

PEKING

September 9, 1958

28

REVIEW

Education Must Be Combined with Productive Labour

A theoretical article on the educational policy of the
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Premier Chou En-lai's Statement on the Situation in the Taiwan Straits Area

The Paper Tiger Plays with Fire

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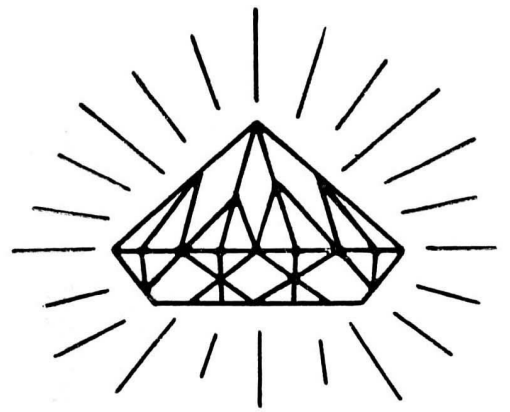
China's Foreign Trade Organizations

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

September 9, 1958 Vol. I No. 28

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People's Communes: A New Stage

THE rapid rise of people's communes throughout the countryside marks the beginning of a new stage in the building of socialism in China's vast rural areas. As reported last week, the people's communes are characterized by: 1) the merging of the grass-roots local government administration and the farm co-ops into one entity in the form of people's commune; 2) the close co-ordination of agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, fishery and subsidiary occupations; 3) the integration of industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs.

The people's communes operate not only as economic organizations running productive enterprises, but also as local administrative bodies assuming unified direction of all political, economic, cultural and military affairs in the rural districts. Their rapid expansion is expected to quicken the tempo of China's socialist construction.

The reasons are clear. The objectives of the socialist revolution are to abolish exploitation of man by man, and to build a classless society in which the difference between city and countryside, between mental and manual work will disappear and the ideal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will become the order of the day.

The broadening of the scope of activities of the people's communes to cover industry greatly accelerates the growth of local industries. Local plants manufacturing fertilizers, farm tools, irrigation equipment, and food processing mills are cropping up everywhere. In some cases, native-style steel and iron works, coal-mining and chemical plants have been founded. Peasants often give a helping hand to industry when necessary. On the other hand, workers occasionally take time out to help with farm work. As a result, a new type of peasant-worker and worker-peasant has come into being. Close integration of industry and agriculture hastens the diminution and ultimate disappearance of the gap between city and countryside.

The development of the people's communes has led to better utilization of manpower on a much larger scale to do things that could not get done before because of limited hands and financial resources. The continuous increase in production will eventually make it possible to advance from "to each according to his work" to "to each according to his needs."

But that isn't the whole story. With the spread of the people's communes, culture and education in China's vast rural areas are making great strides ahead. As reported elsewhere in this issue, the policy of combining education with productive labour has led to schools running workshops and farms while factories and farm co-ops now have schools of their own. Students are becoming peasants or workers while workers and peasants are becoming students. Thus, the centuries-old abyss between mental and manual labour is being steadily bridged.

These concrete steps to promote ownership by the whole people and to eliminate the difference between city and countryside, between brain work and physical work indicate that China is striding along the socialist road in seven league boots.

ROUND THE WEEK

tions of various government offices concerned.

Supreme State Conference in Session

On September 5 Chairman Mao Tse-tung convened the Supreme State Conference. He opened the session with an analysis of the situation at home and abroad. Tan Chen-lin, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, reported on agriculture and measures to be taken in the coming months.

As we go to press the Conference is in session and it will hear the following reports: On the national construction programme for 1959 and the Second Five-Year Plan; On Financial and Trade Work; On Educational Work; On Foreign Policy. The Conference will discuss all these reports.

The Conference was attended by leaders of the Communist Party and other political parties, leading members of the government, heads of people's organizations and prominent public figures.

The current session of the Supreme State Conference is the fifteenth since 1954 when it was created by the Constitution adopted that year. Article 43 of the Chinese Constitution provides that "whenever necessary" the Chairman of the People's Republic convenes a Supreme State Conference, to be attended by the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Premier of the State Council and other persons concerned.

Political Bureau Meeting

A 100 per cent increase in steel production in 1958—10.7 million tons as against 5.35 million tons in 1957—is the goal set by the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee which held an enlarged session between August 17 and 30 at Peitaiho, the ocean resort town, in Hopei Province. The Political Bureau meeting called on the entire Party and the nation as a whole to go all out to realize this target.

Other items on the agenda of the meeting were the national economic plan for 1959, questions arising from current industrial, agricultural and commercial

work, educational policy and strengthening the work of the militia.

The meeting estimated that the total output of food crops this year will reach 600,000 million to 700,000 million *jin* (300 to 350 million tons), an increase of 60 to 90 per cent as compared with 1957. The output of cotton will reach 70 million *dan* (3.5 million tons), an increase of more than 100 per cent as compared with last year's output. With agriculture scoring such tremendous successes, industry must keep pace. The meeting therefore decided to ask the first secretaries of the provincial and autonomous regional Party committees from now on to pay attention first of all to guiding work in the industrial field, although, it was pointed out, their leadership in agriculture must not be relaxed.

In view of the fact that in the current 3-year battle to change the face of China—politically, economically and culturally—1959 will be a year of decisive importance, the meeting considered it necessary for industry and agriculture to press ahead at full speed as in 1958, or at an even higher tempo. In this way, the question of the production and supply of grain, cotton and edible oils and the backward state of China's industry will be solved fundamentally and in the shortest possible time. The meeting adopted specific measures to ensure the necessary speed and scope of economic development.

A spirited discussion took place on the question of setting up people's communes in the rural areas. It was pointed out that the merging and transforming of smaller agricultural producers' co-operatives into big people's communes is an inevitable trend brought about by the breath-taking advances in agricultural production and the rising political consciousness of the peasants. As the best form for accelerating socialist construction and the transition from socialism to communism, the meeting pointed out that the people's communes will become the basic social units of communist society in China.

Apart from members of the Political Bureau, the meeting was attended by the first secretaries of the Communist Party committees of various provinces, the autonomous regions and Peking and Shanghai—the two municipalities directly under the central government—as well as leading members of Party organiza-

Spotlight on Steel

Kiangsu may well be taken as reflecting the spirit of the nation. Secretaries of Communist Party organizations in the province have made the steel mills their headquarters. They work, eat, live, and sleep there, so as to be on hand to help workers and engineers alike to get on with the job. This is the front line, they say, and they will be there till the battle is won.

The goal of the battle, for them and the whole nation, is 10.7 million tons of steel, and the job is to be completed in the remaining four months of the year. The Party secretaries, whose excellent work on the agricultural front is reflected in China's record crop yields, are now shifting their "theatre of operations" to industry—above all to steel-making. In all parts of China people who have anything to do with the industry are giving their first attention to steel. To double steel output in a single year is without precedent anywhere in the world.

The main effort, in the localities, is concentrated on putting all the small blast furnaces into operation. In July there were 30,000, but in August the figure jumped to 170,000. The number of steel workers has also increased sharply, from several hundred thousand a short while ago to several million today. The output of iron and steel has increased from month to month, especially since July when it began to shoot ahead. When the great volume of smelting equipment that is being manufactured goes into operation in the next few weeks China's steel-smelting capacity will be doubled. All this goes a long way to ensuring the realization of China's great goal, but the guarantee for the fulfilment of the target of 10.7 million tons, as *Renmin Ribao* points out, lies in the immediate and enthusiastic response of the people to materialize the call of the Political Bureau. One and all have made steel-making the overriding job.

Television in China

China's first regular television service was inaugurated in Peking on September 2. The Peking station will present programmes every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday evening. Prior to the introduction of regular transmissions, a try-out of four months was made during which the approval of a large number of viewers was won. Many trade union clubs, schools, and other organizations have installed TV sets.

non-Party professors and teachers to join their discussions on this question.

EDUCATION in our country has developed very rapidly since early this year. Figures compiled by the State Statistical Bureau up to the end of June, as yet incomplete, report 1,240 counties with universal primary school education, 68,000 middle schools* run by the people themselves, more than 400 institutions of higher learning newly established by the local authorities, approximately 90 million or more people attending literacy courses, and 444 counties in which illiteracy has been wiped out in the main. The victory in the rectification campaign and the struggle against the bourgeois rightists has given rise to the great leap forward in the industry and agriculture of our country. The leap forward, in turn, has precipitated an upsurge in the technical and cultural revolutions. The great advance in education is one of the signs of the high-tide of the cultural revolution.

Two measures adopted at the end of last year and early this year pushed forward the advance in education. One was the application in all schools of the principle of combining work with study. The other was the establishment of agricultural middle schools. The practice of working while studying begins to combine the ordinary schooling with productive labour. It breaks the age-old tradition in the schools of looking down on physical labour, changes the atmosphere in the schools and has a very good influence on the social atmosphere. The agricultural middle schools are vocational (technical) schools set up by the people themselves, on a part-work and part-study basis. Schools of this kind meet the pupils' desire to continue their studies and also prepare agricultural technicians. They are comparatively simple to set up and meet the practical needs of today. Without state financing, they still lighten the economic burden on students'

* In China the primary schools cover the first six years of schooling. Middle schools account for the years after primary school, up to college. — *Tr.*

tryside to the cities, where another stream is evident — the establishment of factories by schools and the setting up of schools by factories.

Now this combination of schooling and productive labour has given rise to the campaign to reform school curricula and the efforts to change school systems, as well as to change the composition of the teaching staffs, etc. Our educational work is like a hundred flowers in bloom, like "ten thousand horses galloping ahead." Education is now breaking out of the confines of exclusive control by the experts and of doctrinairism to become the work of the whole Communist Party and the people as a whole, to become socialist education suited to the situation in our country. This transformation has been taking place under the leadership of the Communist Party. Such absurdities as "more, faster, better and more economical results cannot obtain in education," "laymen cannot lead experts," "Communist Party committees do not understand education," "the masses do not understand education" are being smashed to smithereens.

OUR state is a proletarian dictatorship, a socialist state. Our education is not bourgeois but socialist education. Socialist education is inconceivable without Communist Party leadership. Socialist education is one of the powerful weapons for transforming the old and building the new society. The purpose of the socialist revolution and socialist construction is to eliminate all exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation including their remnants and to bring into being a communist society "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," with the difference between town and country and between mental and manual labour eliminated. This is precisely the purpose of socialist education. Such education can be led only by the political party of the working class, the Communist Party; the bourgeoisie is not qualified to lead education of this type. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can educational work assume the new countenance that we see it has today.

work are separate and education should be directed by experts."

Education is, first and foremost, the transmission and acquisition of knowledge. But what is knowledge? What is the purpose of transmitting and acquiring knowledge? We Communists interpret these questions differently from the bourgeoisie. Most bourgeois pedagogues hold that only book knowledge is knowledge and that practical experience cannot be regarded as knowledge. They therefore take the view that education means reading books; the more a man reads the more knowledge he has and those possessing book knowledge are of a higher order. As for productive labour, particularly manual labour and manual workers, they think all this is demeaning, a "blind alley." There are other bourgeois pedagogues who maintain that education is life and vice versa. They do not understand life as the practice of class struggle and struggle for production, nor do they stress the importance of theory. So in the end they write off education in effect. These two sets of bourgeois views, though they appear to be diametrically opposed to each other, stem from the same root. They imply that there is no class differentiation among human beings and that pedagogy is a branch of learning that stands above classes. We Communists view the question differently.

