

December 23, 1958

PEKING

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REVIEW

Special Enlarged Issue

Communique and Resolutions of
the 6th Plenary Session
of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

A New Africa Is Rising

Integrating Chinese and
Western Medicine

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

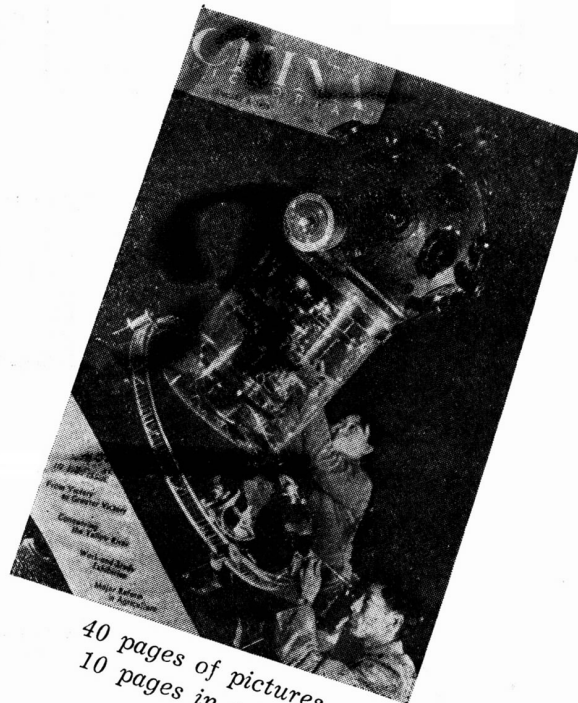
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IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS

(Enlarged Edition)

This collection of writings facilitates a better understanding of the important political study **Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers,"** and the views of the Chinese people on the present international situation and the Taiwan question. It includes, apart from the full text of the above-mentioned study, some important documents on the current struggle in the Taiwan Straits area as well as a number of editorials and commentaries on the subject from *Hongqi* (Red Flag) and *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily).

Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS .. Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN P. O. Box 399, Peking, China

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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 23, 1958 Vol. I No. 43

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Published every Tuesday by PEKING REVIEW,
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: PEKING 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-521

Printed in the People's Republic of China

Getting Down to Fundamentals

IN this enlarged issue of **Peking Review**, we print the full texts of the communique and resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. These documents shed a great deal of light on the current developments in our country and give the reader essential background knowledge without which it would be extremely difficult to follow the political and economic trends in China intelligently.

The resolution on the people's communes is particularly enlightening. It clears up a lot of confused thinking and misconceptions on this subject.

Profound changes have taken place in the vast countryside since the people's commune was first established. The resolution defines the people's commune as the basic unit of China's socialist social fabric and state structure, the best form for effecting the transition in China from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and from socialist society to communist society.

The task now facing the entire Chinese people is to develop the productive forces at top speed through the people's communes, to advance the industrialization of the country, the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and bring about the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and in this way steadily build China up into a great socialist land with a highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. This will probably take 15, 20 or more years, counting from now.

The resolution clearly explains the relations of the different stages of development of China's socialist construction. It points out that the change from farming co-ops to people's communes, the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and the transition from socialism to communism are inter-related and yet distinct stages. It further stresses that the change from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people is not the same thing as the transition from socialism to communism. Still less is the change from farming co-ops to people's communes the same thing as the transition from socialism to communism.

On the question of transition from socialism to communism, the resolution affirms that the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution sees no "Great Wall" between socialism and communism, but the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages teaches that different stages should not be confused. Therefore, we must not mark time at the socialist stage, but neither should we drop into the Utopian dream of skipping the socialist stage and jumping over to the communist stage.

The Sixth Plenary Session also summed up the main experience of the development of the national economy in 1958. The big leap forward this year has fully proved the soundness of the policy of "walking on two legs" rather than dragging along on one leg or one and a half legs. These two legs are: the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industry, of national and local industries, of big enterprises and medium and small enterprises, of modern and home-style methods of production. The experience thus gained teaches the Chinese people how to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

ROUND THE WEEK

The Nation Discusses Chairman Mao's Proposal

It was an "inside story" shared by 650 million people. A week before the decision on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proposal not to be renominated for Chairmanship of the People's Republic appeared in the press on December 18 (see p. 9), men, women and children throughout the country were discussing it. This was no grapevine affair. In all places of work, in every town and village, meetings were convened to report the news of Chairman Mao's proposal and the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The issue was brought to the people for discussion so as to keep the people fully informed and not to have the news published unexpectedly and to provide the people with the opportunity to express their views and sentiments.

A mass airing of views was called for and is still going on. The mere fact of this discussion on a question of the highest state level on such a mass scale is itself a unique piece of history. It tells its own story about the relationship between the Communist Party and government leadership and the people. It is a living expression of China's democracy in action. What a striking contrast it offers to the realities in capitalist countries where politicians in smoke-filled rooms decide such questions.

At first, the emotional element was naturally high in the discussion. Many people found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the idea that their beloved Chairman Mao would not continue to be Chairman of the People's Republic. But as the people discussed the pros and cons of the proposal and the Central Committee decision was explained in detail, it was understood that in concentrating his efforts as Chairman of the Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung would continue to contribute his brilliant leadership to the state and at the same time be able to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work. They understood that Chairman Mao's proposal better serves the long-term and fundamental interests of the Chinese People's Republic and the people. The completely positive nature of the proposal became clear to an overwhelming majority. Assent and endorsement emerged as the

predominant note of this mass debate in which the people are speaking out and having their say on the highest affairs of state.

Richer Crops Next Year

The drive for even richer crops next year is in full swing. By mid-December, deep ploughing, which proved a most potent measure in raising yields, had been completed on 750 million *mu* of land, three-quarters of the target set for this winter and next spring. Work on irrigation projects and the collection and making of composts are reaching all-time records. The superiority of the people's communes over farm co-ops is tangibly measurable throughout the country.

Considerably more earthwork will be done this year than last which already was colossal. With labour power far more effectively organized by the people's communes and an earlier start than last year, the emphasis now is on tools reform to raise labour efficiency. Newly invented and improved tools have almost replaced manual labour at the construction sites of the huge Tao River project (main canal 1,400 kilometres long) in Kansu Province, northwest China. The more than 200 kinds of new tools invented and improved by the builders include self-dumping devices, automatic loading and unloading implements, earth excavating and tamping tools. 95,000 of these tools are in use.



A poster with the popular peasant slogan "Let the Mountains Be Conquered and the Rivers Give Way!"

As a result, 100,000 people, instead of the 300,000 originally thought necessary, are working on the project and all the work quotas are being fulfilled.

People's communes in Hunan Province are accumulating composts in such quantities that "compost seas" and "manure mountains" are now a common subject of daily speech.

Not only are greater quantities of farmstead composts being prepared, but chemical fertilizers from the communes' own plants and green manure are also being produced in large quantities. Every people's commune in Yuhang County, Chekiang Province, has set up an average of 650 home-made chemical fertilizer plants. The 4,603 plants in the county have already turned out 3.75 million *dan* of chemical fertilizers and fine manure—an average of 1,700 *jin* to each of the county's 220,000 *mu* of land. Because of the effectiveness of these chemical fertilizers and fine manure, they don't have to be applied in very large quantities and labour is saved in transporting them. An on-the-spot conference was convened in Yuhang under the joint sponsorship of the Ministries of Agriculture and Chemical Industry to popularize the methods employed there. Local fertilizer plants are mushrooming everywhere and it is estimated that tens of millions of tons of chemical fertilizer will be produced next year.

A Varied Rural Economy

Farm side-lines are receiving a big boost today as the people's communes improve their labour organization and set up work teams specializing in subsidiary production as well as industry and agriculture. These special teams are not limiting themselves to the traditional flour milling, wine brewing, oil pressing and bean-curd making, etc. but are undertaking all sorts of things. In Shensi Province, fibres of plants that grow wild in the mountains are being collected and utilized for the first time. Communes in Pingli County, where the peasants seldom engaged in subsidiary production in the past, are now breeding horses, donkeys, goats, rabbits, fish, bees and tussahs, etc. introduced from Inner Mongolia, Szechuan and other places.

The people's communes are also going into industry on an increasing scale. "Three stars that shine" is the way Chinese peasants extol the flourishing of rural industry, agriculture and the side-lines in the people's communes. In their efforts to develop a varied economy, the people's communes in Tzuhsing County, Hunan Province, have set up 273 new factories and workshops in a single month. The way commune-run industry

and agriculture support each other is vividly shown here. The newly built factories and workshops have already produced 2.5 million *jin* of starch from sweet potatoes grown locally and have turned out some 50,000 farm tools. The communes' iron-smelting furnaces are getting their fuel supplies from the special side-lines team that has produced over one million *jin* of charcoal in the past month. To speed up rural capital construction, the hydro-electric power station being built on the nearby Tung-chiang River has been provided with 70,000 bamboo poles and 50,000 cubic metres of timber.

