Constitution has made workers throughout the country still keener in their work. Workers at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works determined to greet the Constitution with redoubled efforts for output. Speaking on the Draft Constitution at a meeting, Ni Fu-ching, an Anshan steel-smelter, said:

We give our unstinted support to the clause in the Draft Constitution which states that labour is a matter of honour. As for myself, I will work conscientiously and pledge myself to fulfil, or wherever possible, overfulfil, the tasks assigned to me.

When news of the Draft Constitution reached the Chiangan Locomotive Repair Works at Wuhan, twenty young workers immediately made a proposal to greet the Constitution with a movement for technical improvement. This was warmly supported by all the other workers of the plant.

Peasants' Response

The peasants consider the good wheat harvest which they are now reaping and the publication of the Draft Constitution to be *shuang hsi lin men* ("double luck for the household"). During breaks in the rush of summer work, members of mutual-aid teams, agricultural producers' cooperatives and collective farms have already held many meetings to discuss the Constitution.

In a big meeting held on the Spark Collective Farm in Sungkiang Province to celebrate the publication of the Draft Constitution, Chin Pai-shan, its chairman, said:

Socialism does not descend from heaven—it must be won through industrious labour. I propose that we try to increase the yield of rice on our newly reclaimed land by two thousand cattles per *shang* (about a hectare), so that we can sell 3 million cattles of surplus grain to the government this year.

This proposal was warmly supported by all members of the farm.

After a keen discussion of the Draft Constitution, members of the agricultural producers' cooperative of Changkuochuang on the outskirts of Peking passed a resolution:

To give greater aid to, and to work for the greater unity of, the mutual-aid teams as well as the individual farmers, so as to lead them on to the path of socialism.

After the autumn harvest, to sell to the government 200,000 cattles of grain and 300,000 cattles of vegetable oil crops to aid the nation's industrialization.

Women's Rights Protected

The Draft Constitution has been the cause of the greatest rejoicing among the women of the land. On June 16, representatives of women of all walks of life in Peking held a big celebration at which a resolution in support of the Draft Constitution was unanimously adopted. Li Feng-lien, an industrial model worker now studying at the People's University, expressed, in an article published in the *People's Daily*, the women's heartfelt joy:

In the old society women were not treated as equals to men. It was as hard as flying for a woman to find a job in the city. If you were poor and couldn't afford a bribe, you didn't stand a chance. Nor did you if you were pregnant, or if you had children.

In the country things were still worse. Women were cursed and beaten with impunity. They were bought and sold like chattels. Indeed, they led a worse life than the landlords' dogs and pigs. In the new society women are emancipated. They enjoy the same rights as men. In government offices and factories, women work just like men and get the same pay. The good things of life are open to them too. Every woman has the chance of a decent education. We are proud and happy that equality of men and women is written into the Draft Constitution.

Tao Shu-fan, a model teacher in Peking who has been teaching for thirty years, was especially moved when she read in the Draft Constitution the clause on the protection of mothers and children. She writes:

Before liberation a woman teacher suffered extra handicaps. She didn't get a single day's maternity leave, and she had to get a replacement at her own expense while she was off duty. Today, women teachers are not only entitled to 56 days' maternity leave, but, besides getting care and subsidies from the government, they are paid as usual during the whole period. The Draft Constitution will add to our happiness.

National Minority Opinion

When news of the Draft Constitution reached Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the people of all the various nationalities there at once convened meetings to celebrate.

A 70-year-old Mongolian named Shwenbin of the Yuchuan District joined the celebration in high spirits. After learning the contents of

the Draft Constitution, he declared with deep satisfaction:

Now we've really got a law of the people who are masters of their country. I have never heard of such a thing in all my long life!

A young Mongolian worker, Erlip, who also spoke, recalled:

Before liberation, we Mongolian people never even dared to speak our own language or wear our national dress in the areas ruled by the Han warlords. We suffered bitterly from national oppression. Now all this has gone for good.

The Draft Constitution is being studied and discussed by more and more people all over the country. The intention is that every citizen of the People's Republic of China with a full sense of his responsibility and rights as a master of the nation shall study it thoroughly and say what he thinks about its provisions.

The publication of this people's constitution and the way it has evoked this democratic enthusiasm will be unforgettably recorded in the history of the Chinese people's advance towards socialism.

Report from Geneva

The Last Session on Korea

The June 15 session of the Geneva discussion on the Korean question unmasked the enemies of peace

THOSE who were present at the Palais des Nations in Geneva on the unforgettable afternoon of June 15, 1954, saw how brilliant were the efforts made to achieve national independence, unification and a peaceful life for the Korean people, and peace in Asia and the rest of the world. And they saw how the great hopes raised by these efforts were strangled on the spot by the enemies of peace.

It was a day on which much could be seen and learned.

The differences between the two sides were as sharply defined as day is from night. It was

an object lesson in truth and falsehood, in justice and baseness, in bravery and cowardice.

Above all, it was a lesson that taught one also what to love and what to hate, gave one a greater love and respect for those who stand for peace and a more intense hatred for the enemies of peace.

* * *

As usual, the meeting resumed at three in the afternoon. The British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, was in the chair.

The first three speakers were Foreign Minister Nam Il, delegate of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, delegate of the People's Republic of China, and Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, delegate of the U.S.S.R.

Each of them submitted proposals helpful to the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Nam Il put forward a six-point proposal on ensuring peace in Korea.

Chou En-lai suggested that restricted sessions with the participation of the seven states—China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea—be called to discuss measures relating to the consolidation of peace in Korea.

Molotov proposed that a joint declaration be issued by all participants in the Conference to ensure that no action should be taken which might constitute a threat to the maintenance of peace in Korea.

These speeches, which lasted one and a half hours, presented the meeting with three important proposals.

The hall was all attention.

Such important proposals could not be ignored. They embodied the aspirations of the Korean people, of the Asian people and of the people of the whole world. They were supported by the firm will of the Korean people, the Asian people and the people of the world.

Whoever wished to reject them had to calculate the consequences.

An unusual silence reigned over the meeting when Molotov finished his speech.

The "Short" Recess

Everybody knew that the delegates of the 16 Western nations had prepared a statement and only that morning appointed a speaker. But now Eden, the chairman, declared: "I have no other names at the moment on my list."

After some whispering with the U.S. delegate behind him, Philippine delegate C. P. Garcia jumped to his feet and suggested a short recess. It was the first time during the 50-odd days of the Conference that anyone had seen a motion proposed in this way. The nerves of this gentleman were evidently strained.

The chairman responded: "Two minds with but a single thought. I was going to suggest that we recess just a short while."

This "short while" lasted 40 minutes, more than double the usual recess. The lounge, usually crowded during recesses, was that day deserted. The Western delegates who had often been seen taking their leisure there had flocked upstairs for an urgent discussion—a "strategy meeting" of the delegates of the 16 nations.

Those forty minutes were long enough to give rise to all kinds of speculations and anxious hopes. Someone murmured in the corridor: "It may not be rejected." Others surmised: "There may be some spirit of reconciliation."

It was not difficult to see the purpose of the 16 nations' discussion. The murderers were ready to move; the ringleader was briefing his accomplices to stiffen their wills—no shilly-shallying!

At 05:28 p.m., Eden resumed the chair. He gave the floor to the American delegate Bedell Smith.

Here undoubtedly was the man to do the job!

Smith's words were brief. He contended that if the maintenance of peace in Korea was desired, then there was already the Korean Armistice Agreement. As to Molotov's proposal, there were the United Nations resolutions which were couched "in much more formal terms and in much more exact terms." In this way, he rejected all the proposals.

The next speakers were the Australian delegate R. G. Casey, the Philippine delegate C. P. Garcia, the Belgian delegate P. H. Spaak and the delegate of the Syngman Rhee clique Pyun Yung Tae. He who pays the piper calls the tune. One could hardly expect new tunes from these gentlemen who merely play second fiddle.

16 Nations Call End to Talks

Then came a public announcement from one of them. This unenviable role had been assigned to the prince from Thailand. He was the man chosen to read out the 16-nation declaration breaking off the talks on Korea.

This short declaration contained nothing new. It bore a close resemblance to Dulles' first statement at the Geneva Conference 48 days earlier, on April 28. It concluded: "Further

consideration and examination of the Korean question by the Conference would serve no useful purpose."

According to them, the important proposals made by Nam Il, Chou En-lai and Molotov were apparently not worth reading or mentioning. No matter what might arise, they were determined to carry out their plan—to strangle the Korean peace talks.

Outside the conference hall came the voice from the loudspeaker of the police car: "Attention! Attention! The meeting will soon be over. Drive in the cars!"

And the cars came in a steady stream to the entrance for the delegations, Entrance No. 4 of the Palais des Nations.

Those from the Maison de la Presse already carried mimeographed copies of the 16-nation declaration; some had obtained their copies in the morning.

On the blackboard someone had written before the start of the meeting: "Last meeting on Korea. All correspondents invited to the post mortem."

Everything had been pre-arranged as if it could all be ended at the bidding of a single person!

Defenders of Peace

But the conference hall contained not only the American Delegation and its followers. Here too were the delegations of the powerful peace forces. These, faithful to the cause of lessening world tension, kept up their struggle for that cause to the very last minute. They knew how to expose the enemies of peace; they were determined not to leave them a shred of camouflage.

Molotov took the floor. His voice was steady, calm and forceful. The atmosphere of the meeting suddenly underwent a change. Each of his words struck home. He analysed the position taken by the Western countries in opposing the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue. He finally pointed out that the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, China and the Soviet Union would have the wide support of the Korean people. "We shall continue our efforts," he said, "in the interests of the Korean people, in the interests of the unification of the country, and

finally in the interests of peace throughout the world."

The next speaker was Chou En-lai.

"The 16 nations' declaration definitely seeks to break off the conference," Chou En-lai said, "and we cannot but express our deep regret at this."

"Even though that is the situation," Chou En-lai said, "we still have a duty to reach some agreement concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. . . ; continued efforts towards agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of establishing a united, independent and democratic Korea should be a desire common to all."

The Chinese Proposal

Chou En-lai said that the Delegation of the People's Republic of China proposed the adoption of the following resolution:

"The states participating in the Geneva Conference agree that they will continue their efforts towards achieving agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of establishing a united, independent and democratic Korea.