We believe that pedagogy is a branch of social sciences. All the social sciences must be guided by politics, and education is no exception. People require education to wage the class struggle and the struggle for production. We believe there are only two types of knowledge in the world. One is knowledge of the class struggle. The class struggle is the struggle between groups of men of different economic status and this has already existed for several thousand years. In the present period of transition in our country, there is still class struggle. In the future, when classes no longer exist, even though there will not be class struggle, there will still be contradictions among the people; therefore, for tens of thousands of years to come there will still be poisonous weeds, that is, there

knowledge acquired through their own personal experience but only a matter of theories written down by their forefathers to sum up the experiences of the struggle for production and of the struggle between classes. It is entirely necessary that they should inherit this kind of knowledge, but it must be understood that in a certain sense such knowledge is to them still something one-sided, something which has been verified by others but not yet by themselves. The most important thing is that they should be well versed in applying such knowledge in life and practice. Therefore, I should advise those who have only bookish knowledge but little or no practical experience that they should be aware of their own shortcomings and be modest."

Experience without theory, which is usually perceptual or partial, is also a kind of one-sided, fragmentary knowledge. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Those comrades who are engaged in practical work will also come to grief if they misuse their experience. True, these comrades are often rich in experience which is certainly valuable, but it would be a great danger if they should rest content with such experience. They ought to realize that their knowledge is usually perceptual and partial, and that they lack rational and comprehensive knowledge; in other words, they are not equipped with theory, and their knowledge is thus comparatively incomplete. Without comparatively complete knowledge it is impossible to do revolutionary work well." What is then comparatively complete knowledge? Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "There is only one kind of true theory in the world, the theory that is drawn from objective reality and then in turn verified by it; nothing else can be called theory in our sense." "All comparatively complete knowledge is acquired through two stages, first the stage of perceptual knowledge and secondly the stage of rational knowledge, the latter being the development of the former to a higher plane." "There are two kinds of incomplete knowledge: one is knowledge already contained in books and the other is knowledge which is usually perceptual and partial, and both are one-sided. Only through an integration of the

two can excellent and comparatively complete knowledge emerge." ("Rectify the Party's Style in Work," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*)

The purpose of education is to enable students to acquire comparatively complete knowledge and not one-sided, incomplete knowledge. It follows that teachers are required to have comparatively complete knowledge.

Our educational workers always say that "education is the people's business." This is good, because in our country this is true. But as the experience of the past nine years shows, there are two different interpretations of this phrase.

The bourgeois pedagogues maintain that the masses of the people are entitled to receive education; but as to running education, that is only for the experts, not for the masses of the people. Their slogans are: "the professors must run the schools"; "laymen cannot lead experts"; "the Party does not understand education"; "the masses do not understand education"; "students must not criticize teachers"; etc.

These myths advanced by the bourgeois pedagogues were even accepted as true by some of our comrades, who forgot that our Party on hundreds and thousands of occasions had been called "laymen," yet, as it ultimately turned out, proved in fact rather more expert than any experts.

Some of our comrades advocated this sort of proposition: (1) only the state may run schools and (2) only one kind of school — general, full-time schools — may be set up. Past experience shows that the bourgeois pedagogues are keenly interested in this proposition because it ties the hands of the masses and does not permit them to set up schools. The bourgeois pedagogues know that if education were run along these lines, our country would find it very difficult to institute universal primary and secondary education and have no hope at all of instituting universal higher education, because the state has no way of carrying the huge burden of expenditures involved without heavy damage to production.

We Communists do not agree with the bourgeois pedagogues. We think that it is for the socialist revolution and socialist construction that the masses of the people need education. As the masses of the people are able to conduct revolution and construction, they are, of course, capable not only of receiving education but also of running education. In running education, it is necessary to rely on a corps of specialists, for without a powerful specialized corps things will not go well, and at present, this corps of specialists still needs to be greatly strengthened by transferring cadres and establishing teachers' training schools. But the corps of specialists in education must integrate with the masses, and reliance on the masses in running education is the more important. Only by linking the specialized educational workers with the masses, adhering to the mass line of "from the masses and back to the masses," and carrying out the policy of



Peasants Studying

Woodcut by Chi Tan

setting up schools by the whole people under the leadership of the Party, is it possible, in fact certain, for our country's educational work to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. And only by fully applying the policy of setting up schools by the whole people under the leadership of the Party is it possible to do all-round planning, duly considering and coordinating all aspects, so that not only does the educational work grow, but grows in a way that helps, and does not impede the development of production.

Our educational workers always say, too, that "educational work must receive leadership from the Party." This is undoubtedly correct. Socialist education must be led by the Communist Party and educational work in the socialist People's Republic of China must be led by the Communist Party of China. But there are also different interpretations of what leadership is and what kind of leadership is needed. What the bourgeois pedagogues call "Party leadership" is "Party leadership in political matters and our leadership in vocational matters." On questions unrelated to education they may listen to the Party; but if the Party has something to say about educational principles, policies, systems, methods and so on, they regard it as unacceptable. In words they want Party leadership, but in practice they do not want it; on minor questions they may listen to the Party, but on major questions they want to have their own way in defiance of the Party. Some of our comrades in the Party who work in the educational field put themselves up as experts in relation to Party committees and fail to respect their leadership. This is an expression of bourgeois influence in our Party.

IN the past few years, the "theory" that the principal laws governing educational work are to be drawn from the study of the history of education, was spread widely in educational circles in our country. From this it would follow that to run socialist education it is just necessary to study the history of education, while recognizing Party leadership in the abstract; as for specific Party leadership, this is not needed.

Study of the history of education, provided it proceeds from the viewpoint of Marxist historical materialism, is

indeed useful and helps towards an understanding of the laws which governed education for thousands of years in the era of class society. However, it must be understood that the laws governing education in the history of class society are not the same as the laws governing socialist education, much less the laws governing socialist education in China. For the past thousands of years, education was in the hands of the slave-owners, the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. The principal laws to be derived from this history are those governing exploiting class education. They are certainly a far cry from the laws of socialist education. Mistakes would be inevitable if these laws were copied as the laws of socialist education.

What the facts show is that the so-called theory that "the principal laws governing educational work are to be drawn from the study of the history of education" is in reality a pretence by which the study of the history of education is used to keep bourgeois educational ideas, policies, systems, methods and so on intact under the socialist system and to palm these off as socialist.

IN China's history of education there is one aspect which is of the people. There was the Confucian idea that "in the matter of instruction, no distinction should be made between men of all sorts and conditions"; Mencius' idea that "the people are more important than the king"; the idea of Hsun Tzu that "man will overcome nature"; Chu Yuan's criticism of the vices of royalty; Szuma Chien's eulogy of resistance to evil; the ancient materialism of Wang Chung, Fan Chen, Liu Chung-yuan, Chang Tsai and Wang Fu-chih; the democratic literature of Kwan Han-ching, Shih Nai-an, Wu Cheng-en and Tsao Hsueh-chin and the democratic revolution of Sun Yat-sen. The conditions in which these people lived varied. Many of them did not write specifically on education. But what has just been referred to could not but have its impact on the education of the people. All this must be mentioned in talking about the history of Chinese education.

But taking the major aspects, education over the past thousands of years was certainly an instrument in the hands of the exploiting classes, while socialist education is an instrument in the hands of the working class. This change, from an instrument of the exploiting classes to an instrument of the working class, is a qualitative leap in education and a great revolution for education itself. To study the history of education without seeing this qualitative leap is to depart from dialectics; it is metaphysical. We advocate the study of the history of education but we oppose the view that the principal laws of socialist education can be found through such study because it would lead us to right deviationist mistakes.

Moreover, even the laws of socialist education, though they are of the same character in different countries, differ in their specific features. Doctrinaire mistakes would be made if the specific features of one's own country are not studied. What are the specific features of our country? First, ours is a socialist country; second, it has a huge population and covers a vast area; third, its economy and culture are backward; fourth, it is led by the Communist Party and its industry and agriculture are leaping forward rapidly; and fifth and most important, our country has carried out a serious rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle, the people are encouraged to air their views, contend, debate to the fullest extent and publicize

their views in *dazibao*.* We must define our educational principles, policies, systems, methods and so on in accordance with these characteristics of our own, combining the universal truths of Marxism with the specific conditions of our country.

It is clear, therefore, that the so-called theory that "the principal laws governing educational work are to be drawn from the study of the history of education" is a most pernicious "theory" which divorces education from reality and leads it to right deviationist and doctrinaire mistakes. Not to proceed from the objective realities of one's own country is subjective, anti-Marxist thinking. If we err in our way of thinking, we cannot find out the major laws governing the development of things. If we do not proceed from reality and if we go against the universal truths of Marxism, we will surely make mistakes, either right deviationist or doctrinaire mistakes, or both. This is the important lesson we should draw from the educational work of our country.

We are Marxists and so we maintain that it is necessary to proceed from objective reality. Therefore we must first study our own conditions seriously and have the drive to undertake such research. We also study the experiences of our fraternal countries seriously, and we study history seriously, but our purpose is not to copy or transplant but to understand history, understand historical materialism in the field of education, so as to have examples for study with the aid of which we can do our work satisfactorily in accordance with our own conditions. Whatever our sphere of work, we must rely closely on the leadership of the Party because it is indeed the Communist Party, no one else, that understands our conditions best and knows Marxism best. The Communist Party is the highest form of organization of the working class; it must and can give leadership in everything. From the Central Committee down to the basic organizations, the Communist Party is the organized, disciplined vanguard of the working class. We have relied on this vanguard for victory in the revolutionary war and for success in the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts and we must rely on it for victory in the technical and cultural revolutions. Our educational workers should accept Party leadership not only in politics but also in the sphere of educational ideas, policy and work. Only in this way will it be possible to keep up with the times and avoid mistakes or make fewer mistakes.

IN the final analysis, the debate on education that has been going on in recent years boils down to the question of "what is all-round development." Marxists believe in "producing fully developed human beings" and in achieving this through education. It is well that our educationalists often talk about all-round development. Yet there are differences of principle in the interpretation of "all-round development." Judging by our country's experience in education in the past nine years, although the bourgeois pedagogues do not directly and openly oppose all-round development and even appear to "support the principle actively," yet they interpret it one-sidedly as meaning education through learning of extensive book knowledge. They do not hold with students studying politics and

* Opinions and criticisms written out in bold Chinese characters on large sheets of paper and posted for everybody to see. — Tr.

participating in productive labour. In fact they vulgarize the idea of all-round development and equate it with the bourgeois educational line which rears "know-alls."

We Communists interpret all-round development in an entirely different way. The essence of all-round development is that the students should acquire comparatively broader knowledge, become versatile people capable of "going over in sequence from one branch of production to another, depending on the requirements of society or their own inclinations." (F. Engels: *Principles of Communism*) We maintain that workers should be versatile in industrial production and peasants should be versatile in agricultural production; moreover that workers should at the same time be peasants and peasants should be workers. We maintain that civilians should take up military service and retired military men go back to production. We maintain that cadres should participate in physical labour and productive workers in administration. All these propositions are already being put into practice gradually. Measures such as these which involve both the division of labour and change of work conform to the needs of society. They are more reasonable than the division of labour under the capitalist system. They not only increase production but enable the state to carry out reasonable readjustment of the productive forces when this becomes socially necessary, without causing social upheaval.

Our leap forward in industry and agriculture is already giving rise to the problem of the partial transfer of producers to other branches of production when what they are making grows in output to the point where it meets the current maximum demands of the people and there is even a surplus. Without such transfer there would be failure to meet the demands of the people, to develop the productive forces of society continuously and raise the people's living standards continuously. Our educational and other relevant spheres of work must prepare the ground for such transfers. Education should enable the students to acquire broad knowledge. But how broad depends on concrete objective and subjective conditions. In the future, when communist society is fully consolidated, developed and mature, men will be trained in many kinds of work and be able to undertake many professions while specializing in selected fields. This is what we aim at. We must march to this goal.