By marketing its industrial and subsidiary products, the Lanshi People's Commune in this county received 360,000 yuan in cash which not only covered the commune's monthly wage bill, but also enabled it to acquire 50 rubber-tyred carts, 5 million *jin* of lime and other capital goods. Also out of this sum, 5,000 jackets, 800 cotton quilts, raincoats and stockings have been bought for needy members.

By developing a varied economy, the people's communes are consolidating themselves and bringing their members a better life.

Worker-Philosophers

Workers writing on philosophy—that's a new phenomenon in the Chinese press. A boiler repairman, a driver, an electrician and a job repairman—all from the mining town of Tangshan in Hopei Province—are the co-authors of a vividly written and carefully reasoned editorial that appeared in *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily, organ of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions) on December 12, 1958, under the title "Study Philosophy, Use Philosophy, Lecture on Philosophy." The authors are Chen You-kuei, Chen Lien-yu, Tung Kuei-sen and Chang Chih-huei.

This was the first time ordinary workers had ever written an editorial for a national newspaper. But it certainly will not be the last. Illiteracy among the workers, a legacy of the past, is being rapidly wiped out. Since the first philosophy study group was formed by shipbuilding workers in Shanghai last June, workers throughout the country have taken to the study of philosophy en masse. In a single month, some 3,000 philosophy study groups were organized in Harbin alone with 70,000 workers taking part. Practically all workers at the State-Owned No. 1 Cotton Mill in Shensi are studying philosophy.

Dialectical materialism is the working class' own philosophy, the summary of

experiences in production and the class struggle with which the workers are in daily contact. There are, of course, difficulties. But the workers treat difficulties in the philosophical way. "Difficulties are like springs," says the above-mentioned editorial, "when you press hard against them, they will coil back; when you are scared and try to avoid them, they will spring right into your face." It is the former attitude that most of the workers are adopting.

Philosophy is put to good use. Workers at the Qiuxin Shipyard in Shanghai, who started the ball rolling in the movement to study philosophy, analysed and solved "contradictions" in their work and shortened the time for the construction of a trawler from 351 to 82 days.

Many of the workers have become theory-minded. "The leap forward in production and the question of balance," "the dialectics of opposites and the unity of quantity and quality" are among the subjects studied by workers at the Mutanchiang Cement Plant in northeast China. These workers have already written more than 100 dissertations.

Workers are lecturing on philosophy too. The four authors of the *Gongren Ribao* editorial are all worker-lecturers. They lectured to government cadres, soldiers, professors and students as well as to fellow workers. "The workers are really brilliant. I am glad to be a student of theirs," remarked a college professor after having attended one of the lectures.

More Savings Deposits

A big jump in savings deposits is one of the signs of rising income these days. At the end of November, total urban deposits stood at 4,023 million yuan compared with 2,723 million yuan at the end of November last year. Rural deposits amounted to 3,080 million yuan. The increase in total deposits in the first eleven months of this year is more than four times the average annual increase during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957). The number of deposit accounts also registered a sharp increase in the period. In scores of counties, every peasant household has something in the bank. In many government offices, factories and other organizations, all employees have deposit accounts.

The rapid rise in industrial and agricultural production has resulted in increased earnings and family incomes have become larger as more and more women take part in productive and community work.

1-3-8

When literature students at Peking University collectively produced *A History of Chinese Literature*—a huge two-volume, 780,000-character study considered one of the best of its kind ever written, completed and published in the record time of less than two months—they were so immersed in the job that they refused to take proper rest. The university's Communist Party committee members had to lock them out of their studies and chase them to bed.

Students in the big leap forward, inspired by the Communist Party's general line of socialist construction and the fine examples of the workers and peasants, threw themselves into work and performed real wonders. They made an experimental atomic reactor, electrostatic accelerators, electronic computers and a host of other products of modern technology (*Peking Review*, No. 37, p.4). They took part in manual labour with great zest. In doing so, many worked through to the wee hours of the morning and beyond and neglected proper rest. While lauding their enthusiasm, the Communist Party organizations are adopting measures to see to it that students get sufficient rest and integrate their studies, productive labour and scientific research in a more rational way.

Under the leadership of the Party organization, the teaching staff and students of Peking University, after a new round of airing of views, debates and discussions, have decided to carry out the 1-3-8 system, i.e. there will be one month of vacation, three months of productive labour and eight months of study every year. Forty-five hours in the week will be devoted to studies and scientific research, eight hours to productive labour, six to physical exercises and seven to group meetings and recreation. Stress is being laid on guaranteeing eight hours of sleep every day and free time on Sundays.

Similar systems are being introduced in other universities and colleges. But there are minor variations due to differences in circumstances, e.g. some have a 1-2-9 system; others have a 1-4-7 system. In the case of the department of philosophy, for example, which has moved to the people's communes in the countryside for closer contact with reality, the system naturally does not apply strictly. Since this is only the beginning of a new system, it is being tried out and will be improved in the light of more experience. But the emphasis now is clear: proper and sufficient rest.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The following communique was issued on December 17, 1958. —Ed.

THE Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Wuchang from November 28 to December 10, 1958.

The Session was held under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was attended by 84 members of the Central Committee including Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping, Lin Pochu, Tung Pi-wu, Peng Chen, Lo Jung-huan, Chen Yi, Li Fu-chun, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Po-cheng, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien, Ko Ching-shih, Li Ching-chuan and Tan Chen-lin, and 82 alternate members of the Central Committee. Leading comrades of various departments of the Central Committee concerned and first secretaries of the Party committees of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, who are not members or alternate members of the Central Committee, were also present.

Between November 2 and 10, before the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee was held, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had called a meeting in Chengchow which was attended by some of the leading comrades of the Party centre and some of the leading comrades in various localities. Later, between November 21 and 27, he called another meeting in Wuchang which was attended by some of the leading comrades of the Party centre and the first secretaries of the Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. These two meetings prepared for the Plenary Session.

The main items on the agenda of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee were: the question of the people's communes; the question of the national economic plan for 1959; and the question of not nominating Comrade Mao Tse-tung as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China for the next term. In addition, the Session also discussed the question of improving the financial and trade administrative systems in the rural areas, and the international situation. After full and thoroughgoing discussions at group meetings and plenary meetings, the Plenary Session adopted the relevant resolutions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung made important speeches at the meetings.

The Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee adopted a "Resolution on Some Questions Concern-

ing the People's Communes." The resolution evaluated very highly the movement to set up people's communes which has developed in China's rural areas in the past few months and considered this to be an event of great historic significance. The resolution elaborated a series of questions concerning the people's communes from the standpoint of theory and policy. It provided for the correct direction of the development of the people's communes, the principles of production of the communes, the introduction of a distribution system which combines the wage system and the free supply system, organizing the people's production and life, carrying through the organizational principle of democratic centralism and strengthening the Party's leading role and developing the mass line and a practical and realistic style of work. The resolution called on Party committees of various levels to make the best use of the five months from December this year to next April to check up on and consolidate the people's communes in their own areas in close co-ordination with the production tasks for this winter and the coming spring.

THE Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee summed up the main experiences of the growth of our national economy in 1958 and laid down the principles for the development of the national economy in 1959. It pointed out that great victories without precedent had been scored in the development of China's national economy in 1958. According to present estimates of the output of industrial and agricultural products for 1958, steel will be increased from 5.35 million tons in 1957 to about 11 million tons; coal from 130 million tons in 1957 to about 270 million tons; machine-tools from 28,000 units in 1957 to around 90,000 units; grain from 185 million tons in 1957 to about 375 million tons; and cotton from 1.64 million tons in 1957 to about 3.35 million tons. The output of other important industrial and agricultural products will also register great increases.