"As regards the question of the time and place for resuming appropriate negotiations, this shall be decided separately by the states concerned through negotiation."

Chou En-lai added: "If a proposal such as that were rejected by the states on the United Nations Command side, then that refusal to negotiate and bring about a reconciliation would have a very bad influence on international conferences."

No one present at the meeting failed to feel the weight of Chou En-lai's final words. Everyone seemed to lean forward to catch his voice.

Nam Il spoke next.

He stressed that the responsibility for breaking off the Geneva Conference rested with the representatives of the 16 nations. He noted finally that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be true to its peace-loving policy and continue its struggle for the peaceful unification of Korea.

The three successive speeches, with the full weight of their authority, registered an historic verdict on the responsibility of the West for

breaking off the talks. There were no arguments that could refute so righteous a verdict.

The Thailand prince who had a moment earlier read the 16 nations' declaration could now only utter these words: "Mr. Molotov is supposed to have said that those who have read the declaration of the 16 nations have taken the initiative in breaking up the Conference. . . . I wish to deny and reject this categorically."

This rejection was more than futile. Before the Conference was the proposal of the People's Republic of China. It challenged any rejection.

The following is the record of the series of exchanges that took place after what has been described. It needs no annotation or elaboration. It speaks eloquently enough by itself of the impact and influence of the proposal of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

Belgium's delegate Spaak declared: "The two proposals made by Mr. Molotov and Mr. Chou En-lai do not contradict at all the declaration read in the name of the 16 powers We reject the text simply because the idea is already contained in the Armistice Agreement and it is also contained in the statement read on behalf of 16 delegations by the delegate of Thailand."

China's delegate Chou En-lai said that Spaak's assertion was groundless and that the Korean Armistice Agreement contained no provision like the Chinese proposal. "The Delegation of the People's Republic of China," he continued, "has brought with it the spirit of negotiation and conciliation in participating for the first time in this international conference. If the last proposal which we put forward today is to be rejected by the states concerned on the side of the United Nations Command, we cannot but regard this fact with the greatest regret. All peace-loving people of the world will pass their own judgment on this fact."

Spaak stated: "What I said was that his (Chou En-lai's) proposal was in accordance with the spirit in which we had drafted the 16-power declaration. . . . Consequently I have nothing to object to regarding the spirit of Mr. Chou En-lai's proposal. And I think the delegate of the United Kingdom and my other colleagues share this attitude."

Chou En-lai replied: "It is said that a common desire is expressed in the joint declaration of the 16 nations and in the last proposal put forward by the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, nevertheless, the declaration by the 16 nations is only a one-sided declaration, whereas there are 19 states in the Geneva Conference. But why cannot we express this common desire in the form of an agreement among us? If we don't have even this much of a spirit of conciliation, why should we have come to this conference? . . . I must confess that I have learned this experience in my first participation in an international conference."

Spaak said: "In order to remove any doubt, I am ready for my part to accept a vote of affirmation that we accept the proposal made by the delegate of the People's Republic of China."

Molotov drew a conclusion from this exchange. He said: "We are about to wind up our consideration of the Korean question. We can wind up through a one-sided declaration. We can also wind up through a declaration that would express the views either of one side or the other. But also we can wind up by making a declaration that would express the views of us all. We must stand ready to answer this question. Are we ready to make a declaration that would represent the view and desire of all of us? In my opinion, that was the very purpose of our meeting together in Geneva. And that is why I should like to support unreservedly the proposal made by the People's Republic of China that was just supported by the representative of Belgium."

The chairman of the meeting declared: "As I understand the position, we have now before us a proposal of the delegate of the People's Republic of China which the representative of Belgium has said, I think rightly, expresses the spirit of the work of this conference. If that is generally agreed, can I take it that the statement has been generally accepted by the Conference?"

There was a brief silence at the meeting. No opposition was expressed by anyone. In normal circumstances, the chairman would announce that agreement was reached between the participants.

While the chairman was speaking, the delegate of the Syngman Rhee clique, Pyun Yung Tae, sidled out of the conference room. He was afraid that he might be pulled in by others to join in a resolution that might express even the slightest desire for peace.

The U.S. Delegate Exposes Himself

When Pyun Yung Tae left, one could easily see what was going on behind his vacant seat, where the U.S. delegate Bedell Smith had his place.

The American Delegation was the busiest in the meeting. Bedell Smith was writing and talking at the same time. Other members of the U.S. Delegation seemed nonplussed.

This was a crucial moment for Smith. The chairman of the meeting was about to conclude that there was no objection and to recommend adoption of this joint resolution.

Smith hastened to speak:

"I don't understand the extent or the real problem posed in the resolution of the Chinese delegate. . . . I am not prepared to express an opinion without consultations with my government, nor am I prepared to associate myself with the resolution just proposed."

So an Under-Secretary of State, an empowered delegate appointed to participate in an international conference intended to work for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, has no power to agree to a desire for peace, though he has the power to refuse to come to an agreement on this desire!

The United States' vicious opposition to reaching agreement was thus shown up in its true colours.

Following this, the chairman, Anthony Eden, spoke. He stated: "We have no procedure for voting. We act or try to act here on common agreement. . . . We shall not be able to reach agreement on any text in those circumstances, I would suggest that the conference might be willing simply to take note of these statements, take note of them as constituting part of the record of our conference."

Molotov demanded that the conference should also take note of the statement last made by the U.S. delegate.

Chou En-lai then reviewed what had taken place at the meeting. He said: "I am very pleased with the spirit of conciliation shown by the Belgian Foreign Minister." He said that the attitude of the chairman was also noteworthy. "However," he continued, "I must point out at the same time that the United States' delegate immediately expressed his opposition and blocked the way. This has made all of us understand how the United States' delegate has been preventing any possibility of arriving at even the minimum of a conciliatory agreement by the Geneva Conference." As Chou En-lai slowly uttered these significant words, the hall was utterly silent. It was an unforgettable moment.

The eyes of the meeting spontaneously turned to Smith at the left hand side of the conference room. He sat with folded arms, staring at the desk.

Chou En-lai said: "I request that this last statement I have just made be taken note of as part of the record of our conference."

At this juncture, Pyun Yung Tae, who had sneaked back to the hall because he felt safer after Smith's speech, summoned up courage to defend Smith against this blunt indictment.

Pyun Yung Tae said: "The 16 nations' side has already made one statement. . . . It is not right to make a joint statement. . . . It is the opinion of this delegation," he continued, "that Belgium does not represent all the nations on the 16 nations side. As far as the Republic of Korea Delegation is concerned, Belgium is not representing us."

Australian delegate Casey indicated then that he also wanted "to say a few words in support of the attitude of the representative of the United States." He said that the 16 nations participating in the conference on the one side "were not here in their individual capacity." "I do not believe," he asserted, "that it will be right for the second paragraph in particular of the proposal of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to be accepted. It would merely in effect make us regard ourselves as of a general coalition of countries, some of whom might be approached by the other side and some may not."

This meant that countries which had followed the United States in taking part in the

Korean war would have to follow it to the end, and had no freedom to express an independent opinion.

Casey finally declared that, although the Geneva Conference was not called by the United Nations, yet he believed that any future resumption of negotiations should be conducted within the framework of the United Nations.

Everyone present felt that the meeting was coming to an end. Hopes of reaching the least agreement at the last minute had been crushed. The law of the jungle had been ruthlessly invoked to smash these hopes.

Molotov stood up to defend the rights of sovereign states to express their views freely at an international conference. He said that it was necessary for the Conference "to take note of the statement made by the representative of Belgium in which he joined in the proposal made by the People's Republic of China." "I believe, therefore," he stated, "that our conference should take note of . . . the statements in which individual views were expressed."

Spaak, whose statement has been given various interpretations, spoke next. He said: "I think I must make clear what really was said. I support the Chinese delegate's proposal to express the hope that the discussions on Korea were not finally ended. And I must associate myself with the expression of such a hope. I cannot conceive of anybody entertaining the hope that there will be no more discussion on the subject of Korea."

Chou En-lai's Warning

Chou En-lai finally issued a vigorous warning. He exposed as ridiculous the suggestion that the discussions on the Korean question would be resumed in the United Nations, as a hoax to cover up, in effect, the refusal to settle the Korean question peacefully. His words were: "In view of what has been said by some delegates, could it be interpreted to mean that the People's Republic of China will be excluded in any future negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question? If this is so, then it is our opinion that to reach a future agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question seems to be impossible, since, gentlemen, you know that China has been

unreasonably deprived of her legitimate rights and rightful place in the United Nations."

After ruling that all the statements that had been made would form part of the record of the conference, the chairman declared the meeting closed.

It was 8:36 p.m.

Leaving the conference hall, one could still hear Chou En-lai's words ringing in one's ears.

Outside the Palais des Nations at Entrance No. 4, the already dispersed motor cars again crowded around to pick up the delegates. All the cars had their headlights on because it was already dark. Never before in those 51 days of the Conference had the time seem to have gone so quickly. A tense battle had been fought.

Outside the entrance that day there was unusual activity. Press photographers were again active. They stood up on platforms and used flash bulbs to snap pictures of those, who, for the last time, were stepping out of the conference hall.

Among those photographed were those resolute men who had waged an unswerving struggle to realize the people's desire for peace. There were also those whose hearts quaked because they had committed a crime.

No one could be left unmoved by what had occurred that afternoon.

The Chinese people can be proud of themselves because their country was on the side of the great forces of peace and waged an indomitable struggle for the cause of peace. In the eyes of peace-lovers throughout the world, they represented strength, peace and hope.

The Chinese people will regard with contempt that handful of despicable men who betrayed peace.

It has been said by some people that at the Geneva Conference, no joint record of the talks was kept. Nevertheless all that happened there has gone on the record of history. Nothing can wipe out the facts that have been impressed upon the hearts of men.

—OBSERVER

China's Growing Textile Industry

Chen Wei-chi

Vice-Minister of the Textile Industry

ONE of the most conspicuous changes in New China is the marked and universal improvement in the people's standards of dress. In striking contrast to the past when the overwhelming majority of the people were ill-clad, people in general are today neatly clothed and an ever-increasing number of them are having their clothes made of finer fabrics.