IN our country's present conditions, we can train people to do many kinds of work, but cannot yet train "people to be capable of undertaking any profession." The essence of all-round development is also that the knowledge imparted to the students must be not one-sided and fragmentary, but comparatively complete knowledge. This requires that education should serve politics and be combined with productive labour. Speaking of his ideal of education in the future, Karl Marx referred to "an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." (*Capital*, Vol. I) That is, he urged that students acquire comparatively complete knowledge and be able to engage not only in mental labour but manual labour as well. Book knowledge alone, however broad, is still partial and incomplete. People with extensive book knowledge alone and without experience of

practical work are only what the bourgeoisie calls "know-alls." They are not what we regard as people of all-round development. Physical development is necessary in childhood and this development must be sound. In addition, a communist spirit and style and collective heroism should be inculcated in childhood. This is the moral education of our day. Both are linked with the development of intellectual education. Both are related to manual work and therefore the principle of combining education with labour is unshakable.

In brief, the all-round development we stand for is this: students should be enabled to acquire comparatively complete, broader knowledge, grow up physically fit and acquire communist morals. In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who gets an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured, socialist-minded worker." This is our educational principle of all-round development. "A cultured, socialist-minded worker" is a man who is both politically conscious and educated. He is able to undertake both mental and manual work. He is what we regard as developed in an all-round way, both politically and professionally qualified. He is a worker-intellectual and an intellectual-worker.

WE insist on the educational principle of all-round development. We consider that the only method to train human beings in all-round development is to educate them to serve working-class politics and combine education with productive labour. We say the only method, because there is no other way to achieve this aim. Bourgeois pedagogues do not agree. They consider the only method to train people to have what they call "all-round development" is to read books and learn by rote. They are absolutely against students learning politics and, in particular, students becoming labourers. According to our educational principle of all-round development, we can and must rely on the masses to run education. According to the bourgeois educational principle of so-called "all-round development," they can rely only on experts to run education; they cannot rely on the masses. According to our educational principle of all-round development, education must be under the leadership of the Communist Party. According to the bourgeois educational principle of so-called "all-round development," education can only be led by the experts; it does not need the leadership of the Communist Party as the Communist Party is "a layman." From this we see that different interpretations of all-round development lead to different and even opposite conclusions. That is why we say that the debate on education in recent years ultimately boils down to the question of "what is all-round development." This is essentially a struggle between proletarian and bourgeois educational ideas.

If we followed our bourgeois pedagogues' attitude towards knowledge, towards education as the business of the people, towards leadership by the Communist Party and towards all-round development, our educational work would be dragged back to the old bourgeois road. Precisely because of this, it is necessary to give a clear explanation of our communist interpretation of these questions.

Great achievements have been made in our educational work, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, in the past nine years since the founding of

the People's Republic of China. These are — the recovery of the right to run education, a right formerly usurped by the imperialists; the satisfactory taking over of the schools all over the country; the abolition of the fascist system of school management practised by the Kuomintang reactionary clique, the abolition of its fascist education and domination of the students by its special agents; the setting up of a socialist educational system; and the wiping out, in the main, of the counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements hidden in educational circles. In addition, courses in Marxism-Leninism have been opened in the schools; ideological remoulding has been conducted among the teachers and students; the universities and departments have been reorganized and teaching systems reformed; and struggles have been waged against the bourgeois rightists. The number of students in institutions of higher learning, middle schools and primary schools has in all cases increased several fold; big advances have been made in the campaign against illiteracy and in spare-time cultural and technical education; the policy of working while studying has begun to be applied universally in the schools; organizations of the Chinese Communist Party have been established among the educational workers; and large numbers of people have been trained as cadres for socialist construction.

But the struggle between working-class and bourgeois ideas proceeds continuously on the educational front. This is in the nature of a struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads. Bourgeois thinking has hampered the development of education. When the bourgeois rightists made their ferocious attacks, they even attempted to use the students as a stepping stone to restore capitalism. This was at one time the dream of Chang Po-chun, Lo Lung-chi, Tseng Chao-lun, Chien Wei-chang and others of their ilk. Our victory in the anti-rightist struggle and the great leap forward in industry and agriculture have turned bad things to good account and enabled people to understand better the danger and baneful consequences of bourgeois thinking in educational work. The work in the past nine years has given us experience and enabled us to explain our Party's policy of educational work more clearly and systematically.

THE chief mistakes and defects in our educational work have been the isolation of education from productive labour. The policy of combining education with productive labour was put forward by our Party early in 1934. Comrade Mao Tse-tung already then said: "What is the general policy for the Soviet* culture and education? It is to educate the broad masses of the toiling people in the spirit of communism, to make culture and education serve the revolutionary war and the class struggle, to combine education with labour and to enable the broad masses of the Chinese people to enjoy civilization and happiness." In 1954 when the period of economic rehabilitation was over and the First Five-Year Plan already in operation, the Central Committee of the Party raised the question of adding productive labour to the curricula of the schools. But the proposal encountered obstruction and was not carried through at that time. The Central Committee of the Party repeatedly stressed its policy that education must

*This refers to the Soviet areas in China which existed at that time under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. — Tr.

be combined with productive labour — at the national conference on propaganda work in March 1957, in the editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) on April 8 of the same year and at the Nanning meeting in January 1958. It is only now that this policy of the Party has been realized on a nation-wide scale. Education must serve politics, must be combined with productive labour and must be led by the Party — these three things are inter-related. Education divorced from productive labour is bound to lead, to a degree, to the neglect of politics and of Party leadership in educational work, thus divorcing education from the realities of our country and eventually causing right deviationist and doctrinaire mistakes.

The combination of education with productive labour is required by our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, by the great goal of building a communist society and by the need to develop our education with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

THE aim of our socialist revolution is to wipe out all exploiting classes, all systems of exploitation, including their remnants. Basic victory has now been won in the socialist revolution on the economic front. On the political and ideological fronts, too, the socialist revolution has achieved decisive victory. As the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China has pointed out in its resolution, our task is "to actively carry out the technical and cultural revolutions while continuing with the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts."

The cultural revolution is to enable all 600 million Chinese people, except for those who are incapable, to do productive work and to study. This means to make the masses of our workers and peasants intellectuals as well and our intellectuals labourers too. Only as the masses of the workers and peasants and the intellectuals alike develop along the line of making up what they lack, is it possible to change thoroughly the irrational legacy of the old society and eradicate the backwardness of each, i.e., eliminate the cultural deficiency of the masses of workers and peasants and eliminate the bourgeois thinking of the intellectuals. This is, therefore, a very far-reaching revolution which demands that education must serve working-class politics, that it be combined with productive labour.

Marx said: "An early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society." (*Karl Marx: Critique of the Gotha Programme*) It is impossible to carry through the cultural revolution without combining education with productive labour. Cultural revolution is beneficial to the country, to the masses of workers and peasants as well as the intellectuals. Only those who stick to the bourgeois standpoint do not want such a revolution. The bourgeois policy of education for education's sake, and divorcing mental from physical labour, is incompatible with the socialist revolution.

Our socialist construction demands the utmost effort and consistent pressing ahead; it demands building the country industriously and thriftily; it also demands technique and culture and the training of large numbers of socialist-minded and professionally proficient technicians in conformity with the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. These needs of socialist construction also demand the combination of

education with productive labour. Lenin said: "It is impossible to visualize the ideal of future society without combining the training and education of the young generation with productive labour. Neither training and education without productive labour, nor productive labour without parallel training and education could have been raised to the height demanded by present-day technique and the state of scientific knowledge" (*Pearls of Narodniks' Hare-brained Schemes*). The policy of combining education with productive labour will certainly raise the quality of education. This holds true for intellectual and for moral and physical education. The educational policy of divorcing mental and manual labour cannot meet the needs of socialist construction.

THE future communist society will be one of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," a society in which the differences between town and country and between mental and manual labour are eliminated. Our big leap forward in industry and agriculture has made the attainment of communism no longer a far distant prospect. One hundred and ten years ago Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto formulated ten measures to establish a communist society, which "will be pretty generally applicable . . . in the most advanced countries." Of these, the first eight have already been carried out in China, through the adoption of methods suitable to the actual conditions of our country; and the last two, namely "the combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; the gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country" and "the combination of education with industrial production" are beginning to be carried out.

It is clear to everyone that because of the application, in the course of industrial development, of the policy "to develop industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry; and, with centralized leadership, over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination to develop national and local industries, and large, small and medium-sized enterprises simultaneously," industry has appeared in the rural areas and, with it, the phenomenon of workers who are simultaneously peasants and peasants who are simultaneously workers. This phenomenon has the embryo of communist society.

Because the principle of combining education with productive labour is beginning to go into operation, with schools setting up their own factories and farms, and factories and agricultural co-operatives establishing their own schools on a large scale, the phenomenon of students who are at the same time workers and peasants and of workers and peasants who are students at the same time is beginning to appear. This, too, has the embryo of communist society. It can be imagined that when China enters into communism, our basic social organizations will be many communist communes. With few exceptions, each basic unit will have workers, peasants, traders, students and militia. In the field of education, each basic unit will have its own primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning; at the same time everybody will have the time to acquire education as both labourer and intellectual. In *The Housing Question* Engels anticipated this situation when he said: "And it is precisely this industrial revolution which has raised the productive power of human labour to such a high level that — for the first time in the history of humanity — the possibility exists, given a

rational division of labour among all, of producing not only enough for the plentiful consumption of all members of society and for an abundant reserve fund, but also of leaving each individual sufficient leisure so that what is really worth preserving in historically inherited culture — science, art, forms of intercourse — may not only be preserved but converted from a monopoly of the ruling class into the common property of the whole of society, and may be further developed." To attain this prospect, our educational work must not go in the direction of divorcing mental and manual labour but in the direction of combining mental with manual labour and education with productive labour.

To the bourgeois educationists it seems impossible to get greater, faster, better and more economical results in education. But the tremendous growth in educational work since the beginning of this year has proved that the application of the mass line in educational work can make it develop with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The combination of education with labour, making education an activity that is warmly welcomed by the workers and peasants, is an important way of arousing mass initiative in the setting up of schools. The principles of running schools by applying the mass line under Communist Party leadership are: First, to combine unity with diversity. The purpose of the training is unified, that is, to train socialist-minded, educated workers; but the schools can be run by the central or local authorities, factories and mines, enterprises and agricultural co-operatives, and the forms the schools can take are varied. They may be full-time, or part-work part-study, or spare-time schools; they may collect fees or be free of charge. As production grows further and working hours can be shortened, the present spare-time schools will be similar to part-work part-study schools. When production develops considerably and public accumulation rises greatly, the schools that now charge fees will similarly become free.

Second, to combine the spreading of education widely with the raising of educational levels. The level of education must be raised on the basis of popularization and popularization must be so guided as to raise the level of education. Some of the full-time, the part-work part-study and the spare-time schools undertake the task of raising educational levels at the same time as education is being spread extensively through part-work part-study and spare-time courses. Since the schools that popularize education are part-work part-study or spare-time schools, they can meet the whole or the greater part of their expenditures themselves, and can find teachers locally in accordance with the principle that "every capable person can teach." They can develop gradually by perfecting their curricula, equipment and teaching staff with aid from the government. In schools where courses in labour are lacking, the stress should be on introducing them and in schools where the deficiency is in the basic courses the stress should be on introducing these, so that both kinds of schools go forward to fill in what they lack and apply the principle of combining theory with practice more effectively.

Third, to combine over-all planning with decentralization, to bring into play the initiative of both the various central government departments and the local authorities and the masses so as to develop education with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In planning educational work, the central and the local authorities, guided by the Party committees, can develop education

as fast as possible and enable this development to benefit, not hamper, the growth of production.