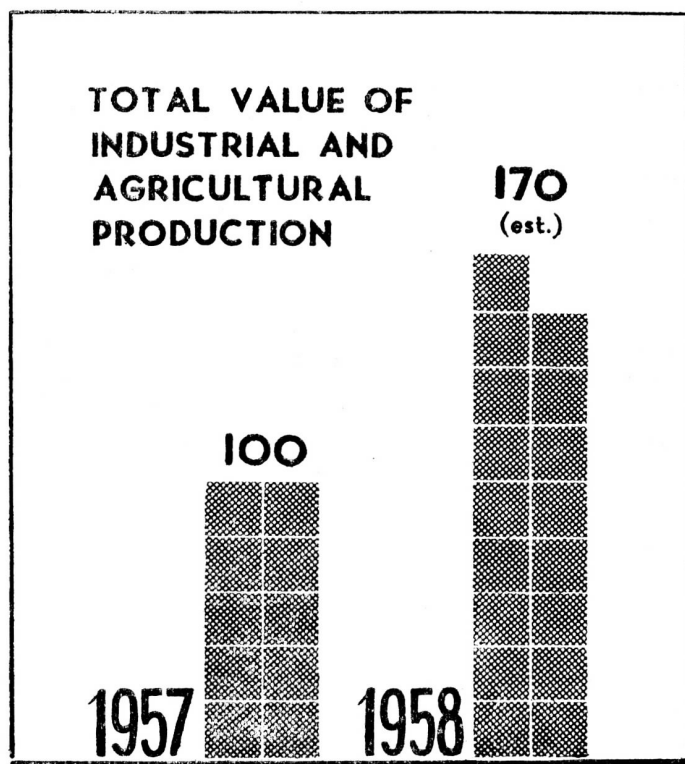
It is estimated that the total value of industrial and agricultural output in 1958 will increase by about 70 per cent compared to 1957, while in 1957 it increased by only 68 per cent compared to 1952. The revenue in 1958 will increase by 14,000 million yuan compared with 1957, while the increase in 1957 was only 13,400 million yuan com-

pared to 1952; investments in capital construction in 1958 will exceed 22,000 million yuan, nearly half of the total investment of 49,200 million yuan during the whole of the First Five-Year Plan.*

The Plenary Session pointed out that the 1958 great leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and in the fields of science, culture and education, the great rise in the socialist and communist consciousness of the masses and the high tide of development of the people's communes during the summer and autumn of this year, are great victories for the Party's general line for socialist construction and the great fruits of the rectification campaign among the whole people. The achievements in economic construction in our country are inseparably linked with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. The development of our national economy by leaps and bounds this year has proved the correctness of the whole group of policies laid down by the Party: the policy of simultaneous development of industry and agriculture on the basis of giving priority to heavy industry; the policy of simultaneous development of heavy and light industries; the policy of effecting an overall leap forward on the industrial front with steel as the key link; the policy of simultaneous development of national and local industries; the policy of simultaneous development of large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises; the policy of simultaneously employing modern and indigenous methods of production, and the policy of combining centralized leadership with a full-scale mass movement in industry — in a word, the policy of walking on two legs and not on one or one and a half legs. The great leap forward in our industrial and agricultural production in 1958 is a great practice. Through this practice, we have not only found a broad way to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, but also gained rich experience in marching along this broad way. This will make it possible for us not only to continue the leap forward in 1959 but to do much better.

THE Plenary Session pointed out that on the basis of the great victories and rich experiences gained in 1958, it is necessary in carrying on socialist economic construction in 1959 to continue to oppose conservatism, do away with blind faith, strictly carry out the Party's general line for socialist construction, continue to carry out the policies of simultaneously developing industry and agriculture, heavy and light industries, national and local industries, and large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises, of simultaneously employing modern and indigenous methods of production; to continue to carry out in industry the policy of achieving an all-round forward leap with steel as the key link and the policy of combining centralized leadership with a full-scale mass movement. At the same time, it is necessary to endeavour to put economic planning on a completely reliable basis, and to maintain suitable proportions between

* 1953-1957. — Ed.



By Su Li

the various targets in accordance with the objective law of the proportionate development of the various branches of the national economy. In line with these policies and principles, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee put forward the following main targets for development of the national economy in 1959: steel output to be increased from the estimated amount of about 11 million tons this year to about 18 million tons; coal output will be increased from the estimated amount of about 270 million tons this year to about 380 million tons; grain output will be increased from the estimated amount of about 375 million tons this year to about 525 million tons; and cotton output will be increased from the estimated amount of about 3.35 million tons this year to about 5 million tons. The Plenary Session instructed the departments responsible to work out the 1959 plan for development of the national economy in the light of these main targets and in accordance with the needs of development of the national economy as a whole in 1959 and the material and technical conditions of our country, and to submit the plan to the First Session of the Second National People's Congress for discussion and adoption.

In the spirit of the thesis consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that we should scorn difficulties strategically but pay full attention to them tactically, and that boundless enthusiasm should go hand in hand with scientific analysis, the Plenary Session pointed out that to bring the 1959 national economic plan to realization, we must continue to oppose conservatism, get rid of blind faith and advocate boldness in thinking, speech and action; go all out, aim high and defy difficulties strategically. These are inflexible principles.

In the meantime, we must pay full attention to difficulties tactically and pursue a good, solid style of work

that displays energy, perseverance and ingenuity, fix targets in a forward-looking way and take measures that will more than guarantee its fulfilment, insist on careful calculation of the facts, good organization and inspection, and oppose exaggeration and concealment of shortcomings. Economic work must be done with ever greater care and conform completely or as nearly as possible to reality.

The Plenary Session also pointed out that to carry out the plan for 1959, it is necessary to persist in putting politics in command, to rely on the masses, follow the mass line and organize mass movements in construction; the entire Party and all the people must make concerted efforts, and all partial and local interests must be subordinated to the interests of the whole.

The Plenary Session considered that the national economic plan for 1959 worked out in the light of the above main targets will be a great leap forward plan. The Plenary Session called on the entire Party and all the people to unite as one, march heroically along the triumphant road of 1958 for the completion and overfulfilment of the national economic plan for 1959 and, in the decisive year of the three years' hard battle, achieve a greater leap forward than in 1958. The Plenary Session was confident that the people of our country will accomplish this glorious task.

AFTER full and all-round consideration, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee decided to approve the proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung not to stand as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China for the next term of office. The decision taken by the Plenary Session in this connection points out that this is a completely positive proposal. Because, relin-

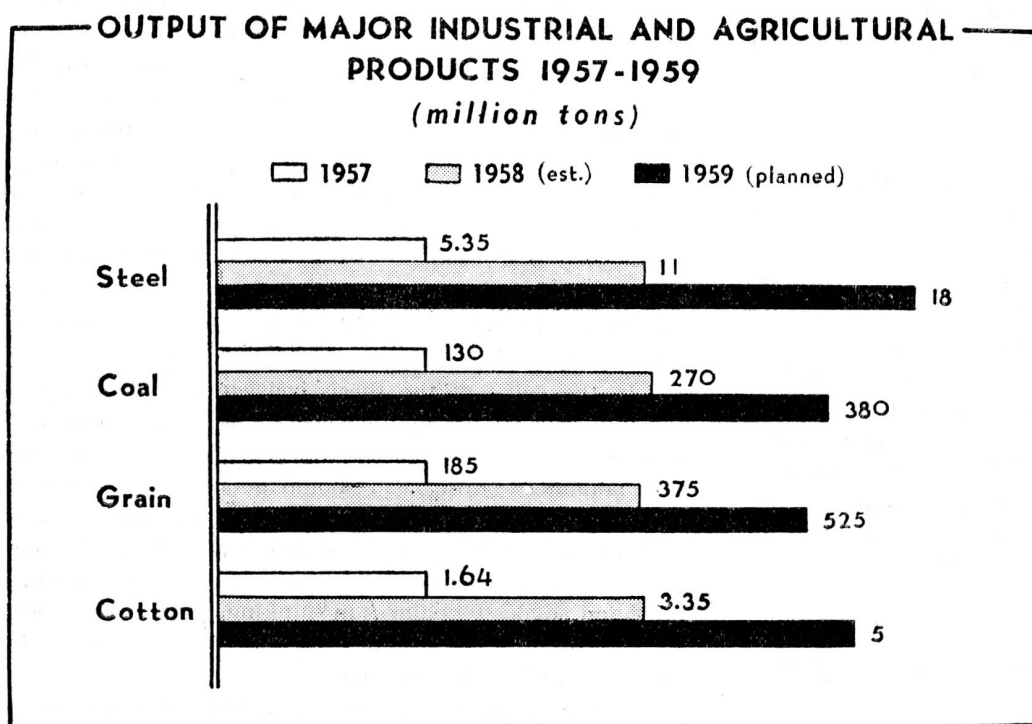
quishing his duties as Chairman of the state and working solely as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung will be enabled to concentrate his energies all the better on dealing with questions of the direction, policy and line of the Party and the state; he will also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work, without affecting his continued leading role in the work of the state. This will be in the better interests of the entire Party and of all the people of the country.

The Plenary Session adopted a decision to improve the financial and trade administrative systems in the rural areas. This decision, after being discussed and approved by the State Council, will be published jointly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council.

THE Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee also discussed the international situation. It pointed out that recent developments in the international situation have further confirmed the fact that the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war; that the progressive forces are stronger than the reactionary forces. These developments have further inspired the people all over the world and all who cherish peace, advocate peaceful co-existence and do not want war, and have isolated the warmakers more than ever. The imperialist camp is rent by many internal contradictions. Their so-called "unity" is now gradually heading towards its opposite; it is in the process of gradual disintegration. This process may extend over a fairly long period; but its general trend is inevitable.