The director and a woman checker of State-owned Tientsin No. 1 Printing and Dyeing Mill inspect the quality of cloth with the famous peacock design

This contrast is particularly noticeable in the villages where the poverty-stricken peasants were formerly universally ill-clad. In the areas which were subjected to the worst forms of exploitation by the warlords, landlords and Kuomintang bureaucrats, it was by no means uncommon for the members of a whole family to have to share one single serviceable patched pair of trousers which they used by turns. It was a great day in those grim times when the average peasant could afford to buy a new suit or dress, and then it would usually have to be of rough homespun material of a single colour. Today the masses of peasants are acquiring new clothes and they want better quality stuffs. Their women-folk are calling for more colourful and tasteful prints.

This change vividly reflects the rapid progress made in rehabilitating and developing the national economy of New China and raising the living standards of the people. It also demonstrates the success that has been achieved in China's swiftly expanding textile industry to meet the new demands placed on it.

Increased Production

There have been tremendous increases in the output of the most important textile products during the past few years. The output of cotton cloth in 1953, for example, was 236 per cent more than in 1949, the year of liberation. It was more than double the highest annual output before the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.



The newly-built State-owned Northwest No. 3 Cotton Mill near Sian. It is completely equipped with home-produced machines

The steady increase in the people's purchases of cloth is illustrated by the following table:

**National Sales of Yarn and Cloth
(1949=100)**

Year	Sales
1950	126
1951	148
1952	162
1953	233

This quantitative growth has been accompanied by a steady growth in quality. To satisfy the demands of consumers, managements of textile enterprises and state trading organizations have sponsored joint textile exhibitions in the principal cities and in rural areas in order to collect the people's comments and suggestions. Designers have been sent to the countryside to better acquaint themselves with the peasants' needs and preferences and to collect popular folk patterns for use in the industry. In 1953 alone, tasteful and practical prints in over 1,000 patterns were produced. Finer fabrics such as woollens, linens, silks, spun silks, etc. are also included in the national production plan. The beautiful silk goods for which China has long been internationally famous are now supplied not only to the expanding domestic market, but are also exported in increasing amounts to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The people of the capitalist countries too could get large amounts

of the Chinese silk goods which they like if normal trade between their countries and China were resumed.

Great efforts were needed to achieve this flourishing development.

A Modernized Industry

China's modern textile industry was established as early as 1889, but due to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal state of Chinese society at that time, the industry, like all her other industries, was colonial in character. A considerable number of textile mills were directly controlled by foreign capital,* and the industry as a whole was mainly dependent on imported machinery and raw materials. The big mills were mostly concentrated in Shanghai, Tsingtao, Tientsin and other coastal cities. The needs of the Chinese people were not their prime consideration. A considerable proportion of their products was exported to Southeast Asia. Management and production techniques were extremely backward, and the workers toiled and lived under shocking conditions.

* At the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, British, Japanese, United States, German and other foreign capitalists owned textile mills in China. Following the First World War, Japanese investments in the textile industry increased rapidly and by 1930 about one-third of the spindles in China were controlled by Japanese capital.

It is clear that a textile industry of such a character could not satisfy the needs of the Chinese people. The People's Government therefore undertook far-reaching measures for its reform immediately after the liberation. To provide adequate supplies of raw materials, the People's Government in the first place encouraged the peasants to plant cotton by giving this crop a favourable price in relation to grain and by issuing loans and giving technical assistance to cotton growers. As a result, the cotton acreage has increased and the per unit area yield of cotton has also grown rapidly. Cotton output in 1952 was almost three times as much as in 1949, and far exceeded the peak year before liberation. Its quality was also much improved.*

In 1954 China has planned to increase her cotton acreage by several million *mou* over 1953 and this goal has already been surpassed. The problem of cotton supplies for China's textile industry has thus been basically solved. There have been corresponding increases in the output of other raw materials for the textile industry such as wool, silk and flax.

New Machinery and New Mills

As a result of the progress made in industrialization, China is now able to produce her own textile machinery. The old machinery repair and assembly plants have been reconstructed, so that they are now able to produce various types of textile machinery and auxiliary equipment. New plants of considerable size have in addition been built by the People's Government to produce complete sets of equipment for textile mills. The annual production of these plants is enough to satisfy basic domestic needs.

Several new textile mills have been built and others are in construction. With the exception of three which are equipped with machines from the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Japan, they are wholly equipped with machines made in China. These new mills, built by the state according to plan, are all located close to raw material producing areas and their markets.

* See "China Grows More Cotton" by Yang Hsien-tung, *People's China*, No. 4, 1954.

There were, for instance, only a few small textile mills in Shensi Province, one of the main cotton producing regions of the country, so most of the cotton produced there was shipped to the coastal areas for processing. Since liberation, three new cotton mills have been built there and a fourth is now in construction. The State-owned Shensi No. 1 and No. 2 Cotton Mills alone have more than doubled the number of spindles and increased by four times the number of looms in state-owned cotton mills in China's Northwest.

Other cotton producing areas, such as Wuhan in Hupeh Province, Chengchow in Honan Province, Shihchiachuang and Hantan in Hopei Province, are all developing into textile producing centres. Inland cities like Kunming, Yunnan Province, and Chungking, Szechuan Province, have either built new textile mills or renovated old ones. Sinkiang Province in the far Northwest also has a new modern cotton mill, which satisfies the basic demands of the local people. It is also training a large number of personnel and workers for the cotton industry from among the many national minorities who inhabit the province.

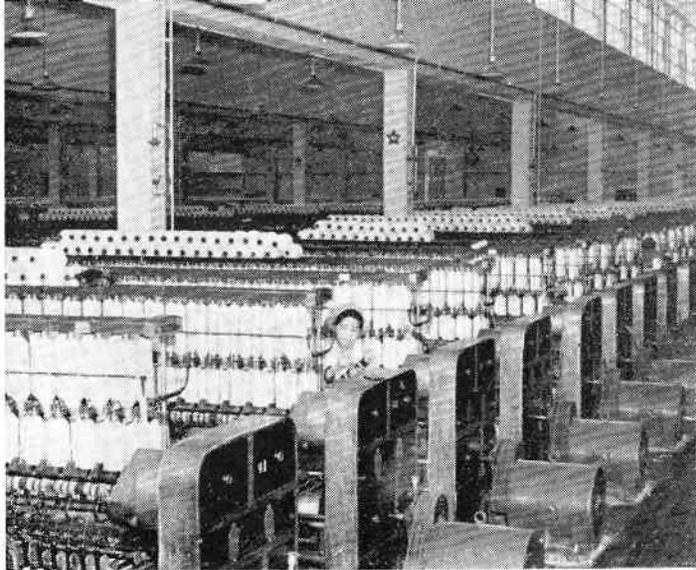
The opening of these new mills increased the number of spindles in the country in general in 1953 by 14.52 per cent as compared with 1949. The increase in the number of spindles in inland areas was 84.1 per cent in this period. These developments have radically altered the previous irrational concentration of textile mills in the coastal regions. Now cotton in the producing areas finds a ready local market and the people in those areas can get a steadily increasing supply of inexpensive textiles of improved quality.

In addition to these cotton mills, the people's state has built or renovated flax mills, silk filatures and mills and other textile enterprises in the Northeast, in Shantung and Chekiang Provinces and other areas. The first completely automatic flax mill in China was built and commissioned in Harbin in 1952.

The proportion of state-owned enterprises in China's textile industry has thus increased from 43.08 per cent in 1949 to an estimated 50.7 per cent in 1953. The leading role of the state-owned, socialist sector in the



Sorting cocoons in a new state-owned silk filature in Shantung



The fine-yarn shop of the new State-owned Northwest No. 2 Cotton Mill



Yi Shih-chuan (*right*) and her team at the State-owned Shanghai No. 2 Cotton Mill study their team's production record. They were the first team in Shanghai to adopt model textile worker Ho Chien-hsiu's advanced method of tending spindles

China's New Textile Enterprises

Many new mills have been built to meet the growing demands of the people for cotton and other textiles. Cotton cloth production in 1953 was 236 per cent more than in 1949, the year of liberation.

China formerly had to import textile machinery. Now most of the new mills are completely equipped with textile machinery made in China.

The up-to-date State-owned Chingwei Textile Machinery Works is the first completely new works of its kind built in China



GREETING C CONST

The Draft Constitution of China was published and enthusiastically discussed in the life in preparation for adoption at the coming



WORKERS of the State-owned Tientsin Steel Plant cheering the great news of the publication of the Draft Constitution which charts China's advance to socialism



PEASANTS of the Changkuo Cooperative in Peking's suburbs reading the Draft Constitution's provisions



NATIONAL MINORITY people in the Yunnan Institute for National Minorities eagerly read this charter of freedom and equality for all the peoples of China

CHINA'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION

of the People's Republic of
June 15, 1954. It is being
by people in every walk of
its final consideration and
National People's Congress



SEAMEN get the news on shipboard in Shanghai's busy port



ochuang Agricultural Producers'
urbs hear their leader read the
ons on the rights of peasants



STUDENTS of Peking University studying the provi-
sions of the Draft Constitution. It guarantees to all
citizens the right to education



RELIGIOUS LEADERS of the
Buddhist and Taoist faiths
note the Draft Constitution's
guarantee of freedom of
religious belief



SHANGHAI'S NO. 1 STATE DEPARTMENT STORE

One of the spacious departments

China's biggest state department store at the busy intersection of Nanking and Tibet Roads



At the sweets counter



Customers have a choice of 800 kinds of fabrics



textile industry has thus been strengthened and consolidated. Privately-owned textile mills, however, have also had considerable success in increasing production. Their total output of cotton yarn in 1953 was 51 per cent more than in 1949, and 37 out of the 38 private textile mills in Shanghai recorded profits in that year.

Leadership of State-owned Economy

The development of the private textile enterprises is in large measure due to the leadership and assistance of the state-owned economy. Since 1950, the People's Government has adopted a system of unified distribution of the main textile raw materials such as cotton, flax, wool, etc. Other measures of aid to private textile enterprises include the supplying of raw materials to them by the state for processing, the placing of government purchasing orders, and the centralized state buying and selling of all their products. The introduction of these measures solved the difficulties which private textile enterprises faced in procuring raw materials and marketing during the period of rehabilitation of the national economy. These measures have also gradually set these enterprises on to the road of state-capitalism. In the past few years, an increasing number of privately-owned textile enterprises have been transformed into joint state and private enterprises which represent the highest form of state-capitalism. By 1953, the number of joint state and private enterprises showed a 195 per cent increase over 1949.