Fourth, to apply the mass line in the political, administrative, pedagogic and research work in the schools. In all such work, it is necessary, guided by the Party committees, to adopt the method of open and free airing of views, and *dazibao* and the method of the "three combinations" (for instance, in working out teaching plans and programmes, the method can be adopted of combining the efforts of the teachers and the students under the leadership of the Party committee and in teaching, the method of inviting people with practical experience to give lectures, in co-ordination with the teachers in special fields, under the leadership of the Party committee, and so on), and to establish democratic relations of equality—changing the old irrational relations—between the leadership and the rank and file and between the teachers and the students. Experience shows that remarkable achievements have been made where these methods have been adopted.

A struggle has to be waged before the combination of education and labour is effected, and this struggle will be a protracted one. Why? Because this is a revolution upsetting old traditions in educational work that have persisted for thousands of years. The principle of divorcing mental from manual labour has dominated educational work for thousands of years. All the exploiting classes in history have adhered firmly to this principle. More than two thousand years ago, Confucius took a stand against combining education with productive labour. He condemned Fan Chih who "requested to be taught husbandry" and "requested to be taught gardening" as a "small man." Mencius opposed Hsu Hsing, saying: "Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them. This is a principle universally recognized." On this point, bourgeois pedagogues are in full accord with Confucius and Mencius. Originally, education was linked with productive labour, but was separated in class society; now the link will be reformed.

Fourier and Owen, the Utopian socialists of the eighteenth century, were the first to put forward the idea of combining education with productive labour. Marx, Engels and Lenin all endorsed this idea. In Volume I of *Capital* Marx expressed the view that a part-work, part-study system of schooling was more suitable for children than full-time study. In "The Directives to the Delegates of the Provisional Central Council on Some Questions" he suggested: "In a reasonable social order every child must become a productive worker starting at the age of nine."

He maintained that children from the age of nine to twelve should do two hours' work every day in a workshop or at home, children from thirteen to fifteen years of age four hours and from sixteen to seventeen years of age six hours. He believed that "the combination of remunerative productive labour, mental education, physical exercise and polytechnical training elevates the working class considerably above the level of the higher and middle classes." Marx once foretold that "there can be no doubt that when the working class comes into power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools." (*Capital*, Volume I) Only in a socialist country led by the working class and the Communist Party can the prin-

ciple of combining education with productive labour be carried into effect and play a great role in revolution and construction. Marx's prophecy will come true in our country.

We must realize that to carry the combination of education with productive labour into effect means a fight with the old traditions that have persisted for thousands of years. Without the communist style of toppling down the old idols, burying doctrinaireism, and daring to think, speak and do, without the creative spirit of combining the universal truths of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country, we cannot succeed. Today, in our educational work, vigorous efforts are being made to pull down the out-dated and set up the new. Bourgeois and doctrinaire ideas are being broken down and new, Marxist educational theories, systems and methods, curricula and school systems suited to our country are being created. This educational revolution has solid economic foundations. The Marxist doctrine of historical materialism teaches that the superstructure must conform to the economic base. The political system is superstructure, the concentrated expression of economic life. Education comes into the category of ideology and is also superstructure; it serves politics. Class society which has existed for thousands of years has had ownership by slave-owners, landlords or capitalists as its economic base. The political systems that conform to these types of ownership are the dictatorships of the slave-owners, the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The types of education that serve these dictatorships are those of the slave-owners, the landlords and the bourgeoisie. These types of education differ from each other, but all have this in common that education is divorced from productive labour, mental from manual labour, and manual labour and manual labourers are despised. The divorce of mental from manual labour is needed by all the exploiting classes, including the bourgeoisie.

Our society has socialist ownership as its economic base. The political system suited to socialist ownership is proletarian dictatorship. Our education serves the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, contrary to the old traditions that persisted for thousands of years, it must apply the principle of combining education with productive labour so as to eliminate the difference between mental and manual labour; and this also means wiping out the survivals of all the systems of exploitation that have existed in history, so that humanity may enter into communist society.

The principle of combining education with productive labour is needed by the working class and all other working people. This principle, which conforms to the people's desires, will certainly prevail. On the other hand, the principle of divorcing mental from manual labour, since it does not conform to the socialist economic base and the people's requirements, will sooner or later be discarded by the people even though it has a tradition of thousands of years. With politics in command, with leadership by the Communist Party, and the rallying of the entire Party and all educational workers who can be rallied to fight against bourgeois educational policy and for the application of the Party's educational policy, we can so carry through our cultural revolution that all of our 600 million people are able to do productive work and all are able to study, changing into new men who are both labourers and intellectuals.

China's Foreign Trade Organizations

China's foreign trade is growing rapidly. According to the latest figures she has established business relations with over 90 countries and regions. In view of this the following facts on the organizations which handle China's foreign trade will be of considerable interest.

Ministry of Foreign Trade

The Ministry of Foreign Trade is the highest administrative organization in charge of China's foreign trade. Its principal tasks are:

1) To draw up state plans for imports and exports, receipts and outlays of foreign exchange, and supervise implementation of these plans after they have been approved by the State Council; to co-ordinate and lead the work of the customs administration and the inspection of commodities, and issue permits for the import, export and transit of goods and materials;

2) To develop trade relations and international economic co-operation with the governments and peoples of foreign countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, mutual help and co-operation; negotiate, on the authority of the Chinese Government, with the foreign countries concerned on trade and technical co-operation, and sign contracts and agreements on these matters on behalf of the Chinese Government;

3) To lead the state-operated foreign trade enterprises and consolidate the leading role which they play in China's foreign trade.

The local administrative organizations of the Ministry are foreign trade bureaux, custom houses and bureaux for inspection of commodities.

China's Trade Organizations Abroad

China's trade organizations abroad are the commercial councillor's offices and commercial attaches in Chinese embassies and legations in foreign countries, and trade representative's offices set up in accordance with agreements reached with the governments concerned. It is their duty to develop and consolidate economic relations with the governments and peoples of the countries to which they are accredited, and promote trade transactions with the countries concerned.

China has foreign trade organizations in the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Britain, Bulgaria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

State Foreign Trade Corporations

The various state foreign trade corporations are independent business enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Each corporation in handling certain specified commodities has a well-defined sphere

of business activities. Its transactions are carried on according to the export and import plans of the state.

On a basis of business accounting, each corporation assumes full responsibility for its own business transactions. It may, within its prescribed sphere of business activities, sign import and export contracts and issue or accept vouchers in accordance with the terms of trade contracts, and clear accounts with the companies and enterprises concerned at home and abroad. It may, in accordance with business needs, set up branch offices at home and abroad, and send delegations to foreign countries to carry on business activities.

The state foreign trade corporation is an independent legal person. It has authority to deal with all legal problems connected with its business transactions.

China's foreign trade corporations and their spheres of operation are listed on the next page.

China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade

The China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade is a public body and an independent legal person. It is composed of the state foreign trade enterprises, representatives of joint state-private exporters and importers, economic, trade and legal experts and foreign trade workers. Since its establishment in 1952, it has played an important part in developing trade relations between China and industrial and business circles in various countries and in promoting mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese people and those of other foreign countries.

The regular work of the Committee is to establish contacts with foreign firms, foreign committees for the promotion of international trade, trade associations and chambers of commerce, provide them with information and material about China's foreign trade, bring information on foreign economic and trade conditions to the knowledge of Chinese firms, enterprises and public bodies, invite representatives of foreign firms and industrial and trade delegations to China for business visits and send Chinese industrial and trade delegations abroad. In the past few years the Committee has invited and received about 750 visiting industrialists and business men, and members of delegations from 24 countries, and sent Chinese trade delegations and economic and technical groups to 13 countries. By means of these wide contacts it has sought to explore the possibilities of developing trade with foreign countries, exchanged opinions with foreign firms and signed a number of trade agreements with foreign trade organizations.

The Committee has set up a Foreign Trade Arbitration Committee to settle disputes arising from trade contracts and business transactions. In recent years it has also helped to settle many foreign trade disputes by friendly conciliation.

Any trader from a country which has established diplomatic relations and concluded a commercial treaty

with the People's Republic of China is entitled to apply for registration of trade marks in China. If so requested, the Committee will make such an application for registration of trade marks in China on behalf of foreign enterprises.

The Committee also carries out research work on problems of international trade and international economic organizations. It compiles and publishes material on the international economy and trade.

The Committee regularly holds exhibitions of Chinese industrial and agricultural products and Chinese economic achievements in foreign countries. From 1952 up to now

it has held 52 exhibitions in 29 countries and regions, and more than 35 million people have seen these Chinese exhibitions. During the same period, 9 countries held economic and commodities exhibitions in China.

At the present moment Chinese goods are being exhibited at the Lausanne National Fair (September 13-28), the Damascus International Fair (September 1-30) and the Plovdiv International Fair (September 14-28). They will be shown at the International Fair in Tunis (Oct. 18-Nov. 2) and on a big scale at the Chinese Export Commodities Fair which opens in Canton on October 15 and lasts till November 30.

STATE FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS

China National Silk Corporation

Exports: Raw Silk Steam Filature, Douppion Silk, Tussah Silk, Spun Silk Yarn and Silk Tops, Silk Waste and Tussah Silk Waste, Pure and Mixed Silk Piece-goods, Tussah Silk Pongees, Fuji Silk, Canton Gauze and Silk Gambiered, Silk Wear, Kerchiefs, Embroideries and other ready-made Silk Products, etc.

Imports: Rayon Yarns and other kinds of Artificial Fibres

Head Office: Foreign Trade Building, Tung Chang An Street, Peking

Cable Address: CHISICORP PEKING

China National Tea Export Corporation

Exports and Imports: Tea (Black Tea, Green Tea, Scented Tea, Oolong Tea, Compressed Tea, etc.), Coffee and Cocoa

Head Office: 57, Li Shih Hutung, Tung Sze Pai-lou, Peking

Cable Address: NATIONTEA PEKING

China National Minerals Corporation

Exports: Coal and Coke, Cement, Pig Iron, Iron Ore, Antimony, Talc, Pyrophyllite, Magnesite, Dolomite Powder, Bauxite, Clay, Bentonite, Graphite, Pyrolusite, Realgar, Orpiment, Arsenic Oxide, Apatite, Alum, Gypsum, Quartz, Feldspar, Porcelain Clay, White Clay, Garnet, Yellow Mineral Colours, Float Stone, Round Pebbles, Limestone, Vermiculite, Chrysotile, Fluorspar, Barite, etc.

Imports: Chrome Ore, Titanium Concentrates, Borax, Cobalt Oxide, Mica Products, Cement, etc.

Head Office: 3, Pao Chan Sze Street, Peking

Cable Address: CHIMINCORP PEKING

China National Animal By-Products Export Corporation

Exports: Bristles, Horsetails, Fur, Fur Plates, Skins, Hides, Feathers, Down,

Casings, Wool, Hair, Carpets, Brushes, Leather and Leather Products, Fur Products, etc.

Imports: Wool, Wool Tops and Live Animals

Head Office: 4, Wangchia Hutung, East City, Peking

Cable Address: BYPRODUCTS PEKING

China National Cereals, Oils and Fats Export Corporation

Exports and Imports:

Cereals: Rice, Wheat, Horse Beans, Broad Beans, Pulses, etc.

Oil Seeds: Soyabeans, Groundnut Kernels, Sesame Seed, Linseed, Rapeseed, Copra, etc.

Oils: Tung Oil, Groundnut Oil, Aniseed Oil, Coconut Oil, etc.

Salt

Head Office: 3, Chao Tang Tze Hutung, East City, Peking, China

Cable Address: NATIONOIL PEKING

China National Foodstuffs Export Corporation

Exports and Imports: Livestock and Poultry, Meat and Meat Products, Animal Oils and Fats, various kinds of Fresh Fruits and Preserved Fruits, various kinds of Vegetables, Sea Products, Eggs and Egg Products, Liquors and Wines, Sugar and Confectionery, various kinds of Canned Food, Sundry Food Products.