Confronted with the forces of peace, of socialism and of national revolution which are growing stronger daily, the imperialists are panic-stricken. They are having a tough time of it. The general characteristic of the international situation is exactly as Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated at this Plenary Session: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."

The Plenary Session pointed out that the struggle of the people the world over for peace and liberation has made great progress in the past year. The struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and for national independence continues to surge ahead. The recent reactionary coups d'etat in France and certain other countries are by no means indicative



By Su Li

of the reactionaries' strength, but of their decay and weakness. They are playing the role of "teachers by negative example" for the people; the people are enabled to draw lessons from their reactionary activities and are forced to raise their level of understanding and strengthen their unity. No adventures or struggles by the imperialist madmen of war and reactionaries can save them from final destruction. It will not do for the U.S. imperialists to try to hang on in Taiwan; if the American aggressive forces do not withdraw of their own accord, then the day will eventually come when the Chinese on the mainland and in Taiwan will unite to drive them out. Similarly, it also will not do for the U.S. imperialists to try to hang on in south Korea, south Viet-nam, Japan, the Philippines, West Berlin, West Germany, Western Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and other foreign military bases; if the American aggressive forces do not withdraw of their own accord, then, similarly, the peoples of these countries will surely unite to drive them out.

The Plenary Session noted with satisfaction that in the past year the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has grown even stronger and its unity has been consolidated even more firmly. All the efforts of the imperialist reactionaries and revisionists to sow discord, to curse and to sabotage are doomed to failure. The Plenary Session was elated by the 1959-65 programme for development of the national economy of the Soviet Union proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and regarded this as a programme for communist construction which is of great historic significance. It represents the lofty aspirations and the splendid future of progressive mankind. Its realization will greatly change the balance of forces in the world and be of great benefit to mankind's cause of peace and the prevention of war. The Plenary Session expressed its firm conviction that in the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, socialism will surely emerge triumphant.

Decision Approving Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Proposal on Chairmanship

This decision was adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at its Sixth Plenary Session on December 10. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress for a term of four years. The forthcoming N.P.C. will elect the Chairman for the next term. —Ed.

IN the past few years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has more than once expressed to the Central Committee of the Party the wish that he should not continue to hold the post of Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Following full and all-round consideration, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee has decided to approve this proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, and not to nominate him again as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee deems this to be a completely positive proposal, because, relinquishing his duties as Chairman of the state and working solely as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung will be enabled all the better to concentrate his energies on dealing with questions of the direction, policy and line of the Party and the state; he may also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work, without affecting his continued leading role in the

work of the state. This will be in the better interests of the whole Party and of all the people of the country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the sincerely beloved and long-tested leader of the people of various nationalities of the whole country. He will remain the leader of the entire people of various nationalities even when he no longer holds the post of Chairman of the state. If some special situation arises in the future which should require him to take up this work again, he can still be nominated again to assume the duties of the Chairman of the state in compliance with the opinion of the people and the decision of the Party. Party committees at all levels should, in accordance with these reasons, give full explanations to the cadres and masses both inside and outside the Party at appropriate meetings of the Party, sessions of the People's Congresses of various levels, meetings of workers in industrial and mining enterprises, and meetings in people's communes, offices, schools and armed units, so that the reasons for this may be understood by all and that there may be no misunderstanding.

Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes

This resolution was adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China at its Sixth Plenary Session on December 10, 1958.—Ed.

I

IN 1958 a new social organization appeared, fresh as the morning sun, above the broad horizon of east Asia. This was the large-scale people's commune in the rural areas of our country which combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs and in which government administration and commune management are integrated. Since their first appearance the people's communes with their immense vitality have attracted widespread attention.

The movement to set up people's communes has grown very rapidly. Within a few months starting in the summer of 1958, all of the more than 740,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives in the country, in response to the enthusiastic demand of the mass of peasants, reorganized themselves into over 26,000 people's communes. Over 120 million households, or more than 99 per cent of all China's peasant households of various nationalities, have joined the people's communes. This shows that the emergence of the people's communes is not fortuitous; it is the outcome of the economic and political development of our country, the outcome of the socialist rectification campaign conducted by the Party, of the Party's general line for socialist construction and the great leap forward of socialist construction in 1958.

Although the rural people's communes were established only a short while ago, the mass of the peasants are already conscious of the obvious benefits they have brought them. Labour power and the means of production can, on a larger scale than before, be managed and deployed in a unified way to ensure that they are used still more rationally and effectively, and consequently to facilitate the development of production. Under the unified leadership of the commune, industry, agriculture (including farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries), trade, education and military affairs have been closely co-ordinated and developed rapidly. In particular, thousands and tens of thousands of small factories have mushroomed in the rural areas. To meet the pressing demands of the masses, the communes have set up large numbers of community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, "homes of respect for the aged" and other institutions for collective welfare, which have, in particular, completely emancipated women from thousands of years of kitchen drudgery and brought broad smiles to their faces. As the result of the bumper crops many communes

have instituted a system of distribution that combines the wage system with the free supply system; the mass of peasants, both men and women, have begun to receive their wages and those families which in the past constantly worried about their daily meals and about their firewood, rice, oil, salt, soya sauce, vinegar and vegetables are now able to "eat without paying." In other words they have the most important and most reliable kind of social insurance. For the peasants, all this is epoch-making news. The living standards of the peasants have been improved and they know from practical experience and the prospects of the development of the communes that they will live still better in the future.

The development of the system of rural people's communes has an even more profound and far-reaching significance. It has shown the people of our country the way to the gradual industrialization of the rural areas, the way to the gradual transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in agriculture, the way to the gradual transition from the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" to the communist principle of "to each according to his needs," the way gradually to lessen and finally to eliminate the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour, and the way gradually to lessen and finally to eliminate the internal function of the state.

All this has proved the correctness and historic significance of the Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas adopted on the basis of the creativeness of the masses by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Peitaiho meeting in August 1958.*

PEOPLE'S communes have now become the general rule in all rural areas inhabited by our people of various nationalities (except in Tibet and in certain other areas). Some experiments have also begun in the cities. In the future urban people's communes, in a form suited to the specific features of cities, will also become instruments for the transformation of old cities and the construction of new socialist cities; they will become the unified organizers of production, exchange and distribution and of the livelihood and well-being of the people; they will become social organizations which combine industry, agriculture,

*Published in *Peking Review*, No. 29, Sept. 16, 1958.—Ed.

trade, education and military affairs, organizations in which government administration and commune management are integrated. There are, however, certain differences between the city and the countryside.

Firstly, city conditions are more complex than those in the countryside.

Secondly, socialist ownership by the whole people is already the main form of ownership in the cities, and the factories, public institutions and schools, under the leadership of the working class, have already become highly organized in accordance with socialist principles (with the exception of some of the family members of the workers and staffs). Therefore, the switch-over of cities to people's communes inevitably involves some requirements different from those in the rural areas.

Thirdly, bourgeois ideology is still fairly prevalent among many of the capitalists and intellectuals in the cities; they still have misgivings about the establishment of communes — so we should wait a bit for them.

Consequently, we should continue to make experiments and generally should not be in a hurry to set up people's communes on a large scale in the cities. Particularly in the big cities, this work should be postponed except for the necessary preparatory measures. People's communes should be established on a large scale in the cities only after rich experience has been gained and when the sceptics and doubters have been convinced.

The rural people's communes which have already been established have not had time to consolidate their organizations, perfect their working systems, or systematically settle the new questions concerning production, distribution, livelihood and welfare, management and administration which have arisen with the establishment of the communes. This is because the communes were only recently set up and most of them, immediately after their establishment, threw themselves into the heavy work of the autumn harvest, ploughing and sowing and the nationwide campaign for iron and steel. There is as yet insufficient experience in successfully running and developing the people's communes. Different approaches to certain questions are unavoidable. The urgent tasks at present are to quickly achieve a unity of views on the communes among all members of the Party and among the people, strengthen the leadership over the communes, check up on and consolidate their organization, define and perfect their working systems, and improve the organization of production and life in the communes. Energetic efforts must be made to strengthen those communes which have already been set up, so that they will be in a position to carry out ever more successfully their great mission of promoting the development of the productive forces and the relations of production.

II

THE people's commune is the basic unit of the socialist social structure of our country, combining industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs; at the same time it is the basic organization of the socialist state power. Marxist-Leninist theory and the initial experience of the people's communes in our country enable us to foresee now that the people's communes will quicken the tempo of our socialist construction and constitute the best

form for realizing, in our country, the following two transitions.