The transformation of private textile mills into joint state and private enterprises has resulted in big improvements in their management and increase of their productivity. It also enables them to be brought in varying degrees within the scope of state planning.

There has been a rapid growth of political consciousness among workers and employees in the textile industry. This has led to a notable increase in their enthusiasm for production. This and steady improvements in management and production techniques have resulted in more and better textiles for the people in general and for the peasants in particular. The creative initiative displayed by the workers and employees in the textile industry and the

popularization of their advanced experience raised labour productivity by more than 100 per cent in 1953 compared to pre-liberation days. Production costs in state-owned mills have also been gradually reduced and in 1953 were 37 per cent lower than 1951. This has enabled the state to better satisfy the material needs of the people by steadily reducing the price of textiles.

The number of textile workers and employees has increased to over 850,000. The flourishing state of the industry has brought about great improvements in their material and cultural life. In the state-owned textile mills, the wages of workers in 1953 were 40 per cent higher than in 1950. Working conditions have also been greatly improved. The eight-hour day has been universally adopted. The People's Government has taken effective steps to reduce the discomfort suffered by textile workers working in high temperatures. It has set maximum temperatures for the workshops in the summer which all enterprises now observe. Most of the mills are also well-equipped with safety installations and ventilation facilities.

Care for Workers

Care and protection for women and mothers is of paramount importance in textile mills as most of their workers are women. During pregnancy women are assigned to less strenuous work and are entitled to a total of eight weeks' leave with pay before and after confinement. Rooms are provided where mothers can feed their babies. There is also an adequate number of reserve workers in the mill to stand in for mothers at work during the feeding hour. The mills also provide nurseries for the older children of workers.

During the past four years, the state has built houses, flats and dormitories with a total floor space of 840,000 square metres for the textile workers. Canteens in textile mills have been improved. Many hospitals, sanatoria and other amenities have been built for workers of the industry.

Cultural life has also been enriched. Workers' clubs, cinemas and libraries have been established in areas where factories are con-

centrated. Workers and employees have set up their own organizations for spare-time activities, such as sports, drama, music, dancing and the fine arts. There is a growing enthusiasm for general and technical education; 230,000 textile workers in the country are attending spare-time classes for adults and many who were formerly illiterate can now read books and newspapers. More than 1,200 outstanding workers have been sent to the Secondary Technical School of the Textile Industry for advanced studies, and over 240 are attending the Textile Industry Institute. Large numbers of outstanding and model workers have been sent to workers' and peasants' middle schools, the People's University and other institutions, either to raise their general educational level or to get advanced training. Large numbers of experts, technicians and management personnel of working-class origin are thus being trained for the industry.

China is now in the period of transition to socialism and while her efforts are mainly concentrated on the development of heavy industry, light industry will also be expanded on a planned basis.

The state plan for 1954 calls for a considerable increase in textile production as the following table shows:

**Increase in Textile Production in 1954
(1953=100)**

Cotton yarn	111.24
Cotton cloth	112.60
Prints	123.53
Woollen fabrics	117.48

Capital construction in 1954 will be more than double that in 1953. The end of China's First Five-Year Plan will see a still greater development of the textile industry in the service of the people.

Prosperity Comes to The Huahsin Textile Mill

—Report on the operation and progress of an enterprise under joint state and private ownership

Tseng Chien

MORE and more private industrial enterprises in New China are being reorganized, at the request of their owners, as enterprises jointly owned and operated by the state and private capital. This is an important part of the process of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. Through such reorganization into state-capitalist enterprises, their output is rapidly increased and they can be more successfully integrated into the planned industrial development of the country.

Thirty Years of Crises

The Huahsin Textile Company of Tangshan, Hopei Province, North China, was one of

the earliest enterprises to come under joint state and private ownership and operation. The company was founded with private capital in 1919. For thirty years prior to liberation, like other industrial enterprises belonging to native capitalists in old China, it was constantly subjected to the heavy pressure of imperialism. It lived from crisis to crisis, under the ever-present threat of bankruptcy.

At the end of 1936, the Japanese invaders who had occupied Tangshan forced the owners to give them a share of the enterprise and took charge of its operations. Following the victory of the War of Resistance, the company passed from the hands of one oppressor into

those of another. The Kuomintang bureaucratic-capitalists took over the shares owned by the invaders and prevented the old private shareholders from resuming their full rights to the assets and management of the company.

The old capitalist management had never been able to put the affairs of the Huahsin Textile Company on a sound footing. Japanese plunder and the extortions of Kuomintang bureaucrats made things even worse, and the company was barely able to keep going. Its affairs began to improve only when, at the close of 1948, Tangshan was liberated. The People's Government immediately confiscated the shares owned by the Kuomintang bureaucratic-capitalists and entered into cooperation with the company's owners.

Five Years of Advance

This transformation of the company into a joint state and private enterprise brought about a progressive change in every aspect of its work. Each successive year has seen a rapid increase of personnel, improvement and expansion of equipment, and higher output.

Over 3,000 persons have been added to the staff since the new management took over. During the previous thirty years of private management, only 21,000 spindles and 300 looms were added to the original equipment. In the first five years of joint ownership, 21,000 more spindles and 480 looms have been installed, while many formerly idle spindles and looms have been put back into operation.

The rise in production is shown in the following table:

	1948	1953
	(before liberation)	
Cotton yarn (bales)	17,400	48,672
Cotton cloth (bolts)	233,207	844,423
Dyed cloth (bolts)	49,491	299,740

The rapid development of the Huahsin Textile Company is not difficult to comprehend when one considers the different conditions under which it operated in the old days and now. Formerly, under capitalist management, the company suffered from overstaffing, overlapping departments, outmoded equipment and backward techniques, all of which held back production. At the same time the monopolist activities of the bureaucratic-capitalists, irre-

gular raw material supplies, dumping of foreign textiles, and the inflation rampant under the Kuomintang, created conditions that made it all but impossible for private enterprises to carry on. The Huahsin Company was, in fact, unable to maintain normal production, much less raise output.

Integrated in State Plans

From the day the people's state began to participate in the company and direct its affairs, all this changed. The operations of the mill were brought into closer coordination with state plans. All raw materials needed are now regularly supplied by the state-owned China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company; there is no need to worry about shortage of raw materials. All machines have been able to go into continuous production, in three shifts. All existing installations are used to capacity. By relating production to orders placed by the state-owned China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company, the operations of the mill are linked up with planned socialist economy. The company ceased to produce blindly for a market whose needs, standards of quantity and taste were but vaguely known. Its contract with the China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company stipulates that the latter shall buy at fixed prices all products produced to state specifications. This ensures the sale of all products, meets the continuously growing demands of the state and people, and ends the former disparity between supply, production and distribution.

Board of Directors

The state directs the operations of the mill through a Board of Directors which exercises complete managerial authority. The Board is composed of nine members representing the state and eight members representing private capital—corresponding to the proportion of shares held.

The Board holds regular meetings to discuss and decide all important problems, such as the appointment of leading personnel, the hearing and approval of the annual production plan and report of its execution. Early this year the Board appointed Li Kuang-hua, who represents the state interests, as manager. It also appointed another representative of the state interests as second associate manager,

with a representative of private capital as first associate manager. The new manager is a veteran revolutionary with a rich experience of active revolutionary work. Though little over thirty, he is highly competent at his job and enjoys the enthusiastic support of his co-workers and subordinates.

The Board of Directors represents the state and private shareholders in the joint administration of the company. It also discusses and settles various problems that arise between the two sides. The state and private interests involved having different interests, it is natural that they should hold differing views on various problems. In such cases, observing the principle of respect for the interests of both sides, the Board of Directors thoroughly examines the views held and settles all differences by discussion.

Settling Differences

Differences arose, for instance, during discussion of the question of building a new mill. The directors representing private capital proposed that instead of building a new plant on a new site, gradual additions should be made to the existing mill at Tangshan. They reasoned that this would be more economical because only a slightly enlarged management would be needed to run both the old and the new plant; that the new spindles and looms could be put into production as soon as they were installed, and profits made from the start.

The directors representing state capital, however, regarded the building of the new mill from the viewpoint of long-term interests and as part of the overall state plan. They therefore proposed that the plant should be built at Shihchiachuang, in the cotton-growing area of southwestern Hopei Province, which it is planned to develop as a new textile centre. They pointed out that though the supply of cotton for the present mill around Tangshan is adequate, there would be difficulties in finding increased local supplies if the mills there were considerably expanded. Although they admitted that at Shihchiachuang the rate of return in profits would be slower at first, they argued that this would be more than compensated for by the great gains later on when the new mill went into full production. The Shihchiachuang site would, in fact, best benefit



Han Kuei-hua (right), a spinner of the Huahsin Textile Company, shows a fellow worker how she set a new national record by tending 1,400 spindles and fulfilled her quota for 18 months' work in 12 months

both the state and private owners in the long run, and this viewpoint was finally unanimously accepted.

At another Board meeting, the directors representing state capital proposed that a modern club-house be built for workers and staff. The directors representing private capital opposed this on the ground that it would cost too much money, and proposed shelving the idea for the time being. The initiators of the proposal, however, showed that since the club-house with its facilities for rest and recreation would help greatly in raising the workers' efficiency, this would create more wealth both for the state and private capital. They further pointed out that since the enterprise had been under joint state and private management during the last five years, business had boomed. The company could well afford the outlay on the club-house, and on the basis of its increased production and profits, could and should promote the workers' welfare. Following a full and frank discussion, this proposal also received unanimous support.

Through every such discussion the directors representing private capital are given further education in social consciousness, and have

been encouraged to take a more progressive and broader view of things.

The Board also discusses and decides the distribution of annual profits. Generally speaking, gross profits are divided into four roughly equal parts. One is for payment of income tax to the state; the second goes into a reserve fund for the mill; the third is distributed as a welfare bonus for the workers and staff; while the fourth goes in dividends and bonuses to the state and private shareholders.