Head Office: 38, Chiao Tze Hutung, Kuang An Men Street, Peking

Cable Address: FOODSTUFFS PEKING

China National Native Produce Export Corporation

Exports: Bast Fibre and its manufactures Tobacco and its manufactures, various kinds of Native Products, Wood and Timber, Nuts, Dried Vegetables and subsidiary Foodstuffs, Arts and Crafts, Medicines, Spices, Essential Oils, etc.

Imports: Flue-cured Tobacco, Jute, Manila Fibre, Gunny Cloth, Gunny

Bags, Pepper, Materials for Making Handicrafts, Tropical Medicines, etc.

Head Office: 46, Hu Fang Chiao Street, Peking

Cable Address: PROCHINA PEKING

China National Sundries Export Corporation

Exports and Imports: Raw Cotton, Cotton Piece-goods and Cotton Yarns, Cotton Manufactured Goods, Ramie and Woollen Goods (Gunny Bags excluded), Glass and Glassware, Sundry Goods for daily use, Paper, Stationery and Educational Supplies, Musical Instruments, Iron Nails, Galvanized Wire and Other Hardware Sundries, Household Electrical Supplies, Sanitary Ware, Woodware and Building Materials, etc.

Head Office: 32A, Chiu Tiao Hutung, East City, Peking

Cable Address: SUNDRY PEKING

China National Import and Export Corporation

Imports and Exports: Chemicals, Pharmaceuticals, Medical Instruments, Fertilizers, Dyestuffs and Pigments, Rubber and Rubber Products, Petroleum and Petroleum Products

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking

Cable Address: CNIEC PEKING

China National Technical Import Corporation

Imports and Exports: Projects and Equipment of Complete Factories, etc.

Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking

Cable Address: TECHIMPORT PEKING

China National Metals Import Corporation

Imports and Exports: Ferrous Alloys, Section Steels, Steel Tubes, Cast Iron Pipes, Steel Plates and Sheets, Railway Materials, Non-ferrous Raw Materials, Rolled Non-ferrous Materials,

Metallic Semi-finished Products, Electrical Cables and Wires, etc.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking
P.O. Box No. 65, Peking
Cable Address: CHIMETALS PEKING

China National Machinery Import Corporation

Imports and Exports: Machine-tools, Power Machinery, Mining and Metallurgical Machinery, Electric Machinery and Appliances, Air Compressors, Cranes, Excavators, Precision Measuring Tools, Cutting Tools and other Tools.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking
Cable Address: MACHIMPORT PEKING

China National Transport Machinery Import Corporation

Imports: Transport and Agricultural Machinery (various Motor Vehicles, Trucks and parts thereof; Locomotives,

Aeroplanes and parts thereof; Ships, Agricultural Machinery and parts thereof), Printing Machines, Machinery for the Paper-making, Pharmaceutical, Food, Building, Chemical, Textile Industries and Machinery for other Light Industries.

Exports: Machinery for Light Industries and Miscellaneous Machinery, such as Machinery for the Textile, Printing, Building, Food, Paper-making Industries. Repairing and Building of Ships.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking
Cable Address: TRANSMACH PEKING

China National Instruments Import Corporation

Imports and Exports: Various Instruments, Telecommunication Supplies, Photographic Supplies, Calculating Machines, Typewriters, etc.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking

Cable Address: INSTRIMPORT PEKING

China National Foreign Trade Transportation Corporation

Acts as agents in arranging transportation, forwarding, insurance and storage of state-owned import, export and transit-cargoes.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking

Cable Address: SINOTRANS PEKING

Sinofracht Chartering & Shipbroking Corporation

Charters vessels and books shipping space for shipment of state-owned import and export cargoes. Acts as agents for principals at home and abroad in chartering vessels and booking shipping space and also in booking cargoes for vessels on behalf of owners.

Head Office: Erh Li Kou, outside Hsi Chih Men, Peking

Cable Address: SINOFRACHT PEKING

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS AREA

The following is the text of the statement by Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on the situation in the Taiwan Straits area issued on September 6, 1958. — Ed.

ON September 4, 1958, United States Secretary of State Dulles, authorized by United States President Eisenhower, issued a statement openly threatening to extend United States aggression in the Taiwan Straits area against the People's Republic of China and carrying out war provocation, thereby aggravating the tension in this area created by the United States and seriously jeopardizing the peace of the Far East and the world. Regarding this, I have been authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China to make the following statement.

(1) Taiwan and the Penghu Islands have been China's territories from ancient times. Following the Second World War, they were restored to China after being occupied by Japan for a period of time. It is entirely China's internal affair for the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign right to liberate these areas.

This is the Chinese people's sacred and inviolable right. The United States Government itself also declared formally that it would not get involved in China's civil conflict in the Taiwan area. Were it not for the fact that the United States Government later went back on its own statement and carried out armed intervention, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would have long been liberated and placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of the People's Republic of China. These are undeniable facts unanimously recognized by fair-minded world public opinion.

(2) United States support of the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which has long been repudiated by all the Chinese people, and its direct armed occupation of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands constitute unlawful interference in China's internal affairs and infringement on China's

territorial integrity and sovereignty, and are in direct conflict with the United Nations Charter and all codes of international law. All so-called treaties concluded between the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and all related resolutions adopted by the United States Congress are null and void as far as the Chinese people are concerned. They can never legalize United States aggression. Much less can they be used as pretexts by the United States for extending its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area.

(3) Supported by the United States, the Chiang Kai-shek clique has for long been using coastal islands such as Quemoy which is close by Amoy and Matsu which is close by Foochow as advance bases for conducting all sorts of harassing and disruptive activities against the Chinese mainland. Recently, since the United States launched armed intervention against the Arab states, the harassing and disruptive activities of the Chiang Kai-shek clique against the Chinese mainland have become more unbridled. The Chinese Government has every right to deal resolute blows and take necessary military action against Chiang Kai-shek's troops entrenched on the coastal islands; any outside intervention would be a criminal infringement on China's sovereignty. But the United States, in order to divert the attention of the people of the world from continued United States aggression in the Middle East and procrastination in withdrawing its troops from the Lebanon, attempts to take advantage of this situation and is amassing large numbers of armed forces in the Taiwan Straits area and openly threatening to extend its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area to Quemoy, Matsu, and other coastal islands. This is a grave war provocation against the 600 million Chinese people and a serious menace to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(4) The Chinese people's determination to liberate their own territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands is unshakable. In particular the Chinese people cannot tolerate the presence in their inland waters along the mainland of an immediate threat posed by such coastal islands as Quemoy and Matsu. No amount of U.S. war provocations can cow the Chinese people; on the contrary, they will only arouse even greater indignation among our 600 million people, and make them even more determined to fight American aggressors to the very end. The fact that the United States, while not yet withdrawing its forces of aggression from the Lebanon, has hastened to create a new danger of war in the Taiwan Straits area, has made the peace-loving countries and people of the world see even more clearly the brutish features of the United States aggressors bent on sabotaging peace and that the United States imperialists are the most vicious enemy of all national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the world peace movement.

(5) In pursuance of its foreign policy of peace, the Chinese Government has always stood for peaceful co-

existence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles and for the settlement of all international disputes by the peaceful means of negotiation. Despite the fact that the United States has invaded and occupied China's territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands by armed force and crudely violated the minimum codes in international relations, the Chinese Government proposed to sit down to negotiate with the U.S. Government to seek relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area. In the Sino-American ambassadorial talks which started in August 1955 the Chinese side time and again proposed that the two parties should, in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, issue a statement declaring their intention to settle the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation and without resorting to the threat or use of force against each other. But, contrary to Dulles' assertion in his September 4 statement, it is precisely the United States that has refused to issue such a statement and, moreover, has later suspended unilaterally the talks themselves. After the Chinese Government demanded in July this year that the talks be resumed within a set time-limit, the U.S. Government did not make a timely reply, but it has ultimately designated a representative of ambassadorial rank. Now, the U.S. Government again indicates its desire to settle the Sino-American dispute in the Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation. To make a further effort to safeguard peace, the Chinese Government is prepared to resume the ambassadorial talks between the two countries. But the danger of war created by the United States in China's Taiwan area has not been reduced thereby. In view of the fact that the U.S. Government often acts differently from what it says and often uses peaceful negotiation as a smokescreen to cover up its actual deed of continuously expanding aggression, the entire Chinese people and the peace-loving people all over the world must not relax in the least their struggle against U.S. interference in China's internal affairs and against U.S. threat to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(6) The Sino-American dispute in the Taiwan Straits area and the Chinese people's internal matter of liberating their own territory are two matters entirely different in nature. The United States has all along tried to confuse these two matters so as to cover up its aggression and intervention in China. This is absolutely not to be allowed. The Chinese people have every right to liberate their own territory by all suitable means at suitable time, and will not tolerate any foreign interference. Should the U.S. Government, brazenly disregarding the Chinese people's repeated warnings and the desire of the people of the world for peace, persist in their aggression and intervention against China and impose war on the Chinese people, it must bear the responsibility for all the serious consequences.

The Paper Tiger Plays with Fire

— World Public Opinion Condemns U. S. War Provocations in the Taiwan Straits

WHILE the fire Washington set in the Near East is still smouldering, it is engaged in arson in the Far East once again. Commenting on the situation in the Taiwan Straits, indignant public opinion in many countries holds Washington solely responsible for the mounting tension. And large sections of the world press warn that the U.S. imperialists are heading for still greater isolation and defeat.

China's Just Cause Supported

In the Soviet Union, *Pravda* published an article by Observer stating that the Soviet people and all the other peoples of the mighty socialist camp stand behind their Chinese brothers in their struggle for the recovery of Taiwan and all the other offshore islands which have belonged to China since time immemorial. Anyone trying to threaten the People's Republic of China with invasion should bear in mind that he is threatening the Soviet Union, the article warns. The Soviet Union, the *Pravda* article declares, will give the Chinese People's Republic all the moral and material assistance needed in its just struggle.

Throughout the socialist camp, public opinion has sharply condemned the U.S. provocation. At the western end of the camp, *Berliner Zeitung* of the German Democratic Republic characterizes it as "madmen's policy." In the east, *Nhandan* of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam states that the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek provocations constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the Far East and southeast Asia. Newspapers in all the fraternal people's democracies have vigorously upheld China's cause.

The Arab world which is witnessing U.S. armed aggression in Lebanon is angered by Washington's new adventures. *Al-Hurriyah* of the newly-born Iraqi Republic denounces the United States for its "stupid, infantile" and "warmongering" policy against China, and declares: "Like us, the Chinese people have suffered imperialist slavery and fought hard to liberate their country. We cannot forget their great help. We will offer our friendship in response to theirs and join in the efforts to defeat all of the imperialist expansionist attempts." In the United Arab Republic, *Al-Massa* of Cairo says: "Let us give every possible support to the great people of China in their present struggle, which is a struggle for the welfare of all humanity. To stand by China is to stand by our own cause and is for the victory of the peace forces over war and for the victory of the people's forces over imperialism."

In many other Asian and African countries, press opinion has unequivocally castigated the United States. *Republik* of Indonesia points out that the cloud over the Taiwan Straits is the result of deliberate provocative activities engineered by the United States. It calls on the Asian and African countries to heighten their vigilance and not to fall into the trap of the United States. Commentator U Yan Gon of the *Rangoon Daily* says that now is the time for all the Asian nations to act in unison in their demand for the early elimination of U.S. military bases from Asia. Only by having the U.S. warships withdrawn and its military bases removed from Asia can peace in this area be ensured, he stresses.

U.S. Guilty of Aggression

For all the falsehoods being spread by Washington spokesmen and the American press and radio, the United States stands convicted as the aggressor against China.