Firstly, the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in the countryside; and,

Secondly, the transition from socialist to communist society. It can also be foreseen that in the future communist society, the people's commune will remain the basic unit of our social structure.

From now on, the task confronting the people of our country is: through such a form of social organization as the people's commune, and based on the general line for socialist construction laid down by the Party, to develop the social productive forces at high speed, to advance the industrialization of the country, the industrialization of the communes, and the mechanization and electrification of agriculture; and to effect the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, thus fully realizing ownership by the whole people in the socialist economy of our country and gradually building our country into a great socialist land with a highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. During this process, the elements of communism are bound to increase gradually and these will lay the foundation of material and spiritual conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

This is a gigantic and extremely complex task. In the light of experience already gained, as the concrete conditions now stand in our country, it is possible that socialist ownership by the whole people may be fully realized at a somewhat earlier date but this will not be very soon. Though the pace at which we are advancing is fairly rapid, it will still take a fairly long time to realize, on a large scale, the industrialization of our country, the industrialization of the communes, the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the building of a socialist country with a highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. This whole process will take fifteen, twenty or more years to complete, counting from now.

The imperialists and those who parrot them say that this is too short a time for us to build a highly developed modern industry, agriculture and science and culture, and that we won't be able to achieve our aim. We've got used to such tunes; we needn't pay any attention to them; the facts are bound to batter these people down time and time again. But there will be other people who will say that this time is too long. They are good-hearted people in our own ranks, but they are over-eager. They think that the building of a highly developed modern industry and so on, full realization of socialist ownership by the whole people, or even the attainment of communism, are very easy things. They think that ownership in the rural people's communes is even now of the nature of ownership by the whole people and that very soon or even now they can dispense with the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" and adopt the communist principle of "to each according to his needs." Consequently, they cannot understand why the socialist system will have to continue for a very long time. Their view, of course, is a misconception, which must be cleared up.

IT should be pointed out that the switch from agricultural producers' co-operatives to people's communes, the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist

ownership by the whole people and the transition from socialism to communism are processes which are interconnected but at the same time distinct from each other.

First of all, the switch from the agricultural producers' co-operatives to the people's communes has expanded and strengthened the existing collective ownership and contains certain elements of ownership by the whole people. But this is not to say that collective ownership in the countryside has been transformed into ownership by the whole people. The whole Chinese countryside has now switched over to people's communes, but a certain time will have to pass before ownership by the whole people is realized throughout the countryside.

True, the establishment of the people's communes has added certain elements of ownership by the whole people to the collectively owned economy. This is because the rural people's communes and the basic organizations of state power have been combined into one; because the banks, stores and some other enterprises owned by the whole people, originally existing in the countryside, have been placed under the management of the communes; because the communes have taken part in establishing certain undertakings in industrial and other construction which are by nature owned by the whole people; because in many counties the county federations of communes, exercising unified leadership over all the people's communes in these counties, have been formed and have the power to deploy a certain portion of the manpower, material and financial resources of the communes to undertake construction on a county or even bigger scale (this has already started in many areas), and so on. But at the present time the means of production and the products of the rural people's communes are in the main still collectively owned by the communes and differ from those of the state-owned enterprises which belong to the whole people. Both collective ownership and ownership by the whole people are socialist ownership; but the latter is more advanced than the former because the state, representing the whole people, can directly make a unified and rational distribution of the means of production and the products of enterprises owned by the whole people according to the requirements of the national economy as a whole, while this cannot be done by enterprises run under collective ownership including the existing rural people's communes. To say that ownership by the people's communes as they now exist in the countryside is already ownership by the whole people does not conform to reality.

To gradually promote the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, every county should set up its federation of communes. In coming years, and on the basis of the energetic development of production and the raising of the people's political understanding, such federations should take suitable steps gradually to increase the proportion of their means of production that is owned by the whole people and the proportion of their products that is subject to unified distribution by the state, and, when conditions mature, should change collective ownership into ownership by the whole people. If timely steps are not taken to promote and complete this change and if the existing collective ownership is kept intact indefinitely with the result that commune members confine their attention to the relatively narrow scope of the interests of their collective,

the continuous development of the social productive forces and the continuous raising of the people's political understanding will be impeded. This is not appropriate. However, it must be pointed out that collective ownership still plays a positive role today in developing production in the people's communes. How soon the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people will be effected will be determined by the objective factors — the level of development of production and the level of the people's political understanding — and not by mere wishful thinking that it can be done at any time we want it. Thus this transition will be realized, by stages and by groups, on a national scale only after a considerable time. Those who, because they fail to understand this, confuse the establishment of people's communes with the realization of ownership by the whole people, making impetuous attempts to abolish collective ownership in the countryside prematurely, and trying hastily to change over to ownership by the whole people, will not be doing the right thing and therefore cannot succeed.

FURTHERMORE, the change from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people is not the same thing as the going-over from socialism to communism. Still less is the change from agricultural producers' co-operatives to people's communes the same thing as the change from socialism to communism. The change from socialism to communism will require much more time than the change from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people.

True, the free supply system adopted by the people's communes contains the first shoots of the communist principle of "to each according to his needs"; the policy carried out by the people's communes of running industry and agriculture simultaneously and combining them has opened up a way to reduce the differences between town and countryside and between worker and peasant, and when the rural people's communes pass over from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, these communist factors will grow further. All this must be acknowledged. Moreover, with social products becoming plentiful thanks to the continuous advance of industry and agriculture throughout the country; with the proportion of what is supplied gratis under the distribution system of the people's communes gradually growing larger and the standards of free supply being gradually raised; with the consistent raising of the level of the people's political understanding; with the constant progress of education for the whole people; the gradual reduction of the differences between mental and manual labour; and the gradual diminution of the internal function of the state power, etc., the conditions for the transition to communism will also gradually mature. It is of course not proper to ignore or even impede this course of development and relegate communism to the distant future.

Nevertheless every Marxist must soberly realize that the transition from socialism to communism is a fairly long and complicated process of development and that throughout this entire process society is still socialist in nature. Socialist society and communist society are two stages marked by different degrees of economic development. The socialist principle is "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work"; the com-

unist principle is "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." The communist system of distribution is more rational; but it can be put into effect only when there is a great abundance of social products. In the absence of this condition, any negation of the principle of "to each according to his work" will tend to dampen the working enthusiasm of the people and is therefore disadvantageous to the development of production and the increase of social products, and hence to speeding the realization of communism. For this reason, in the income of commune members, the portion constituting the wage paid according to work done must occupy an important place over a long period and will, during a certain period, take first place. In order to encourage the working enthusiasm of commune members and also to facilitate the satisfaction of their complex daily needs, the communes must strive gradually to increase the wages of their members and, for a number of years to come, must increase them at a rate faster than that portion of their income which comes under the heading of free supply. Even after the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, the people's communes will, during a necessary historical period, retain the system of "to each according to his work" owing to the fact that there is not as yet an abundant enough supply of social products to realize communism. Any premature attempt to negate the principle of "to each according to his work" and replace it with the principle of "to each according to his needs," that is, any attempt to enter communism by over-reaching ourselves when conditions are not mature—is undoubtedly a Utopian concept that cannot possibly succeed.

BOTH the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people and the transition from socialism to communism must depend on a certain level of development of the productive forces. Production relations must be suited to the nature of the productive forces and only when the productive forces develop to a certain stage will certain changes be brought about in production relations—this is a fundamental principle of Marxism. Our comrades must bear in mind that the present level of development of the productive forces in our country is, after all, still very low. Three years of hard battle plus several years of energetic work may bring about a great change in the economic face of the country. But even then there will still be a considerable distance to go to reach the goals of a high degree of industrialization of the entire country and the mechanization and electrification of our country's agriculture; and there will be an even longer distance to go to reach the goals of an enormous abundance of social products, of a great lightening of labour and of a sharp reduction of working hours. Without all these, it is, of course, impossible to talk about entering a higher stage of development in human society—communism. Therefore, since we are devoted to the cause of communism, we must first devote ourselves to developing our productive forces and working energetically to fulfil our plan for socialist industrialization. We should not groundlessly make declarations that the people's communes in the countryside will "realize ownership by the whole people immediately," or even "enter communism immediately," and so on. To do such things is not only an expression of rashness, it will greatly lower the standards of communism in the minds

of the people, distort the great ideal of communism and vulgarize it, strengthen the petty-bourgeois trend towards equalitarianism and adversely affect the development of socialist construction.