Attitude of Workers

Following the establishment of joint state and private management the workers have realized that they are working not only for the private capitalists but also in the interests of the people's state, and they have begun to take a keen interest in production and show creative initiative. They have a say in the management of the mill through their participation in the Factory Management Committee, which consists of members elected both by the workers and staff, with the factory manager and his two deputies serving as *ex-officio* members. This committee discusses important matters affecting management of the mill and its production and closely concerns itself with workers' welfare.

The trade union, the organization of the workers and staff, also plays an important role in the mill, especially in raising the workers' political consciousness, stimulating their enthusiasm for production, ensuring fulfilment of production plans and looking after the welfare of the workers. It is, for instance, the trade union which organizes the labour emulation campaign.

In a joint state and private enterprise like Huahsin, labour emulation has to be got going in quite a different way from a state enterprise. The Communist Party branch and the trade union have to explain to the workers, patiently and clearly, that as long as capitalist production is beneficial, not detrimental, to the interests of the nation and people, capitalists should be compensated with a reasonable amount of profits. Moreover, since joint state and private ownership was established, although the capitalists receive a certain portion of the profits, most of them go to the state

and to the workers themselves. Once these general principles were understood, labour emulation spread rapidly in the plant, and the workers' productivity increased enormously. Under the new joint state and private management, the gross output of the mill has been trebled, and the average output per worker is twice what it was five years ago.

Model Workers

Many model workers have come to the fore. Li Feng-lan and Han Kuei-hua are the most distinguished among them. Li Feng-lan, a spinner, has been elected an All-China Model Textile Worker. She began to work in this mill when she was only 11 years old, and now she is 23. Under capitalist management, the greatest number of spindles she ever tended was 384. Now, after mastering the improved working method developed by the famous spinner Ho Chien-hsiu, she can tend 864.

When she became one of the best workers in the mill, Li Feng-lan was asked by the Communist Party and the trade union to give a lead to the workers in a campaign to raise production and help others master the new techniques. Within six months, her first group of trainees were able to take charge of 384 spindles—learning in half a year what it took Li Feng-lan herself over five years to learn before the liberation.

It was Li Feng-lan who encouraged and assisted Han Kuei-hua to break the national record last October by tending 1,400 spindles. She fulfilled 18 months' quota in 12. For this outstanding achievement, 23-year-old Han Kuei-hua was selected to join the Chinese Youth Delegation to attend the Second All-German Congress for Peace, Unity and Freedom.

The office staff and technicians of the mill have found ample opportunities to develop their abilities under the favourable new conditions created by joint state and private management. They show a heightened interest in their work. Chief engineer Hung I-chih has worked in the mill since 1927. He left it during the Japanese occupation, but later returned. He is enthusiastic about present ways of work. "Last year I directed the installation of tens of thousands of spindles," he said. "I've

done this work before, but the way we go about it now is entirely different. In the past I tackled all difficulties met with at work by relying only on my personal knowledge and experience. Now difficulties are overcome more easily in consultation with other people, collectively.”

Profits Rise

Since the establishment of joint state and private management, the profits of the mill have risen steadily each year. In 1949, net profits were 4,284 million yuan. In 1950, they rose to 17,704 million yuan, and in 1951 to 35,579 million yuan. Profits in 1952 and 1953 averaged more than 15 times those of 1949.

During the last few years the Huahsin Textile Company has made a considerable contribution to the welfare of the people. It has supplied the country with needed cotton yarn and cotton cloth, helped to maintain a regular interflow of commodities between town and country, area and area; it has also accumulated considerable sums in savings for the nation and trained a number of technical and managerial personnel.

Notable improvements have been brought about in the workers' life, welfare and working conditions. A comparison of Li Feng-lan's present life with the past provides a typical example of these changes. Before liberation, she worked 10 to 12 hours daily under humiliating conditions of ruthless oppression. Her usual fare was cold corn-flour cakes and pickled vegetables. Now she has an 8-hour working day, with Sunday as a holiday. She eats well, lives in a comfortable hostel and has recently bought, among other things, a watch and a bicycle.

The mill administration has met the proposals of the trade union by installing various additional safety devices and modern sanitary facilities such as never existed before. It has also put up a considerable amount of new workers' housing as well as rest homes, nurseries and schools for the workers' children. The new dining hall holds a thousand people. Its efficient management, prompt service, and

the high quality of the meals have won it the title of Model Dining Hall of Hopei Province.

Better Work Conditions

Visiting the light and well-ventilated workshops now, it is difficult for one to visualize the gloomy and oppressive atmosphere of the past. There is a buoyant air of happiness. The workers are no longer slaves of the mill, as in the past, but free workers in a people's state.

The thriving business of the company has brought tangible benefits to the private shareholders. In 1947, one of the best pre-liberation years, shareholders received only one to two per cent on their investment. Between 1950 and 1953, after the mill became a joint state and private enterprise, shareholders received 8-12 per cent.

Li Mien-chih, who represents the private shareholders on the Board of Directors, has said that he is more than satisfied with the present state of affairs. Apart from the profits received, he has had a chance to take an active part in the management of the mill. Small investors who had long since lost interest in their shares and lost touch with the enterprise have begun to claim their dividends and bonuses regularly and inquire frequently about the mill's affairs.

The increased profits have made it possible to expand the plant. There has been a great deal of renovation, and many new installations have been added. At the end of 1953, the company drew up a five-year plan of expansion. This includes the building of the new factory in Shihchiachuang with 2,000 looms and 50,000 spindles. When completed at the end of 1955, it will be bigger than the parent mill at Tangshan.

This is just a brief account of the new Huahsin Textile Company and its progress and achievements as a joint state and private enterprise guided by the country's general policy for the period of transition to socialism. It has shown other capitalist concerns the way forward—the way of state-capitalism—along which, with the whole of Chinese society, they will march to socialism.

State Department Store in Shanghai

Li Chiu-tse

ON a fine early summer afternoon, I boarded a bus going in the direction of Shanghai's No. 1 State Department Store. On the way, people got on at every stop, but very few got off. When the bus reached the intersection of Nanking Road and Tibet Road, the conductor announced, "Department Store!" and nearly all the passengers got off. Their destinations were the same as mine.

This spot may be said to be the centre of the great city of Shanghai. It is the converging point of many tram, motor and trolley bus routes. In the past, it was a centre of the speculative activities and high living of the Kuomintang bureaucratic-capitalists. It was also the site of the "luxury trade" shops, gambling houses and "high-class" brothels that catered for the exploiters. Now these buildings are occupied by cultural palaces, cooperatives, state banks and department stores serving the working people.

The No. 1 State Department Store, the biggest of nine in the city, occupies the basement and two floors of a big ten-storey edifice. I purposely went around all the six entrances and found each one crowded. Inside, the thronging customers pressed me in on every side. They came from all walks of life: workers and office employees and their families; government personnel with their blue uniforms and badges; teachers and students; peasants from the suburbs; soldiers and sailors and out-of-town visitors, and the national minorities of distant parts.

The store is decorated in the traditional Chinese style. In the big hall on the main

floor are 64 huge vermilion-and-gold columns. The corridors are painted light green and illuminated by parallel rows of beautifully made lanterns. This hall alone has about a mile of show-cases displaying various types of merchandise. At the centre there are arm-chairs and sofas amid potted pines and cypresses, where shoppers can rest. The whole store can hold 25,000 people and is often filled to capacity. The air is kept fresh at all times by a modern ventilating system.

I stopped to talk to Hsu Yu-lin, an old salesman in the woollen, silk and satin department. "In all my thirty years as a shop assistant in big shops run by both Chinese and foreigners before the liberation," he said, "I never saw as many customers as we have here on an average day. Nor did workers and peasants ever come to a shop of this size. My customers were confined to the rich and the officers and soldiers of the imperialist armies."

Rapid Expansion

"Compared with 1952," he continued, "the sales personnel in our department has increased fivefold and scores of new counters have been added. Instead of a hundred or so varieties of goods, we now handle 800 different items. Recently, we realized that we had underestimated the increase in people's purchasing power. A few years ago, most people, whether men or women, wore cotton drill, but since last year, more and more customers have been buying woollen and silk goods. A few years ago we used to call the cotton piece goods department our 'elder brother,' because we thought we could never catch up with its huge

sales. Now it offers a thousand different varieties and patterns of cotton materials compared with 360 two years ago, but even so, since the end of 1953, sales in our department have gone up at an even faster rate than theirs!"

Edging my way forward, I came across two young workers wearing the badges of a local machine-tool plant. They were buying tropical suitings. Immediately after they had made their purchase, they went to the tailoring department.

At the silk counters, I saw some women textile workers choosing dress materials with great care. One, having decided on some green figured silk, said to her companion, "This is my favourite colour for summer."

In other parts of the store are the shoe, sports goods, stationery, musical instrument, furniture, food, cosmetic, toy and other departments. The shoe department has three rows of counters displaying over one thousand different items of men's, women's and children's footwear. Its sales are constantly increasing.

Salesman Lin Yao-lin of the musical instrument department turned out to be a most interesting and well-informed man. He has a good knowledge of numerous types and brands of instruments, their uses, standards, makers and the history of their manufacture in Shanghai.

"The supply of some instruments is falling behind demand," he said. "Take accordions for instance. We constantly increase our stock, but they are always snapped up and we are often out of stock for a few days at a time. They are bought by organizations as well as individuals, chiefly workers."

Socialist Service

After talking to the sales staff on all three floors, I went to the manager's office. There I found Wang Ching-fang, the assistant manager, reading over the stocklists. A young man of about thirty, he told me he had been working in retail trade for about nine years. During the war, he ran a small state-owned store in one of the old liberated areas. "We carried

only a few score items," he told me, "but small though our store was, it was there that we learned the essential thing, the socialist outlook on trade, in which the aim is not profit but service to the people."

"In what way is the actual service you give to customers different from that in private shops?" I asked.

"The main thing is that our interests are not opposed to those of the customers," he said. "We subject all goods to rigorous examination, tell the buyer exactly what he is getting, and fix prices accordingly. For instance, recently we found that some lots of a popular brand of Shanghai-made towels were somewhat below standard. The difference was so small that even the most careful housewives couldn't detect it. However, we marked them "second grade" and got the factory to reduce its price both for us as well as for other stores. Not long afterwards a few customers came to us and complained that our price for the best towels was a little higher than in a private shop. We investigated and were able to tell them that the private shop was selling the second-grade towels as first-grade. We also showed them the difference between the two. We are proud to hear our customers say: 'We can buy things here without fear of being cheated. The quality is good, the price fair.'"