In the U.A.R., Khaled Mohieddin, editor-in-chief of *Al-Massa*, writes: "It is important for us to know that American imperialism and its agent, Chiang Kai-shek, are the ones who started this tension." He notes that the Western press tries to give the world "the false impression that China wants war. There is a great difference between one who defends oneself against repeated attacks started by the other side and one who wants war." *Al-Shaab* emphasizes that "Washington's object was and still is to take Taiwan and its neighbouring islands as bases for aggression against the people of China. . . . Just as the imperialists used the Bagdad Pact and Eisenhower Doctrine to provoke the people of the Middle East, so they use Taiwan constantly to provoke People's China."

For many years the United States and its followers have tried hard to becloud the real issue in Taiwan. But when world public opinion analyses the situation, it is clear that the aggressors are recognized for what they are by all fair-minded people. Taiwan, the Indian paper *Leader* states, "is part of China, and the People's Republic is entitled to take possession of the island." In preventing China from doing so, the paper adds, the United States is guilty of interference in China's internal affairs. The *Free Press Journal* of Bombay writes: "No self-respecting government can tolerate the presence of rebel forces backed by foreign interventionists on the islands lying off its mainland. And Quemoy and Matsu are just that." If the Americans "get into this island fight, it will be downright intervention," the paper says.

For the Asians and Africans who have had experience enough with colonialist domination in every conceivable disguise, the right and wrong of the Taiwan question is easily distinguished. "We want the liberation of Taiwan just as we want the liberation of Goa," the Bengali *Daily Jugantar* of Calcutta says. "Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory, therefore we are against American intervention in the Taiwan Straits," the Djakarta *Sin Po* declares. China "has every right to liberate Taiwan just as we had the right to struggle for the liberation of the Canal area," *Al-Gomhouria* of Cairo says. *Al-Ray al-Aam* of Damascus points out that the United States set up the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan with the same object it has in standing behind the Hussein government in Jordan, the Chamoun government in Lebanon and the defunct el-Said government in Iraq. "China's right is as clear as day," *Al-Shaab* of Cairo writes. Even in the Philippines, a columnist writing for the *Manila Chronicle* says that Quemoy and Matsu are as much a part of China as Staten Island is a part of the United States and that the Chinese people "are legally entitled to control Quemoy and Matsu."

In the Western countries many people realize that the U.S. pretexts for intervention don't have a leg to stand on. The London evening paper *Star* remarks that "the right of any normal government to rid itself of a wasp's nest on its doorstep like this would be upheld by most people. Can that right be denied to Red China?" The weekly *New Statesman* points out that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu "lie closer to the mainland of China than does the Isle of Wight to England" and that they "are recognized by almost the whole world (including Britain) as being in effect a part of the mainland of China."

In the United States the press reports a speech by Senator Wayne Morse, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the effect that "the United States does not have a scintilla of international law right on Quemoy or Matsu Islands." He added that "if we attempt to defend them, we will be branded again, and rightly so, as an aggressor nation."

U.S. Heads for Utter Isolation

Witnessing the fact that the United States is provoking a firm and powerful China enjoying popular support in many parts of the world, the Western bourgeois press sounds a recurrent note of concern over the prospects of Washington's utter isolation. Many newspapers in Britain have urged the British Government not to get involved in this dangerous game. "No other government in the world except possibly Mr. Syngman Rhee," the *Manchester Guardian* writes, "is likely to stand with the United States in fighting for the Quemoy Islands. Chinese Communists have indisputable claim to the offshore islands." A Washington dispatch published in the *Daily Express* reports that "Commonwealth diplomats think America risks far more stringent isolation than Britain faced at the Suez." The *News Chronicle* writes that if the Americans should fight to "protect" the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, they would find themselves isolated from all their allies. The *Sunday Express* urges the British Government to make it clear that "whatever happens we will take no part in a Far Eastern war."

In Western Germany, the Hamburg paper *Die Welt* warns that if the Americans intervene in the Taiwan

Straits to turn the decade-old Chinese civil war into an international issue, "they would be legitimated by no one except a few men who are nothing but the tragic figures of kept puppets." In Canada, the *Financial Post* remarks that no one has authorized the United States to manage the rest of the world. Uncle Sam's nose is becoming too long and this might be bad for him, the paper adds.

Within the United States, too, as the *Christian Science Monitor* notes, there is "little disposition . . . to consider that it would be wise or necessary to engage this country in a war with communist China by having its ships, planes, and men join directly in a defence of Quemoy." Many Americans, including men of military age and their families, are watching the situation with anxiety, the paper adds.

Defeat Awaits Washington

What the future holds in store for the U.S. aggressors, however, is not merely utter isolation, but ignominious defeat as well. As the Moscow *Pravda* warns in a commentary, the inspirers and organizers of this new military gamble in the Far East cannot reckon on retaliation being limited to the Chinese offshore islands and the Taiwan Straits. They will get such a crushing rebuff, the paper says, that it will put an end to U.S. imperialist aggression in the Far East.

Events in the past few years have enabled many people to realize that the U.S. aggressors are not as strong as they pose to be. The Indonesian paper *Bintang Timur* quotes Supardi, member of the Indonesian Parliamentary Defence Group Committee, as saying that China would never be intimidated by the United States and that China's combat power had been tested in Korea. In Damascus, where people have witnessed plenty of U.S. sabre-rattling, *Al-Nasr* points out that U.S. strength, the extent and limits of which have been disclosed by the recent crisis in the Middle East, "can never protect a net dispersed over the whole world and can never go on defying the forces of humanity."

In the Western countries, too, the more sober-minded are not completely unaware of the dark future facing Washington. The *Wall Street Journal* laments "how close the nation is coming in fact to resemble the traditional picture of Uncle Sam as a tall, somewhat haggard and thin man. It is still hard to spread over so much of it (the world) without spreading pretty thin." The London *New Statesman* points out that the consequences of "shutting one's eyes to the existence of the largest, hardest, most fertile and potentially most productive nation on the face of the earth . . . would be almost too dangerous to contemplate." If Dulles continues to attempt to obliterate the heartland of nearly a quarter of the world's population from the map of the world, the journal adds, he would "have only himself to thank."

Al-Nour of Damascus hits the nail on the head in an editorial declaring: "No matter how imperialism intensifies its provocations, concentrates its fleet, strengthens its hold over Taiwan and props up the Chiang Kai-shek traitorous clique, victory will be on the side of the Chinese people." As for the U.S. paper tiger which is again putting on airs, it may be added that it will undoubtedly burn its paws if it insists on playing with fire.

ART

A Century of Chinese Painting

Visitors to the Lausanne National Fair will have an opportunity to see a good collection of Chinese paintings of the past hundred years. This was a period of stress and tragedy for China under the rule of the Manchu government, the warlords and other henchmen of the imperialists; but it was also a period of great revolutionary movements, when the people rose and overthrew the Manchu dynasty, drove out the imperialist invaders and liberated their land from reaction.

All this was reflected in the Chinese painting of the times in one way or another. Directly or through symbol and allegory, artists expressed in their paintings their concern for the country and their hatred of the dark social forces that shadowed their times. The optimism and staunchness of the people striving for realization of their ideals, their love of their country and longing for a new life, also found expression in painting.

In the past hundred years, such artists as Wu Chang-shih, Jen Po-nien, Chi Pai-shih, Huang Pin-hung and Hsu Pei-hung carried on the best traditions of Chinese painting and made permanent contributions to China's art.

Wu Chang-shih (1842-1927) was outstanding among these representative artists of the century. He excelled in his paintings of flowers, plants, and fruit; he had a characteristically powerful brush-stroke, and a unique distinction in his compositions. He applied his fresh, bright colours with a rhythmic, "musical" touch. He was a realist who sought tirelessly to bring out the essential traits of what he painted. His works display a great vitality, and he frankly expressed his dissatisfaction with the society he lived in. He worked with unflinching vigour even in his later years, and his distinctively individual style exerted a considerable influence on quite a number of artists of his time, including the great Chi Pai-shih. Wu Chang-shih was a versatile artist, well known also for his poems, calligraphy and seal carvings. The thirtieth anniversary of his death last year was marked by exhibitions of his work in Peking and Shanghai. A memorial volume of reproductions of his works was also published under the title

Wu Chang-shih, a Great Artist. A permanent collection of his paintings and *memorabilia* are housed in the hall established to his memory by the People's Government on the shores of West Lake in Hangchow.

Wu Chang-shih's senior in age, Chao Chih-chien (1829-1884) was also famous for his flower paintings and nature studies. His brushstrokes were smooth and powerful, and his colouring was at once rich and charming.

Born just two years before Wu Chang-shih but dying much earlier was Jen Po-nien (1840-1895). He too was a realist, but with a broader range of subject-matter, including figure and portrait paintings, flowers, birds, landscapes. His paintings are delicately conceived, executed with a fine touch but painted in vivid colours. There is a characteristic subtlety of conception in his work. He held the Chinese brush perpendicularly when he painted, using swift, sure strokes, whether light or heavy. He was not afraid of complex harmonies of colour. He strove for and achieved an effective economy of line; with a few strokes he could create a living thing. Jen Wei-chang and Jen Hsun, his contemporaries, were also skilled at figure painting. Both took much from the techniques of their predecessors, but used what they learned to create original styles of painting of their own.

The artist known in art circles as the monk Hsu Ku (1824-1896) was a general of the Manchu dynasty. Because he sympathized with the Taiping Rebellion of 1850-1865, he refused to continue to serve the Manchus, shaved his head and became a monk. He wielded his brush expertly and specialized in flower and bird painting, but he was also a portrait-painter. In official circles his paintings were not highly rated; nevertheless, they have a unique style of their own. His strokes were incisive and powerful, and his colouring elegant. The melancholy that colours his paintings is characteristic of several artists of the time.

Any list of the many other outstanding artists of this period must include Ni Tien, who was greatly influenced by Jen Po-nien; Chu Cheng, who was known for painting flowers and plants; Sha Fu, known for his figure-painting, flowers and birds; Pu Hua, known for his ink paintings of bamboos, landscapes and flowers; and Chien Hui-an, known for his figure-painting. Wu Yu-ju was famous for his delicate and finely drawn paintings of figures, landscapes, flowers

and plants, birds and animals. He was an original character whose works, mainly dealing with the political events of his time, combined the traditional classical techniques with those of folk art. Working in co-ordination with the artists of the *Dian Shi Zhai Pictorial* then published in Shanghai he used his expressive brush to oppose the imperialists. His art showed his sympathy for the ruthlessly exploited people, and his admiration for the heroic struggles they were waging against their enemies. The common people loved his pictures for the encouragement they gave. Wu Yu-ju and his colleagues opposed the academic formalism in art which was prevalent in the last years of the Manchu dynasty. They upheld and developed the realist tradition. Chen Shih-tseng was another artist whose paintings reflected the life of the ordinary people and satirized the foibles and corruption of his times. He was also well-known for his paintings of landscapes, flowers and birds.