On the question of transition from socialism to communism, we must not mark time at the socialist stage, but neither should we drop into the Utopian dream of skipping the socialist stage and jumping over to the communist stage. We are advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; we hold that no "Great Wall" exists or can be allowed to exist between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and between socialism and communism. We are at the same time advocates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of revolution by stages; we hold that different stages of development reflect qualitative changes and that these stages, different in quality, should not be confused. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has pointed out clearly in its August Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas: in the case of the people's communes, "the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people is a process, the completion of which may take less time—three or four years—in some places, and longer—five or six years or even more—elsewhere. Even with the completion of this transition, people's communes, like state-owned industry, are still socialist in character, i.e. the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his work' prevails. Some years after that the social product will increase greatly, the communist consciousness and morality of the entire people will be raised to a much higher degree, universal education will be instituted and developed, the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country, between mental and manual labour—the legacies of the old society that have inevitably been carried over into the socialist period—and the remnants of unequal bourgeois rights which are the reflection of these differences—will gradually vanish; and the function of the state will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression; it will play no role internally. At that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism in which the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' will be practised." In order to clear up misconceptions about the people's communes and ensure the healthy development of the people's commune movement, extensive and repeated publicity and education based on this Marxist-Leninist point of view must be carried out seriously throughout the Party and among all the people of China.

III

THE people's communes must plan their production, exchange, consumption and accumulation. Their plans should be subordinated to the state plans and to the administration of the state. In working out their plans, the people's communes should at the same time fully develop their own characteristic features and their initiative.

Development of production is the key to the consolidation and elevation of the people's communes. The correct policy of the people's communes for the development of production should be: to ensure the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and of production for

their own use and for exchange, in accordance with the principles of unified state planning, of adaptation to local conditions and of running the communes industriously and thriftily. In every aspect of production and capital construction, thrift must be observed; careful plans must be worked out; and manpower, material and financial resources must be used as rationally as possible; production costs must be reduced; expenditures must be cut down and income increased; extravagance and waste among some functionaries of the communes following bumper harvests should be prevented and opposed.

In agricultural production, shallow ploughing, careless cultivation, and "big acreage with small output" should be gradually replaced by deep ploughing, intensive cultivation, and "small acreage with big output." Farming should be carried on as meticulously as gardening, and agricultural production should be mechanized and electrified to bring about a big increase in per *mu* yields and labour productivity and to gradually reduce the area under cultivation and manpower engaged in agriculture. We should strive to reach a yearly average of two to three thousand *jin* or one ton to one and a half tons of grain per capita within a comparatively short period. As the grain problem is solved, the proportion of the total agricultural output occupied by cotton, flax and jute, silk, soya beans, oil-bearing crops, sugar-bearing crops, tea, tobacco, medicinal and other industrial crops must be gradually increased. In addition, great attention should be paid to speeding the development of forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries. In short, as on the industrial front, a great revolution must be carried out on all the fronts of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries so as to thoroughly transform the face of agriculture.

PEOPLE in the past often worried about our "over-population" and relatively small amount of available arable land. But this idea has been overturned by the facts of our 1958 bumper harvest. Insofar as we succeed in seriously popularizing the rich experience gained in getting high yields through deep ploughing, intensive cultivation, layer-by-layer fertilization and rational close planting, it will be found that the amount of arable land is not too small but very considerable, and that the question is not so much over-population as shortage of manpower. This will be a very big change. In the next several years, local conditions permitting, we should try to reduce the area sown to crops each year to about one-third of what it is at present. Part of the land so saved can be used for fallow rotation, pasturage and the growing of green manure; the rest can be used for afforestation, reservoirs and the extensive cultivation of flowers, shrubs and trees to turn our whole land with its plains, hills and waters into a garden. By these means:

Firstly, it will be possible to greatly economize the use of water, fertilizer and manpower, and to considerably increase the fertility of the soil;

Secondly, full use can be made of every mountain, river, forest and the pasture, and the comprehensive management of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, farm side-lines and fisheries can be greatly developed.

Thirdly, our natural environment will be transformed and the whole country beautified.

This is a great ideal that can be realized. People's communes throughout the land should work to realize this aim.

PEOPLE'S communes must go in for industry in a big way. The development of industry by the people's communes will not only accelerate the industrialization of the whole country but also promote the realization of ownership by the whole people in the rural districts, and reduce the differences between town and country. According to the differing conditions in each people's commune, an appropriate part of the labour force should be transferred, step by step, from agriculture to industry so as to develop, according to plan, the production of fertilizer, insecticides, farm implements and machinery and building materials; the processing and many-sided utilization of agricultural produce; the manufacturing of sugar, textiles and paper; the expansion of mining, metallurgy, electric power and other light and heavy industries. Industrial production in the people's communes must be closely linked with agricultural production; it should first of all serve the development of agriculture and the mechanization and electrification of farming; at the same time it should serve to meet the demands of commune members for staple consumer goods, and serve the country's big industries and the socialist market. The principles of adaptation to local conditions and obtaining raw materials locally should be fully taken into consideration; in order to avoid increased costs and waste of labour power, industries should not be set up in places where there are no raw materials or where these have to be brought from very far away. With regard to production techniques, the principle should be carried out of linking handicraft with mechanized industry, and indigenous methods with modern methods of production. All handicraft industries which have good foundations and prospects for expansion must continue to be developed, and gradually carry through the necessary technical transformations. The mechanized industries must also make full use of indigenous methods and iron, steel, machine-tools, other raw materials and equipment produced by indigenous methods; they will gradually advance from indigenous to modern, from small to large and from a low to a high level.

Whether in industry or agriculture, people's communes should develop production for their own use which directly meets their own needs, and they should also develop commodity production on as wide a scale as possible. Every people's commune according to its own characteristics and under the guidance of the state should carry out necessary division of labour in production and exchange of commodities with other people's communes and state-owned enterprises. Only in this way can the economy of our whole society expand at a faster rate, and every commune get through exchange the machinery and equipment required for the mechanization and electrification of farming, as well as the consumer goods and ready cash required to meet the needs of commune members and pay them wages, and make it possible to raise wages step by step. To ensure fulfilment of trading plans, an extensive system of contracts should be set up between the state and the communes and among the communes themselves.

It must be stressed that during the course of a necessary historical period commodity production by the people's communes and the exchange of commodities between the state and communes and among the communes themselves must be greatly developed. Such production and exchange of commodities are different from those under capitalism, because they are conducted in a planned way, on the basis of socialist public ownership and not in an anarchic way on the basis of capitalist private ownership. Continued development of commodity production and continued adherence to the principle of "to each according to his work" are two important questions of principle in expanding the socialist economy. The whole Party should have a uniform understanding of them. Some people, attempting to "enter communism" prematurely, have tried to abolish the production and exchange of commodities too early, and to negate at too early a stage the positive roles of commodities, value, money and prices. This line of thinking is harmful to the development of socialist construction and is therefore incorrect.

IV

THE people's communes in rural districts should distribute their own incomes properly on the principle of running the communes industriously and thriftily. To speed up production, the proportion of accumulation should be appropriately increased after production costs, administrative expenses and taxes have been deducted from the gross income. But on the basis of the development of production, the portion of the income used to meet the individual and collective expenses of commune members (including the portion spent on public welfare, culture and education) should be increased annually in order to improve the livelihood of the people year by year.

The introduction of a distribution system which combines the wage system and the free supply system in the part of the commune's income allotted to its members for consumption is a form of socialist distribution created by China's people's communes, and at the present time it represents what the broad mass of members earnestly demand. As stated above, this distribution system includes the first shoots of communism but in essence it is still socialist—based on the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

The proportions of wages and free supplies in the total amount allotted to members should be determined in the light of the varying levels of the development of production in the communes. At present, in fixing the ratio between wages and free supplies, care should be taken as far as possible to avoid reducing the income of households which have relatively few members but are strong in labour power; in general, it should be made possible for more than 90 per cent of the members to increase their income as compared with the previous year while the rest should get no less than in the previous year.

For the present, the scope of free supply should not be too wide. The application of the free supply system does not seek to make the life of the people uniform. Under the systems of socialism and communism, the needs of the people are on the whole similar while varying ac-

ording to the individual. Therefore in the future as well as at present care should be taken to ensure, as far as possible, that members have suitable freedom of choice within the framework of the free supply system.

Wages must be increased gradually as production expands. For the present, after deducting the items freely supplied, wage scales in the rural areas can be divided into six to eight grades, and the highest grade may be four or more times as much as the lowest grade. But the differences should not be too great; for if they were they would not conform to the existing differences in labouring skills in the rural areas. Certain differences between the wage levels in different areas are permissible. For the present differences between wage grades in the city are greater than those in the countryside, and this is necessary. In the future, as a result of the tremendous rise in production, everyone will be much better off and whether in city or countryside such differences between wage grades will be unnecessary and will gradually disappear. That will be nearing the era of communism.