"The way state stores conduct their business also influences private shops. We lead them in determining prices. Our prices are fixed in accordance with three factors: the promotion of production, the consumers' purchasing power and a reasonable profit for the enterprise. As state trade expands and the quantities and varieties of goods increase, private shops have to adjust their prices to ours. If they try to make unreasonable profits, the customer simply stays away—because he has an alternative."

"In this big enterprise," Wang continued, "we regard it as our main obligation to supply commodities that really meet the needs of the people. You've noticed the great variety of textiles we carry. I'd suggest you visit our stationery department, which has expanded from eleven counters to over a hundred, with seventy salesmen. Items in this department are very



The crowded silk and satin department of the Shanghai No. 1 State Department Store

inexpensive, so that its expansion does not contribute very greatly to the increase of our sales volume and the fulfilment of our financial plan. But the reason we have enlarged it so much is that hundreds of thousands of people in Shanghai are learning to read and write and we see it as our duty to serve them."

Biggest in China

Assistant manager Wang also told me something of the history of the No. 1 State Department Store. "It was set up soon after the liberation of Shanghai," he said. "At that time we occupied a very small floor space. We have expanded rapidly in the past four years as a result of the development of industry and the increase in the purchasing power of the people. Today we occupy several times as much floor space as when we first started, and later this year we shall open still another floor. At present, our store is the biggest of its kind in China. We have an average of 100,000 customers daily."

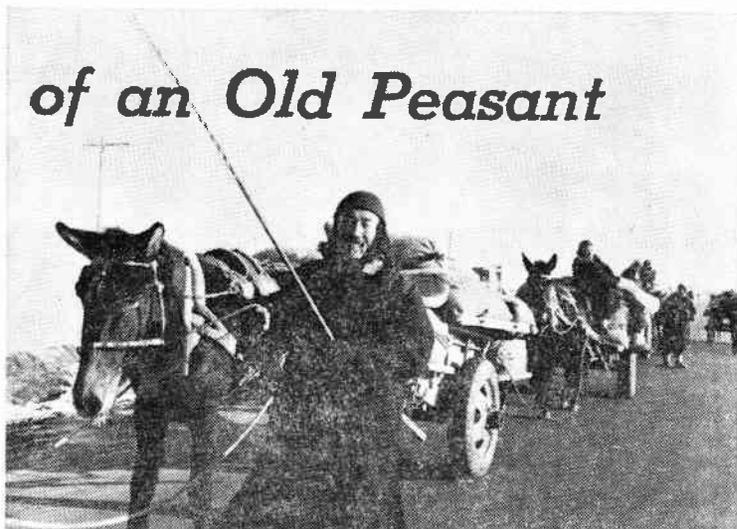
"Even so, customers have been criticizing you for not providing all the goods they need, isn't that so?" I asked.

"That's true," he replied, "and we've tried to get all they want. In 1949, we carried only a few thousand items, while now we have over 22,000. Buyers here can get most of the products of our own country as well as imported goods such as bicycles from Germany, cretonnes from Poland and wireless sets from Hungary. . . . But they still keep on asking for new things—which is a very good indication of increasing prosperity. The new lines of woollens you have seen are the products of recent expansion of the woollen industry and we are selling them several times faster than ever before."

When I left the store near closing time, the shop assistants were still busy at work. Porters from the delivery department were delivering goods to the homes of customers who had bought too much to carry themselves.

The Story of an Old Peasant

Fang Ching



I RECENTLY paid a visit to the home of Kuan Hai-lin, a fifty-seven-year-old peasant and a member of the Hsing Lung Agricultural Producers' Cooperative in the eastern suburbs of Shenyang (Mukden). Though approaching sixty, he was hale, hearty and full of life.

He gave me a warm welcome and led me into a large long room, neatly though simply furnished. At each end of it was a raised brick *kang*; and on each stood a small low table. In the middle of the room was a large table, and, standing against the back wall, several wardrobes. The mistress of the household was sitting on one *kang* feeding her baby, while two young girls and a boy were doing their school homework at the small table on the other. Kuan Chung-lu, the eldest son, was also there with the family. The whole atmosphere of the room breathed contentment and happiness.

Kuan was only too glad to tell me about the achievements of his cooperative. In 1953 its production boomed and the income of all its members increased proportionately.

His eldest son showed me a chart which recorded the total number of work days credited to the household during the last year and the

income to which it was entitled. The chart showed that three members of the family—the father, the eldest son and a daughter—had taken part in the farm work of the cooperative and been credited with a total of 625 work days. With the equivalent of 22 kilogrammes of grain to a work day, the family was entitled to receive for their labour a total of 13,750 kilogrammes of grain. On top of this they got a dividend on the share of land they had put into the co-op and on the earnings of the horse and cart they had contributed, which brought the total up to 15,122 kilogrammes. Dividing this by 12—the number of persons in the household—that meant an income of 1,260 kilogrammes of grain per head.

I asked Kuan how the family income was disbursed. "We sold part of our grain," he replied, "and with the money bought 150 metres of good cloth for summer and winter wear. I also got a sheepskin overcoat for myself, a pair of cowhide shoes and a fox-fur cap. In addition to a new cotton-padded suit, my daughters and daughter-in-law made themselves pretty lined dresses. We also bought new rubber-soled shoes for the kiddies."

At the mention of the children, the old man looked benignly on his sons and daughters.

"They're all going to school," he went on. "My second son is now at the No. 9 Middle School of Shenyang (Mukden). People of my

The picture at the top of this page shows Kuan Hai-lin taking grain from his cooperative to the Government Purchasing Station.

generation have suffered a lot from illiteracy. I'll do everything I can to give the youngsters a chance to study."

Kuan paused awhile and recalled the days under the rule of Japanese and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

"In the old days," he said, "I never had a single day free from worry. I was a cart driver for a landlord at fifteen. For more than thirty years I had to go for him to the Changpai Mountains every winter—five or six hundred kilometres away—to cart timber. It was back-breaking toil under rotten conditions. In 1946 Kuomintang troops came to our village. In a couple of days every bit of grain in the place was looted. We had nothing to eat but wild herbs. My eldest son was press-ganged by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. The house lost its main bread-winner, and two of my younger sons died of starvation. Then, in 1948, our sufferings came to an end. The Communist Party showed us how to get rid of the landlords, and their land was distributed among the peasants. My family's share was over two and a third hectares of land, besides a small house and a horse."

The old man's face lit up at the happy memory of that day. Then he told me how he had gone on to join the mutual-aid team and cooperative.

"In the spring of 1949 the Communist Party called on us peasants to get organized. Liu Chang-liang, one of the most active men in the village, said to me: 'The Communist Party and Chairman Mao gave us our land, carts and horses. It's for our own good they call on us to get organized, so let's get together, and work and prosper together.' At that time I didn't really understand what good mutual-aid organization could be to us peasants. But I knew I could trust the Communist Party. I soon joined one of the seasonal mutual-aid teams. Then, in 1951, we put it on a permanent footing. For three years running we reaped good harvests and every member of the team began living ever so much better."

By 1952 preparations were in full swing for the organization of an agricultural producers' cooperative in the village. But this time Kuan was by no means so keen to take the plunge into this new type of enterprise.

His family had plenty of labour. His sons and daughters were grown-up and pulled their weight with the farm work. The mutual-aid team had given satisfactory results and the annual grain harvest was more than enough to keep them going. He was doubtful how things would work out in a cooperative. Peasants differed in skill and strength. Pooling their land and efforts indiscriminately would probably benefit some and be disadvantageous to others. Kuan had misgivings. He might be one of the losers in this new set-up. Besides, his mare was due to foal in four months, and if the mare was given to the co-op, perhaps he'd lose the foal. Then again, the mare had been sick and needed special care. He was used to taking care of her himself. Once she was in the co-op, who'd take care of her? These were some of the thoughts that worried him.

Liu Chang-liang guessed why Kuan hesitated, so he patiently explained to him the principle of distributing the cooperatives' income according to the work done, which meant simply "higher pay for those who work more and better than the rest."

Liu also told Kuan that a mare in foal would count for more than an ordinary horse, and that all the cooperative's horses would be well taken care of by someone who would be



Kuan Hai-lin and his daughter Kuan Su-chen buying shoes at the local cooperative store

specially in charge of them. Although Kuan was quite ready to believe what his old friend Liu told him, he was still doubtful about how the principle "to each according to his labour" would work out. He knew that even brothers quarrel with each other. If different families worked together, what would stop them squabbling? Was there anyone among them with sufficient prestige to ensure strict observance of the principle by everyone?

But just about this time, Kuan Chung-lu, his eldest son, accepted an offer from the co-operative to take on the job of accountant. Kuan Su-chen, his daughter, was a member of the Youth League and of course had no difficulty in understanding the merits of cooperatives. They both patiently tried to show their father the advisability of joining. The arguments of a good son or daughter naturally carry a good deal of weight. Besides, Kuan had now got accustomed to group work in the mutual-aid team and that, too, prompted him to give a favourable answer to the invitation to join.

"But honestly," he said, "even after I'd joined, I still had misgivings at the start."

As a co-op member Kuan was given the job of cart driving and carrying fertilizers to the fields. He got eight work points* a day, while his assistant got seven. In the summer he was put on ploughing. His quota then was 1.2 hectares a day at 12 work points a shift. One day he ploughed 1.4 hectares, so he received 14 points for that day's work.

Telling me about this system he said with a smile: "It's very fair indeed!" When the cooperative accounts were made up after the autumn harvest, he found he'd received 6,850 kilogrammes of grain, 550 kilogrammes more than his income from the mutual-aid team the previous year. After learning through actual experience how satisfactory this principle of "to each according to his labour" was, old man Kuan dismissed all his misgivings as unfounded. He became a good propagandist for the new ways of work among his fellow peasants.

* Work points are credits for one's labour. An average work day is worth ten points, each point representing a certain amount of grain. Each peasant gets credited with more or less points in proportion to his efficiency in farm work.