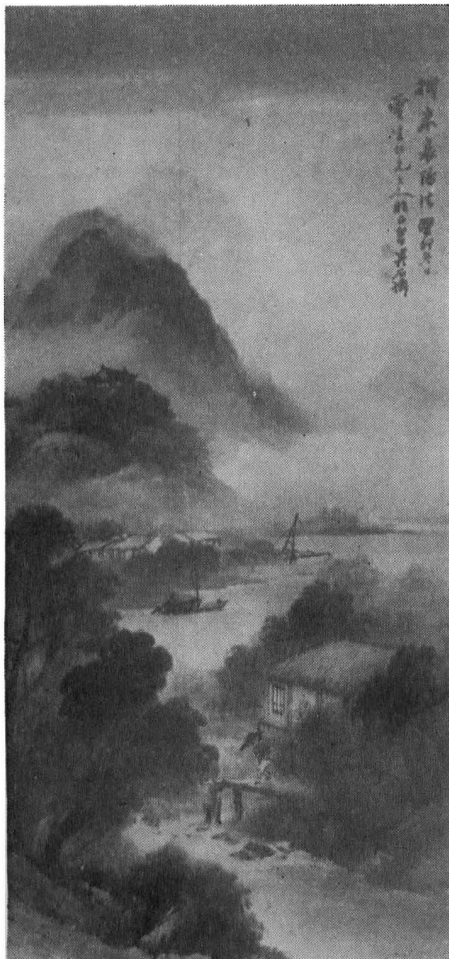
During this period the Lingnan school of painting, which had assimilated some of the techniques of Japanese painting, flourished in south China. Kao Chien-fu



Oil Lamp and Chrysanthemums
(64.6 × 32 cm.) By Wu Chang-shih

and Kao Chi-feng were two of its pioneers. Chen Shu-jen (1884-1948) also belonged to this school. He was a staunch, progressive supporter of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the revolutionary movement; and in his later life opposed Kuo-mintang reaction and sympathized with the Communist Party. Learned and as well versed in poetry as in art, he assimilated from both ancient and modern, foreign and Chinese art and produced many good paintings characteristically national in style. His paintings of landscapes, flowers and plants, insects and birds are lively and realistic, fresh and charmingly conceived. He worked untiringly to the end of his life. A commemorative exhibition of his works held in Peking a few years ago was very warmly received.

Chinese painting has a fine tradition in landscape. It takes a real master to make his mark in this field, but such a one was Huang Pin-hung (1863-1955). His style is unique and distinguished. He had a proper respect for the traditional techniques, but refused to allow himself to be overawed by them. He travelled extensively and was endlessly observant;



Rain in the Valley (103.4 × 47.3 cm.)
By Wu Ching-yun

this brought to his landscapes a vitality and beauty rarely matched by others. At close range, his paintings look like a complicated mosaic of incoherent strokes; but at the proper distance they merge and separate to reveal a vivid and beautiful image of nature. He was adept with the Chinese brush and had a wide vocabulary of strokes, able to conjure up a howling storm, torrential rains or the lazy rhythms of trees in a gentle breeze. His compositions are subtly conceived. He knew the value of complexity or simple economy of means. He would paint a winding stream amid the mountains with a mass of hatching strokes, a towering mountain with a powerful brush outline or, with a few simple washes, a distant mountain on the horizon.

Huang Pin-hung was a tireless worker throughout his life. Never a day passed but he painted something and this untiring effort continued even when he was over ninety years old. He rejoiced with the people when China was finally liberated. When the Constitution of the People's Republic was adopted in 1954, he was so moved that he immediately took up his brushes to paint a picture of pine trees and rocks, inscribed with the lines:

Long may the people's Constitution live!

May our country be as evergreen as the pines and strong as the rocks.

The People's Government has also built a memorial hall to him by the West Lake where he lived during the last few years of his life; it contains a permanent exhibition of his work.

Hsu Pei-hung (Ju Peon, 1895-1953) was perhaps one of the best-known of modern Chinese artists abroad. He was born into a poor family, but by dint of hard work became a proficient artist. During his stay in France he combined the Western techniques which he learned there with the traditional techniques of Chinese painting to create his own style. A realist, he resolutely opposed formalism in painting. In many of his paintings he expressed his hatred for injustice in the old society. There was a nobility, dignity and vigour in the animals, particularly the horses, he painted, that characteristically expressed his positive attitude to life. He was a staunch fighter for democracy. His paintings embodied the people's desire for a genuinely free, independent and prosperous China and for this he was persecuted by the reac-

tionary governments in the past. He wholeheartedly greeted the victory of the revolution in 1949 and the founding of the People's Republic of China. The government honoured him by appointing him to be the director of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Peking. He was also elected Chairman of the Union of Chinese Artists, and a delegate to the First World Congress of Peace. Two exhibitions of his works have been held in his honour since his death. The Hsu Pei-hung Memorial Hall in Peking established by the government is a lasting tribute to his contributions to the fine arts.

Among the many outstanding artists of this period none, perhaps, was so near to the hearts of the people as Chi Pai-shih, who died in 1957 after having lived for nearly a century. Born of a poor peasant family in Hunan, he started life as a carpenter. But his perseverance and hard work finally made him one of the greatest artists of modern times.

His paintings, which stamp a whole era of Chinese painting, showed a range of theme, a rich diversity in colour, and a simplicity of composition that is achieved only by a truly accomplished artist. He absorbed much from folk art. He travelled widely, and this provided him with both material and inspiration for his paintings. He was a keen observer, unerringly searching out the essential traits of his subjects. It was his tireless effort to produce pictures which are a perfect blend of artistic beauty and objective truth that enabled him to attain heights of artistic achievement seldom rivalled by his contemporaries or predecessors.

Chi Pai-shih was not only a great artist. He had true nobility of character. He never bowed either to the reactionary rulers or to the Japanese invaders who occupied Peking which was his home. Liberation filled his paintings with a new serenity and joy. In 1952, when the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions was held in Peking, he painted his large scroll *Flowers and Peace Doves* to celebrate the event. A true artist of the people, all his life he upheld the cause of the people. His paintings reflected their loves and hates. He was a staunch supporter of peace to the last, and was awarded the International Peace Prize in 1955. A memorial hall where his paintings are preserved has been built in his honour in Peking.

—HSU LING

CHINA AND THE WORLD

U.S. Provocations Condemned

Vice-Chairman Chu Teh, in a speech at a Viet-nameese reception in Peking on September 2 strongly condemned current U.S. provocations in the Taiwan area.

He declared: "The United States and Britain, disregarding the U.N. General Assembly Emergency Session resolution, are continuing to delay the withdrawal of their troops from Lebanon and Jordan. At the same time, the United States is carrying out unbridled provocations in our Taiwan area. These acts and this hostility to the Chinese nation which run counter to the peaceful aspirations of the world's people, are already being severely condemned by many peace-loving countries and peoples.

"The Chinese people, who won their victory after a prolonged struggle against imperialism, are confident that these imperialist provocations will be smashed. They know that, faced by the mighty forces of peace and justice, all aggressive imperialist schemes are doomed to fail."

Aid to Mongolia

Chinese technicians and workers helping construction in the Mongolian People's Republic are working with the same "big leap" spirit as their compatriots at home. By the end of this year, they will have finished 70 per cent of the projects to be built with the 160 million roubles' worth of aid which China is furnishing *gratis* to the M.P.R.

In Ulan Bator, a large, up-to-date glass plant is nearing completion. Started only a few months ago, this project includes both workshops and housing for workers. Also scheduled for completion this year are a stadium seating 15,000 spectators, a gymnasium, and a modern vegetable farm.

In and around the capital a total of 180,000 square metres of roadway is being surfaced. The 175-metre reinforced concrete bridge over the River Tura will soon be opened to traffic. The 370-metre Dun Gol Bridge, the biggest in Mongolia, will also be completed this year.

A brick factory, paper mill, power station and match and porcelain works

are among other projects already built under the aid programme.

Sino-Polish Trade Up

Sino-Polish trade is expected this year to register a 50 per cent increase in value compared with the 1957 figure. This will make China the third biggest buyer of Polish goods, next to the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

To help China's present high speed socialist construction more than half of Poland's plants are producing equipment for China. Prominent on the list of Chinese orders are agricultural machinery, ships, optical instruments, machine-tools, generators and machines for the building industry.

At the same time, Poland is receiving from China large quantities of raw materials for her heavy industry, chemical and food industries as well as consumer goods such as watches, fountain pens and clothing.

China at Damascus Fair

Since opening day on September 1, the Chinese pavilion at the annual International Fair in Damascus has been crowded with visitors. Among the three thousand exhibits of machinery, precision instruments, textiles, foodstuffs and handicrafts which give a glimpse of China's economic progress, Chinese art handicrafts, silks, radio sets and a semi-conductor generator are attracting the

most attention. At the sales counters, Chinese-made thermos bottles, violins and tea are proving especially popular.

The Damascus press has been extremely generous in its praise of China's industrial and agricultural achievements. This is the fifth consecutive year that China has been represented at the Damascus Fair.

Finnish Art in Peking

An exhibition of Finnish art now being held in Peking's former imperial palace, is getting a lot of attention from Chinese art lovers.

Sponsored by President Urho Kekkonen and Mrs. Kekkonen, its 380 oil paintings, sculptures and woodcuts, etchings and lithographs give a bird's eye view of Finnish plastic arts over the past eighty years. They were selected from among rare works in the President's private collection, from the collections of various museums and of more than ninety artists.

The exhibition is the first Finnish art exhibit ever held in China.

Briefs

Chen Chih-fang has been appointed Chinese ambassador to Iraq.

Wang Yu-ping has been appointed Chinese ambassador to Cambodia.

A postal agreement was recently signed in Peking between China and the United Arab Republic.

Document

Declaration on China's Territorial Sea

The Government of the People's Republic of China on September 4 issued the following declaration on China's territorial sea:

The Government of the People's Republic of China declares:

1) The breadth of the territorial sea of the People's Republic of China shall be twelve nautical miles. This provision applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China, including the Chinese mainland and its coastal islands, as well as Taiwan and its surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands, the Tungsha Islands, the Hsisha Islands, the Chungsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China which are separated from the mainland and its coastal islands by the high seas.

2) China's territorial sea along the mainland and its coastal islands takes as its baseline the line composed of the straight lines connecting base-points on the mainland coast and on the outermost of the coastal islands; the water area extending twelve nautical miles outward from this baseline is China's territorial sea. The water areas inside the baseline, including Pohai Bay and the Chiungchow Straits, are Chinese inland waters. The islands inside the baseline, including Tungyin Island, Kaoteng Island, the Matsu Islands, the Paichuan Islands, Wuchiu Island, the Greater and Lesser Quemoy Islands, Tatan Island, Erhtan Island and Tungting Island, are islands of the Chinese inland waters.

3) No foreign vessels for military use and no foreign aircraft may enter China's territorial sea and the air space above it without the permission of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

While navigating Chinese territorial sea, every foreign vessel must observe the relevant laws and regulations laid down by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

4) The principles provided in paragraphs 2) and 3) likewise apply to Taiwan and its surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands, the Tungsha Islands, the Hsisha Islands, the Chungsha Islands, the Nansha Islands, and all other islands belonging to China.

The Taiwan and Penghu areas are still occupied by the United States by armed force. This is an unlawful encroachment on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China. Taiwan, Penghu and such other areas are yet to be recovered, and the Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to recover these areas by all suitable means at a suitable time. This is China's internal affair, in which no foreign interference is tolerated.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

To End Nuclear Tests

Prominence was given in the Chinese press to Chairman N. S. Khrushchov's August 30 interview with *Pravda* in which he expressed willingness to hold talks with the United States and Britain beginning on October 31 on the permanent suspension of nuclear weapon tests. It also noted Khrushchov's statement that since the United States and Britain had clearly exploited the Soviet Union's unilateral cessation of nuclear tests in order to gain a military advantage for themselves, this relieved the Soviet Government of the obligations regarding nuclear tests which it had taken on itself.

Renmin Ribao expressed the full support of the Chinese people for this Soviet stand which, it said editorially, "once again helps the people of the world to see through the schemes of the U.S. and British imperialists, and so promotes the struggle for a permanent cessation of nuclear weapon tests."

It further pointed out that the U.S. and British proposal on August 22 to open talks on ending tests came only after their series of unprecedentedly large-scale nuclear weapon tests in the Pacific had aroused widespread indignation and uneasiness among various nations. It was also preceded by the Geneva conference of nuclear experts whose conclusions completely shattered the U.S.-British claim that no agreement on cessation of nuclear tests could be effectively supervised.