The reasons why wage levels in the city are generally higher than those in the countryside are many-sided (including the factor of living costs being higher in the city), and this is also a temporary situation which should be explained to the peasants. Some commune members, apart from working in the villages, also receive money sent home by their relatives who are away in cities or elsewhere (such as workers, army men, functionaries and Chinese living abroad). Work should be done to dissuade other members from wrangling about this. In distribution within the commune, members with such receipts should be treated the same as others without discrimination in regard to free supplies and wages, and they should not be urged to make special investments or contributions to the commune. If they rely on family members away from home for the whole of their livelihood, the commune should not interfere, but it may stop supplying them with the usual allotments. Those who leave home for study, apart from those whose needs are covered by the state or can be covered by their own families, should be supported by the county federation of communes according to the standards laid down by the schools.

The more socialism develops and the more abundant social products become, the more abundant too will become the means of livelihood allotted to each individual. Some people think that the switch to communes will call for a redistribution of existing property for personal use. This is a misconception. It should be made known among the masses that the means of livelihood owned by members (including houses, clothing, bedding and furniture) and their deposits in banks and credit co-operatives will remain their own property after they join the commune and will always belong to them. When necessary, the commune may borrow the surplus housing space of members with their consent, but the ownership still belongs to the owners. Members can retain odd trees around their houses, small farm tools, small instruments, small domestic animals and poultry; they can also continue to engage in some small domestic side-line occupations on the condition that these do not hamper their taking part in collective labour.

Debts incurred before the people's communes were established should not be declared cancelled irrespective of whether these are between individuals, between the commune and its members, or debts contracted by commune members with banks or credit co-operatives. These debts should be repaid where conditions permit and where the conditions do not allow repayment for the time being, they should be held over.

V

THE people's commune is the organizer of the production and livelihood of the people and the fundamental purpose of the development of production is to satisfy to the maximum extent the constantly growing material and cultural needs of all members of society. In leading the work of the commune, the Party must give all-round attention to the ideological development, production and livelihood of commune members. It must care for the people and correct the tendency to see only things and not human beings. The greater the working enthusiasm of the masses, the greater the attention the Party should pay to their well-being. The more attention the Party pays to the livelihood of the masses, the greater their enthusiasm will be in work. It is wrong to set production and people's livelihood against each other and to imagine that attention to the livelihood of the masses will hamper production. Of course, it is also wrong to put a one-sided and excessive stress on the improvement of the people's livelihood without regard to the raising of their level of political consciousness and the development of production, and not to advocate working hard for long-term interests.

Communists have always held that in a communist society labour will be changed "from a heavy burden into a pleasure" and will become the "primary necessity of life." There is no doubt that the working day will be greatly shortened in future. With the development of mechanization and electrification, we must strive to introduce the six-hour workday within a certain number of years. Our intensive work at the present time is precisely to create conditions for the six-hour workday and even shorter working hours in future. At present, the system of eight hours of actual work and two hours of study should be put into effect in both city and countryside. During the busy farm season or when other work in the rural areas is particularly heavy, working hours may be appropriately extended. But, in any event, eight hours for sleep and four hours for meals and recreation, altogether twelve hours, must be guaranteed every day and this must not be reduced. It is true that there is a labour shortage at present, but the way out must be found in stressing the successful implementation of the reform of tools and improvement of labour organization and not in extending working hours. Special attention must be paid to safety in production and labour conditions must be improved as far as possible in order to reduce to the minimum or completely eliminate work accidents. Adequate rest must be ensured to women both during pregnancy and after childbirth and they should also get the necessary rest during menstruation when they should not be asked to do heavy work, to get their feet wet in cold water or work at night.

Community kitchens should be well run. All commune members must be assured of plenty, good and clean food suited to their national and local habits. The communal eating establishments should have dining-rooms, and they should efficiently run their own vegetable gardens, bean-curd mills, bean-noodle mills, and condiment shops; they should raise pigs, sheep, chickens, ducks and fish. The food should be varied and appetizing. Nutrition specialists should be consulted to make sure that the food contains enough calories and the nutriments needed by the human body. Where necessary and possible, special food should be provided for the aged, children, invalids, pregnant women and nursing mothers. It is permissible for some commune members to cook at home. Community dining-rooms should be managed democratically. Their administrative staffs and cooks should be chosen from among those who are politically reliable. It is best that they be elected democratically.

Nurseries and kindergartens should be run well so that every child can live better and receive a better education in them than at home, and so that the children want to stay there and the parents want to put them there. The parents may decide whether it is necessary for their children to board there, and may take them home at any time. In order to run nurseries and kindergartens well, communes should train a large number of qualified child-care workers and teachers.

The "homes of respect for the aged" should be run well so as to provide better dwelling places for those old people who have no children to take care of them (those who are eligible for the "five guarantees"—food, clothing, fuel, the bringing up of children and burial).

COMMUNES must ensure the successful running of primary and secondary schools and adult education. Universal primary school education should be instituted in the rural areas throughout the country. Full-time secondary schools and half-time secondary agricultural schools, or other secondary vocational schools, should be well run and universal secondary education should be introduced step by step. Earnest efforts should be made to wipe out illiteracy, organize various kinds of spare-time schools and conduct political education, cultural classes and technical education for adults. In reducing the differences between manual and mental labour, the institution of universal education among the working people and the gradual raising of their educational level is an important step which must be carried out conscientiously. The communes, in addition, must also select and send a number of young people to study in senior secondary schools, secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in the cities so as to train fairly well-educated working personnel for the state and the communes. The principle of combining education with productive labour must be carried out thoroughly in all schools, without exception. Children above the age of nine may take part in some labour to an appropriate extent so as to cultivate the habit of work in childhood and stimulate their physical and mental development; but full attention must be paid to the health of the children, they must only be given light work for short periods of time, suited to their physical strength and their aptitude.

Ideological and political work among the staffs in community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, "homes of respect for the aged," primary schools, public health centres, clubs and shops must be strengthened and efforts must be made to give positive guidance to public opinion so that the whole of society and the whole communes regard the successful running of community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens and other collective welfare undertakings and satisfactory work in the personal services as noble work of service to the people. The attitude of the exploiting classes in looking down on work which concerns the daily life and welfare of the masses and work in the personal services, must be criticized and corrected.

The existing old-style houses must be reconstructed step by step; townships and village housing estates with parks and woods must be built by stages and in groups; these will include residential quarters, community dining-rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, the "homes of respect for the aged," factories, threshing floors, livestock sheds, shops, post and telecommunications offices, warehouses, schools, hospitals, clubs, cinemas, sports grounds, baths and public lavatories. The construction plans of townships and village housing estates should be thoroughly discussed by the masses. We stand for the abolition of the irrational patriarchal system inherited from the past and for the development of family life in which there is democracy and unity. This stand has been warmly received by the masses. Therefore, in building residential quarters, attention must be paid to building the houses so that the married couples, the young and the aged of each family can all live together.

THERE is now a big bunch of fools in the world who are attacking the people's communes with all their might and main and among them is Mr. Dulles of the United States. This Dulles knows nothing about things in our country but likes to pretend to be a China expert and madly opposes the people's communes. What breaks his heart especially is that we have supposedly destroyed the marvellous family system which has been handed down for thousands of years. True, the Chinese people have destroyed a feudal, patriarchal system. This patriarchal system, it must be noted, generally disappeared long ago in capitalist society and that was a progressive step in capitalist society. But we go a step further and establish a democratic, united family and this is generally rare in capitalist society. Only in the future, when the socialist revolution has been carried out and when the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, will it be possible to establish such families there universally. As to nurseries, kindergartens and workers' canteens in the factories, these also first appeared in capitalist society. But under capitalism, all such undertakings established by the bourgeoisie are capitalist in nature and are aimed at facilitating the exploitation of men and women labourers by the capitalists. On the other hand, such undertakings run by us are socialist in nature and they facilitate the development of the socialist cause and the emancipation of the individual personality of man. They have truly and completely emancipated the mass of women and enabled the children to receive better education and care. That is why they are warmly welcomed by all the working people, and first of all by the masses of women.

VI

THE organizational principle of the people's commune is democratic centralism. This principle must be applied in the management of production, in the distribution of income, in the livelihood and welfare of commune members and in all other aspects of work.

Unified leadership and management at different levels should be put into effect in the people's commune. The administrative set-up of the commune in general can be divided into three levels, namely: the commune administrative committee, the administrative district (or production brigade) and the production team. The administrative district (or production brigade) is in general the unit which manages industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs in a given area and forms an economic accounting unit, with its gains and losses pooled in the commune as a whole. The production team is the basic unit of labour organization. Under the unified leadership of the commune administrative committee, the necessary powers should be given to the administrative district (or production brigade) and the production team over such matters as the organization of production work and capital construction, finances and welfare, in order to bring their initiative into full play.