"We peasants should have learned to follow the advice of the Communist Party by now. Take the road they show you. It's for your good! Don't lag behind!" he'd say.

In the summer of 1953 the government station which gave technical guidance on agriculture in the village sent a tractor to help the cooperative in its work. The whole village was agog. Kuan was immensely impressed by the efficiency and power of the tractor and never lost a chance to watch it at work. Before this he had only seen tractors in Soviet films. He never dreamed that a real tractor would come to his own village. And now here it was with two big ploughshares, actually working for his cooperative and turning up deep, seven-inch furrows.

With the help of the tractor the cooperative increased its grain output. And it saved so much time that the members were able to plant eight more hectares of land with vegetables, and so added an extra hundred million yuan to their income.

Relating these experiences Kuan concluded: "If there hadn't been the cooperative, the peasants here would still be farming their little plots of land by themselves. There wouldn't be any tractors for us: tractors can't work on small plots."

* * *

As I was taking my leave Kuan animatedly told me the latest piece of good news. After they had learned how the country would advance to socialism, members of the cooperative were considering how best to develop their work. "It would be far better," they were saying, "if the co-op owned *all* the means of production, and if members were paid exclusively according to the amount of work they put in." The other peasants in the village were also thinking on these lines. They were suggesting uniting all the members of the two cooperatives there and organizing one big collective farm.

"I think," said the old man, smiling, "my sons and daughters were a bit worried that I'd be reluctant to join a collective. But, believe me, there won't be any argument this time. I decided to join long ago. I'll never lag behind again. I'm going to be the first to put my name down!"

“Peace Through the Ages”

Yu Kuan-ying

THIS collection of 116 poems selected and translated by Rewi Alley, the New Zealand poet and a delegate to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which was held in Peking in 1952, covers a period of about 3,000 years—from the Western Chou Dynasty (1066-771 B.C.) to the present day. In the fine tradition of realism in Chinese literature these poems mirror the sufferings of the Chinese people in the unpopular wars waged by their rulers over the centuries; they express the people's hatred of unjust war.

The authors of these poems lived in different ages and belonged to different strata of society. Yet they were all actuated by a longing for peace and all denounced the sufferings inflicted upon the people in unjust wars. At the same time, they all sympathized with and supported just wars of resistance to foreign invasion and oppression.

Most of the poems in this selection belong to the period of the *Book of Odes* (1122-750 B.C.); the period of the Han and Wei Dynasties (206 B.C.-264 A.D.); the period of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and modern times.

Peace Through the Ages, 205 pages. Translations from the poets of China by Rewi Alley, published by the author. Distributed by the Guozhi Shudian, Peking.

The reviewer is a research fellow of the Literary Research Institute of Peking University.

The ambitious kings of the five hundred odd years covered by the *Book of Odes* never tired of waging war. The soldiers cried out against their rulers for treating them no better than beasts, forcing them to leave their families, wives and children and marching them long distances from home. The nine folk songs which represent this period in the volume under review are mostly the complaints of conscripted soldiers, frontier guards and wives sorrowing for their absent soldier husbands. “Soldiers of Wei,” for example, was composed by a conscript who would have preferred to work on defences in his native land rather than leave his home and fight abroad. “Home from War” describes soldiers on their homeward journey, back from a long spell of service, and happy in the prospect of being able to take up peaceful civilian life again, free from unnecessary wars. Supplementing these two songs of love for peace and yearning for home and family, the poems “Rocks Look Down” and “Grass Withers” voice the protest of the conscripts, filled with the people's hatred of war. Another poem in this section “War Has Taken My Husband” is a lament of a woman thinking of her husband away in the army for a long time.

Poems of Han and Wei

There are six poems of Han and Wei times in this selection. “The Old Soldier Returns” and “The Defeat” are both folk songs of the Han Dynasty. The former is the story of a veteran who at fifteen became a soldier in the

lawless struggles among rival feudal lords and was eighty when finally discharged. When he returns to his native land, he finds that his own home too has been destroyed by war. The latter pictures the terrible results of war—unburied corpses scattered on the battlefield, and in the rear no harvests gathered in from the deserted fields. These are eloquent denunciations of war.

“War in Chang-an City” was written by a poet of the upper stratum of society during the Wei Dynasty. Forcefully and in moving images it describes the terrible plight of refugees. In those days when military commanders contended ceaselessly for supremacy, many poets personally experienced or witnessed the sufferings of the people, and their writings, in general, therefore, faithfully reflect the calamities to which their age gave birth.

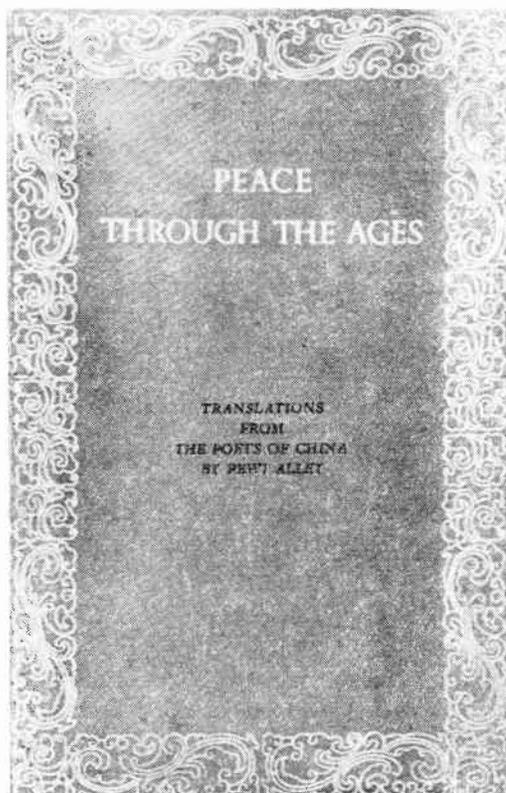
Many poems of parting were written in those turbulent times. “The Night of Parting” and “The Soldier Husband,” which appear in this collection, are two of them. Some poems of this nature were entitled “Ancient Poems” and were previously erroneously attributed to authors of earlier dynasties. Recent studies, however, have established that most of them were the work of anonymous authors and written towards the end of the Han Dynasty.

Golden Age of Poetry

The years of the Tang Dynasty were the golden age of Chinese poetry. Nearly fifty thousand poems written during these 300 years are still extant. It is only natural, therefore, that more than half this book—in all 71 poems—is devoted to poems of this age.

Up to 755 A.D. the Tang Dynasty was in the heyday of its political and military power and its emperors waged a whole series of aggressive wars against China's neighbours. Many were the soldiers who died on the frontiers in these wars, and many were the widowed! Numerous poems were written about the frontier wars and about women lamenting their soldier husbands.

Many of the verses composed in the Tang Dynasty and frequently on the lips of the people bitterly exposed the effects of unjust wars



on different classes and types of men. For example:

....Our comrades dead
or half-dead lie along the frontier line
while in the rear, in the tents of headquarters,
lovely ladies comfort the generals with dance
and song.

—Kao Shih: *Ballad of Yen*

.....
For already I have learned that a general's fame
stands on a pile of dry bones
of what were once the people.

—Tsao Sung: *War*

The rulers gained riches and fame by war: in their eyes the bleached bones of the people were worthless means to an end. All they cared for was to indulge in a luxurious life and pursue their greedy desires. The poets **bitingly** pictured the contrast between the rulers and the ruled, the victor and his victims.

Li Pai (Li Po) and Tu Fu, two of the greatest poets of the Tang Dynasty, castigated the rulers of the time for waging wars. Tu Fu's “Ballad of the War Chariots” was written during the war against the Turfan tribe in the thirty-

seventh year of the reign of Hsuan Tsung (749 A.D.). He speaks of

*frontiers on which enough blood has flowed
to make a sea; yet the Emperor Wu
still desires to expand his authority;*

*east of Hua Shan, county towns and villages
are desolate with weeds and thorns;*

—Tu Fu: *Ballad of the War Chariots*

A courageous and bitter denunciation indeed!

A prolonged war followed the rebellion of An Lu-shan, the Turki favourite of the Emperor Hsuan Tsung. A large part of the country was devastated by fire and sword. This was a civil as well as a national war, because it was fought against a foreign incursion. But just men found it intolerable to see the rulers taking advantage of it to increase their oppression of the people. Tu Fu expressed the people's sentiments to this war on such famous poems as "A Traveller's Story," "Official Visit to Shih Hao Village," "Lament of the New Wife," "The Old Man Returns to War" and "The Homeless." These showed typical victims of war—the common people, an old woman, a decrepit old man and an old soldier.

Li Pai, who enjoyed equal fame with Tu Fu, wrote a poem criticizing Yang Kuo-chung, the prime minister under the Emperor Hsuan Tsung, for his cruelty in conscripting the people to fight against tribesmen in Yunnan Province. Later, Pai Chu-yi denounced this similar act of national oppression in his touching poem "A Peasant Protest."

Tao Chien, a poet of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty (317-419), wrote "Peach Blossom Springs" which depicts a land of happiness where everyone labours cheerfully with no fear of war or heavy taxes. This is a beautiful poem expressing the people's desire for a Utopian society. It was much read by succeeding generations.

Peace Poems of Today

Today, having overthrown the yoke of feudalism and imperialism, the Chinese people have established their own peaceful life. With their own hands they are building a beautiful future in which they will realize the ideal of a socialist society. Working for this lofty cause, the Chinese people treasure and guard

peace more resolutely than at any time in their history.

The dedication of the Chinese people to this noble cause is reflected in present-day Chinese literature. The four modern poems in this collection sing the praises of peace not only in China, but throughout the whole world. The poets of New China not only love peace themselves but also give expression to the people's great desire for peace and firm confidence that a lasting peace can be achieved.

A collection of this size cannot, of course, give a panorama of all the remarkable wealth of Chinese poetry. The angle from which Mr. Alley has selected these poems is new. It is on the whole a beautiful selection of poems and there is no doubt that it will help the reader to get a better grasp of Chinese poetry as well as the fine traditions of Chinese literature. Perhaps, the translation is sometimes a little too free, but the style of the English is simple and fresh and free from the burdensome ornamentation that other translators have often indulged in.