Directing attention to the fact that the United States and Britain announced they would cease tests for a year, starting from October 31, rather than immediately, the editorial commented: If the two countries really want in good faith to end tests, it would be easy for them to issue an order immediately ending all tests. But what they want is to use these two months and more to step up their tests. Right on the heels of the U.S. statement, the Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission announced that it was "taking the necessary action to complete the tests originally planned," before October 31. The British Government has also indicated its intention to speed up its series of tests.

The U.S.-British announcement of a one-year suspension is worthless, the editorial stressed, since

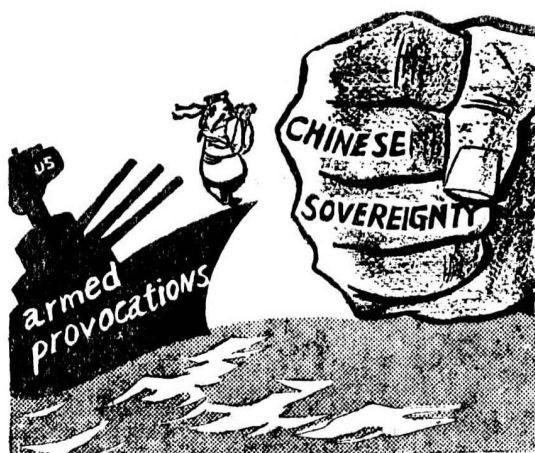
completion of a series of nuclear tests must be followed by a period of suspension and reorganization, and one year is precisely the length of time needed to prepare a new series of tests.

The editorial exposes the ulterior motive behind the U.S.-British attempt to link the question of cessation of nuclear tests with the general problem of disarmament. Unlike the ending of nuclear tests, it says, which is a simple thing to do, settlement of the disarmament issue involves many complicated questions. The United States and Britain have all along obstructed the disarmament talks. Now in trying to make their one-year extension of the agreement to stop nuclear weapon tests contingent on settlement of the whole disarmament problem, it is quite clear what they are up to. The two conditions laid down by the Western countries for their twelve-month test suspension simply mean that Washington and London are ready to resume nuclear tests at any time, under the pretext that supervision has not been effective or that no satisfactory progress has been made on the question of disarmament.

The peoples of the world, the editorial concluded, should not be deceived by the U.S. and British Governments' empty talk about cessation of nuclear weapon tests for one year. They must continue an unabated struggle to force these governments at the coming Geneva conference to agree to the permanent cessation of all nuclear weapon tests.

I. U. S. Congress in Peking

A hearty editorial welcome has been given to the International Union of



Dulles: "I won't recognize it."
Yeh Hsueh-chien in "Renmin Ribao"

Students' 5th Congress which opened in Peking on September 4.

Zhongguo Qingnian Bao (China Youth Daily) wishing the congress every success notes that Chinese student and youth organizations now have friendly contacts with their counterparts in more than 80 countries.

Renmin Ribao draws attention to the fact that one of the main characteristics of the international student movement today is the way the struggle against imperialism and in defence of national independence has spread among students in all the nationally independent countries, colonies and dependencies.

The I.U.S., as an organization of students in all countries, has worked steadfastly for peace, national independence and respect for democratic and students' rights. One of its primary tasks has always been to support the struggle which students in colonies and dependencies have waged for national independence. In the postwar years, it has actively supported the anti-imperialist and national independence struggles of various Asian and African peoples. It gave such support to the Chinese people's struggle for national liberation. Recently the I.U.S. has backed the efforts of the Arab countries against U.S. and British aggression in Lebanon and Jordan and imperialist threats against the newborn Republic of Iraq. "The stand taken by the I.U.S. has won the confidence and support of an ever increasing number of students in the Asian, African and Latin American countries."

"Chinese students have always responded with alacrity to the call of the I.U.S. and taken an active part in the various activities sponsored by it. They will continue to strengthen their unity with the students of all countries in the common struggle against colonialism and for world peace," *Renmin Ribao* concludes.

Poaching in Icelandic Waters

"The right of Iceland to decide the limits of its territorial waters brooks no interference," says *Renmin Ribao's* commentator (September 3), severely criticizing London's challenge to Iceland's claim and its armed intervention to back up British intruders.

Drawing attention to the fact that the fishing industry is the basis of Iceland's national economy and that fishery products comprise 97 per cent of its exports, the commentator says that poaching by foreign trawlers has seriously

damaged Iceland's economy. This was why the Icelanders have urgently demanded a 12-mile limit for their territorial waters and an end to poaching by foreign ships.

The United States has played a despicable role in this matter, the commentator points out. It resorted to subversion against the Icelandic Government and created a cabinet crisis last May and June; it repeatedly tried to force Iceland to change its stand at the

Geneva conference on the law of the sea and at the NATO conference in Copenhagen.

"Under international law, every nation has the right to decide the breadth of its territorial waters according to its own conditions," the commentator says. "However, the U.S. and British imperialists have repeatedly meddled with other nation's sovereign rights in this respect on the ground of protecting international shipping interests. Actually

this is only an excuse for aggression and plundering the ocean resources of other countries.

"The justifiable extension of the territorial waters of Iceland has gained the support of many countries. . . . The Chinese people, together with the peoples of the world, support the action taken by the Icelandic Government and people; they resolutely oppose the shameless interference of the U.S. and British imperialists in Iceland's affairs."

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

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

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE SPUTNIKS IN HEAVEN** The Sputniks, newest arrivals in heaven, rescue two celestial maids from the tyranny of the Jade Emperor. They cheer all by describing the great happenings on earth and telling them the news that soon heaven and earth will be linked by space travel. Produced by the China Peking Opera Company.

Sept. 9 & 10 *Zhong He Theatre*

▲ **CAPTURING "THE HAWK"** An exciting episode from the novel, *In the Snowy Forest*, by Chu Po. A P.L.A. man pits his wits and courage against the notorious Hawk, a bandit leader, and helps capture him and his band. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Sept. 11 *Laodong Theatre*

Sept. 14, 1:00 p.m. *Ji Xiang Theatre*

▲ **YU TANG CHUN** A well-known opera based on the love story of a famous Ming courtesan, named Yu Tang Chun. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking and starring Chang Chun-chiu.

Sept. 12 *Minzhu Theatre*

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **THE GIRL WITH PIGTAILS** describes a fearless young girl who helps to rout a gang of counter-revolutionaries. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Company.

Sept. 9-15, 7:30 p.m. *Da Zhong Theatre*

SHAHSING OPERA

▲ **THE LIST** A young peasant woman sacrifices her life to protect a list of names of underground Party members from the enemy. Her aged mother carries on and finally delivers the list safely to the underground Party headquarters. Produced by the Shaohsing Opera Company of Chekiang.

Sept. 9-11 *Chang An Theatre*

▲ **THE GOLDEN EAGLE** An opera based on an Inner Mongolian folk-tale. Golden Eagle, beloved folk hero, leads the people in fighting against the feudal tyranny of the local ruler. Produced by the Shaohsing Opera Company of Chekiang.

Sept. 12-16 *Chang An Theatre*

MODERN OPERA

▲ **FIRE** and **TWO ROADS** Two operas on the theme of the people's fight against counter-revolutionaries. The former has its setting in a farming co-op; the latter is based on a true incident which took place in Peking. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Sept. 9-16 *Tianqiao Theatre*

THEATRE

▲ **UNFORGETTABLE TIMES** tells about the activities of underground revolutionaries in the Shanghai colleges before the liberation. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Sept. 9-12 *Renmin Theatre*
Sept. 13-17 *Shoudu Theatre*

▲ **A TRIP THROUGH SPACE** A delightful fantasy for children produced by the China Children's Theatre. Young Pioneers travel to the moon and have many adventures in space.

Sept. 9-14 *Beijing Theatre*

▲ **THE RED FLAG UNFURLED** A play based on a true incident which happened recently in Shanghai. A steel worker, suffering from acute second degree burns, is saved by the concerted efforts of the hospital staff and his own will to live. The socialist outlook of the medical staff was the decisive factor in making this miracle possible. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Sept. 9-12 *Shoudu Theatre*

FILMS

▲ **ORANGCHON** On the banks of the Orangchon, a beautiful river in north Korea, a small unit of Korean People's Army valiantly held back the enemy. When the long-lost fiancé of the young woman doctor unexpectedly appeared joy filled her heart, but suspicion soon followed. What did she do?

▲ **FOR THE MOTHERLAND** A small Korean boy lost both his parents but found his home among the Korean guerrillas who were fighting for the liberation of their motherland.

The two Korean films listed above (dubbed in Chinese) will be shown at the Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Zhongyang, Guang An Men, Beijing Workers' Club, Da Hua and Jiao Dao Kou from Sept. 9-15 in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

▲ **CREST OF WAVES** Feature film produced by the Peking Film Studio. A brilliant young doctor, made conceited by success, commits several careless mistakes, seriously endangering a patient's life. The comradely help of his colleagues helps him see and correct his errors.

Sept. 9 & 10 *Beijing Theatre*
Sept. 11-15 *Xin Zhong Guo, Guang He Theatre*

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **GRAPHIC EXHIBITION OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE VIET-NAM DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** Daily 9 a.m.—6 p.m. (except Mon.) till Sept. 15.

Inside *Beihai Park*

▲ **FINNISH ART EXHIBITION** Finnish plastic arts in the past 80 years. Daily (except Mon.) 9 a.m.—6 p.m. till Sept. 14.

Inside the *Palace Museum*

SPORTS

▲ **NATIONAL "WU SHU" TOURNAMENT** Chinese boxing and fencing, weapon play with Chinese clubs, spears, etc.

Sept. 7-11 *Beihai Stadium*

▲ **NATIONAL GIRLS' (UNDER 17) SWIMMING CONTEST**

Sept. 15-17 *Peking Gym*

PEKING PLANETARIUM

▲ LATEST FEATURE

"Miracles in the Sky"—4:00 p.m.

Also

"The Sputniks"—2:00 and 6:00 p.m.

"Trip Through the Universe"—12:00 noon and 7:30 p.m.

SELECTED TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Sept. 9

7:32 p.m. Special programme of entertainment in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic
10:30 p.m. *Little Heroes*, Chinese feature film

Sept. 11

7:32 p.m. Programme of *quyi* (variety show)
10:30 p.m. Newsreels

Sept. 13

7:32 p.m. Cartoon film for children
10:15 p.m. Short scientific-technical documentary film
10:30 p.m. Soviet feature film *Early Joys*, adapted from K. Fedin's novel, dubbed in Chinese

Sept. 14

7:30 p.m. Full length Shaohsing opera *Golden Eagle*

PEKING RADIO

SELECTED MUSIC PROGRAMMES

The stations are listed as follows:

- I—Central People's Broadcasting Station, 1st Programme
- II—Central People's Broadcasting Station, 2nd Programme
- III—Peking People's Broadcasting Station

Sept. 9

9:20-10:20 p.m. (III)—Concert in honour of the opening of the IUS congress in Peking—numbers performed by student delegates of various countries during past gatherings

Sept. 10

9:30-10:00 a.m. (II)—Sibelius' *Sixth Symphony*
5:45-6:00 p.m. (I)—Folk songs of Afghanistan

10:45-11:10 p.m. (II)—Folk songs of Latin America

Sept. 11

6:00-7:00 p.m. (III)—Programme of Italian opera music: selections from *La Traviata*, *The Barber of Seville*, etc.
6:15-6:25 p.m. (I)—Songs from India

Sept. 12

7:00-7:15 p.m. (II)—Songs from Arab countries
7:45-8:00 p.m. (III)—Spanish folk songs

Sept. 13

6:00-7:00 p.m. (III)—Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn—piano and vocal solos
10:45-11:30 p.m. (I)—Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in D Major

Sept. 14

8:30-9:30 a.m. (I)—Recorded music programme by the Australian Artists' Delegation in Peking
7:20-7:50 p.m. (I)—Broadcast concert by the Brazilian Radio and Television Artists' Delegation in Peking



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