Lastly, there are two omissions which are to be regretted: the collection does not include some poems showing how the Chinese people have throughout their history struggled actively for peace and freedom. Without these, some readers may get the impression that the Chinese people have opposed wars regardless of whether they were just or unjust. Moreover, there is a time-gap between the poems of Chao Yi, who wrote two hundred years ago, and those of Kuo Mo-jo, who is writing today. This leaves out the whole century during which China was reduced to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. But during this period the Chinese people, oppressed and exploited though they were by the imperialists, the feudal forces and the bureaucratic-capitalists, carried on a continuous and heroic struggle for peace and freedom, and this struggle was recorded by patriotic poets in a very large number of works.

CORRECTIONS: On page 36 of *People's China*, No. 11, the story mentioned in the fifth line of the box on Lu Hsun should read "A Madman's Diary."

In our last issue (No. 13), the first sentence on page 7 should read: "Thirty-three years ago. . ."

On page 37 of the same issue (No. 13) the twelfth line from the bottom of the first column should read: "U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon told . . . on November 3. . ."

CHINA TODAY

Premier Chou's Visit to India and Burma

Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China arrived in Delhi by air from Geneva on June 25, 1954. He visited India on the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

Three days later, on June 28 he arrived in Rangoon at the invitation of U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma. During his visits to the Indian and Burmese capitals, Premier Chou had friendly talks with his hosts.

The joint statements issued by Premier Chou and Prime Minister Nehru, and by Premier Chou and Prime Minister U Nu, following their discussions list the following principles for the guidance of relations between China and India and China and Burma:

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

Chou En-lai Meets Ho Chi Minh

Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, and Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, held talks on the Chinese-Viet-Name border from July 3 to 5, 1954. Premier Chou En-lai and President Ho Chi Minh had a full exchange of views on the Geneva Conference with respect to the question of the restoration of peace in Indo-China and related questions.

1954 State Budget

The Central People's Government Council at its meetings on June 16 and 17 unanimously adopted the 1954 state budget after hearing the report of Teng Hsiao-ping, Minister of Finance of the Central People's Government.

Minister Teng's report on the fulfilment of the 1953 state budget revealed:

By the end of 1953 China had a surplus of 42,827,000 million yuan.

The total value of industrial and agricultural production in 1953 was estimated on the basis of 1952 prices to be 11.4% higher than in 1952. (The figures here and in the following are estimates.) Modern industry accounted for 31.6% of the total value of industrial and agricultural production. (Before liberation it was about 10%, and in 1952 it was 28%.) The increasing proportion of modern industry in the national economy indicates another advance towards China's socialist industrialization.

There has also been a further rise in the cultural and material life of the people. The real wages of workers and staff in state-owned enterprises were, on an average, over 5% higher than in 1952. The purchasing power of the people also increased by about 20%.

In his report on the 1954 budget, Minister Teng emphasized that both revenue and expenditure will be increased this year. State-owned enterprises will yield 63.58% of the budgetary revenue, and 60.1% of the budgetary expenditure is allocated for national construction. As compared with 1953 there will be a further increase of 5.2% in the average wage of

workers and staff in state enterprises, cultural and educational institutions and government bodies throughout the country. The people's purchasing power, it is estimated, will be 13.8% higher than in 1953.

China's Population

According to preliminary statistics compiled by the Central Census Office, China's total population at midnight June 30, 1953 was 601,912,371. A direct census was taken of 573,876,670 of the total population, while in those national minority areas where local elections had not taken place, the figure of 8,708,169 was arrived at by indirect census. The over-all figure includes the estimated population of Taiwan (over seven million) and of Chinese residing abroad.

Completed before the nationwide local elections, this census was conducted for the first time in China's history in a practical and relatively scientific way. Careful reinvestigation and checking helped to ensure the accuracy of the figures.

Written Languages for National Minorities

By a recent decision of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government, the Institute of Linguistics and Philology of the Academia Sinica will help the national minorities to create their own written languages where none yet exist. Written languages for one or two nationalities will first be devised and put into experimental use. If the experiments are successful, the same methods will be used to create written languages for other nationalities.

Progress in Capital Construction

Capital construction is making good progress in various parts of the country.

In the Central-South provinces, over 400 new projects have been started in 44 state-owned enterprises. Capital construction of state industry in the Central-South provinces this year is on a far greater scale than last year. Investment in capital construction by the iron and steel industry is more than three times last year's, while the coal and machine-building industries invest 20% more than they did in 1953.

In Chekiang Province, East China, over 150 state-owned and joint public and privately-owned factories and mines are being expanded and reconstructed. These projects cover over ten industries, including electric power, machine-building, cement, brick and tile, paper, pharmaceutical and silk.

Many water works, workers' flats and houses, schools, hospitals and other buildings will also be built or enlarged in various parts of the country.

New Machine and Tractor Stations

There has been a further increase in the number of machine and tractor stations in 1954. Fifty-

six new stations have been established this spring, bringing the total to sixty-seven.

Machine and tractor stations have successfully shown the peasants the superiority of mechanized production. Two collective farms and five agricultural producers' co-operatives in Ningho County, Hopei Province, saved much time and labour in ploughing their fields by enlisting the help of machine and tractor stations, and the tractor teams of state farms. The farmers could thus devote more time to the improvement, irrigation, reclamation and draining of their land, as well as subsidiary occupations, thereby increasing their income. These facts have made many more individual peasants realize the advantages of mutual aid and cooperation.

A Forest Railway Opens

A new 71-kilometre-long railway from Kutuerh to Tuliho through the forests of the Great Khingan Mountains in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was opened to traffic on May 21.

This section of the railway runs through a difficult region of swamps and mountain ranges. The Japanese imperialists failed in an attempt to build a railway through this region. Now it has been completed after only 14 months' work.

The opening of this railway will promote the timber industry, as large supplies of timber can now be transported directly by rail to construction sites in various parts of the country.

It will also facilitate the cultural development of the forest area of Inner Mongolia and the rest of the country along its route.

Promoting Athletic Activities

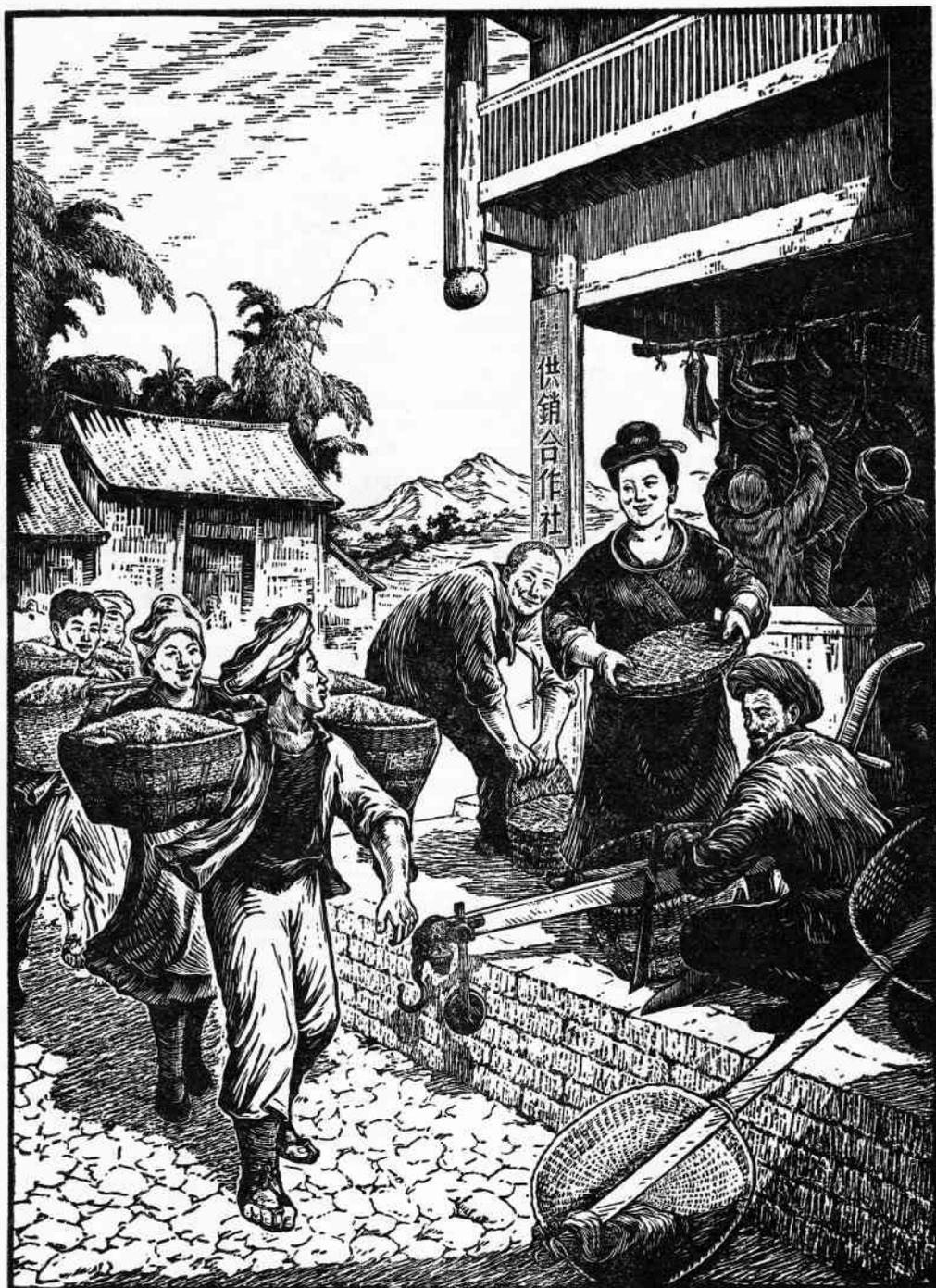
Physical culture and athletic activities are becoming increasingly popular in all government institutions and offices. Ten-minute mid-morning and mid-afternoon breaks are a welcome relaxation for all government workers.

Holiday excursions and various athletic competitions are also becoming increasingly popular.

These activities both improve the health and enrich the leisure of government workers.

Chinese Charge d'Affaires to London

As a result of an agreement reached between the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Kingdom, the Central People's Government will send a Charge d'Affaires to London, having the same position and duties as the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking.



Peoples of the national minorities at a supply and marketing cooperative in China's Southwest

Woodcut by Lin Chun