The various levels of organizations of the county federation of communes and of the people's commune must learn to make reasonable distributions and deployments of manpower for the different branches of production (agriculture, industry, transport) and for routine production work, shock production tasks and service work, so as to avoid situations where there is work without men in one place and there are men without work in another. The organization of labour must be constantly improved, the system of responsibility for a given task at a given level must continue to be applied and reinforced in production and other tasks, the system of labour inspection and labour awards must be perfected in order to guarantee effectively the steady improvement of labour efficiency and the quality of work.

There must be both discipline and democracy in the organization of labour in the people's commune. What we describe as getting organized along military lines means getting organized on the pattern of a factory. It means that the organization of labour in the people's commune should be as organized and disciplined as in a factory or the army; this is necessary in large-scale agricultural production. The forces of large-scale agricultural production, like the forces of large-scale industrial production, constitute an industrial army. The modern industrial army was organized by the bourgeoisie, each factory being like a military camp. The discipline for the worker standing before the machine is as rigid as that in the army. The industrial army in socialist society is an industrial army of a single class, the working class, which has got rid of the capitalists who squeezed surplus value out of the workers and which has put into force in the working class a vigorous and lively democratic centralism based on the voluntary principle. We are now applying this system to the rural areas, thus establishing a socialist industrial army for agriculture based on democratic centralism, which is free from exploitation by the land-

lords and rich peasants and is elevated above the level of small-scale production.

Militia organizations should be set up at corresponding levels of the production organizations in the people's commune. The leading bodies of the militia and production organizations should be separate and, in principle, the commanding officers of the various levels of the militia such as regimental, battalion and company commanders, should not be concurrently directors of communes and administrative districts (leaders of production brigades) and leaders of production teams. These commanders should take part in the administrative organizations of the same levels in the commune as their members, and they will receive dual leadership: from the administrative organizations of the same level and the superior commanding organizations of the militia. The militia should be equipped with the necessary arms produced by arsenals set up locally. The basic units of the militia should undergo military training according to a set schedule, while the ordinary militiamen should also get appropriate training after work; this is to prepare conditions for turning the whole nation into soldiers. The broad mass of working people in our country greet the militia system warmly, because, in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and their running dogs, the Kuomintang reactionaries, they came to realize that only by arming themselves would they be able to overcome the armed counter-revolution and become masters of the land of China. After the victory of the revolution, they have come to see further that there are still imperialist pirates abroad who are clamouring every day about wiping out this people's state. Therefore, the whole of our people are determined to continue to arm themselves, and they declare: Be warned, you pirates bent on plundering us; do not dare to make a vain attempt to harm our people engaged in peaceful labour; we are fully prepared! Should the imperialists dare to unleash an aggressive war against our country, then we will turn the whole nation into soldiers; the militia will co-operate with the People's Liberation Army and at any time replenish it to crush the aggressors utterly.

THERE should be both centralism and democracy in all organizations of the people's communes, including the militia organizations. The people's communes should not only organize the people's production work but the people's livelihood as well. In order to do their work well, the communes must practise a high level of democracy, consult the masses on all matters, faithfully represent their interests and reflect their will. Therefore, while "organizing along military lines, working as if fighting a battle and living the collective way," the communes must fully implement democratic management. It is absolutely impermissible to use "getting organized along military lines" as a pretext or to make use of the militia system — which is directed against the enemy — to impair, in the least, democratic life in the commune and the militia organizations. The people's commune is the basic organization of our country's state power; only by ensuring democracy in the commune will it be possible to create throughout the country a vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

VII

IN running a people's commune well the fundamental question is to strengthen the leading role of the Party. It is only by strengthening the Party's leading role, that the principle of "politics in command" can be realized, that socialist and communist ideological education among the cadres and commune members and the struggle against all kinds of erroneous tendencies can be conducted in a thoroughgoing way and that the Party's line and policy can be implemented correctly. There are some people who think that with the emergence of the commune the Party can be dispensed with, and that they can practise what they call "merging the Party and commune in one." This kind of thinking is wrong.

In its work in the people's commune, the Party, besides its task of ensuring that the correct line and policy are put into effect, should also pay attention to educating the commune staffs to develop good styles of work — first of all the mass line and a practical and realistic style of work.

Following the 1957-1958 rectification campaign, the Party's mass line achieved a new, great victory. The great leap forward in socialist construction and the setting up of people's communes throughout the rural areas are two signal marks of this victory. The mass-line working method of the Party is the lifeblood of the people's communes. The setting up and consolidation of the people's communes is impossible without the mass line, without the full faith of the people in the Party and in the People's Government, and without an upsurge in the revolutionary zeal of the masses. Therefore, leading functionaries of all levels in the commune must put the mass line thoroughly into practice in every type of work tackled. They must look upon themselves as ordinary working people, and treat the commune members in a comradely way. Kuomintang and bourgeois styles of work which coerce the masses are strictly prohibited. Because of the big leap forward in production and the victory in setting up communes, some cadres are beginning to get dizzy with success and, unwilling to do the patient work of educating the masses by persuasion, they are exhibiting certain rude attitudes. Though these are individual cases, they should make us keenly vigilant.

In all its work, the Party should hold fast to the principle of combining revolutionary zeal with a scientific spirit. The great leap forward in 1958 has won an unprecedented victory for socialist construction in our country. Now even our enemies find it impossible to deny the significance of this victory. But we must never overlook our small weak points because of big achievements. On the contrary, the bigger the achievement the more we need to remind our cadres to keep cool-headed and not be carried away by the flood of news of victory and become unable or even unwilling to see the weak points in their work. One tendency to which we must pay attention in the present work of socialist construction is exaggeration. This is incompatible with the practical working style of our Party, and is harmful to the development of our socialist construction. We must do our economic work in a more thoroughgoing way. Our leading personnel at all levels must be good at differentiating between the reality and false appearance of things and between demands which are justified and those which

are not; in assessing conditions they must strive to keep close to objective reality. Only by doing so can we work out and carry through our plans on a reliable and solid basis.

VIII

IN order to promote the consolidation of the people's communes and ensure an even bigger leap forward in industry and agriculture in 1959, the Communist Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should, in accordance with the requirements set forth in this resolution and in close integration with the production tasks of the winter and spring seasons, make full use of the five months from December 1958 to April 1959 to carry out, within the people's communes in their areas, educational work, check-up and consolidation, that is the work of checking up on the communes.

In the course of checking up on the communes, it is necessary, in the first place, for leading personnel to make serious self-criticisms and listen with modesty to the masses' opinions, and on this basis, mobilize the masses with great daring to air their views freely and frankly, carry out debates and post up *dazibao* (written opinions in big Chinese characters posted publicly for everybody to read—*Ed.*), to commend good persons and deeds, criticize wrong ideas and bad styles of work, sum up experiences, clarify the line of work and develop a thoroughgoing socialist and communist ideological education movement.

In the course of checking up on the communes, it is necessary to carry out an overall and thorough inspection of the production plan, distribution, welfare, management, financial work, organization and leadership in the communes. The organizations of the Communist Party and communes should be carefully checked over at the same time to guarantee that the leading personnel of the Communist Party and communes at various levels are activists loyal to the interests of the people and to the cause of communism. In addition, the finest people who have been tested in the big leap forward and people's commune movement and are qualified for Communist Party membership, should be enrolled in the Party.

Problems related to the style of work of Communist Party members and cadres should be dealt with through Party education and frank airing of views by the masses. In dealing with these problems, attention should be paid

to safeguarding the zeal and initiative of the cadres and masses, and the principles of "unity—criticism—unity" and "taking warning from the past in order to be more careful in the future" and "treating the illness in order to save the man" must be observed. Those who have committed errors but are willing to correct them should be criticized seriously but treated with leniency. The masses should be mobilized to purge the leadership in the communes of those alien class elements who have smuggled themselves into the leadership and the very few who display a very bad style of work and have never corrected their errors even after being repeatedly admonished.

Complex class struggles not only develop sharply abroad, in the capitalist world, but also exist at home. It is necessary to educate the masses to increase their revolutionary vigilance to prevent disruptive enemy activities. Whether ex-landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries and other people formerly deprived of political rights should be accepted as members or probationary members of the communes, or remain to work under the communes' supervision, should be discussed and decided by the masses dealing with each case on its merits in the course of checking up on the communes.

The work of checking up on the communes should first be carried out in one or two communes in each county as an experiment. That is to say help should be given to the comrades in one or two people's communes to get things going well in a fairly short space of time, so as to acquire experience, set examples and then popularize the experience gained generally. Every province, municipality and autonomous region should organize its inspection team consisting of a thousand, several thousands or ten thousand people for the check-up, and the first secretaries of the Communist Party at the provincial, regional and county levels should personally lead the work of checking up on the communes. These inspection teams should compare different special administrative regions, counties and communes, organize mutual visits, call on-the-spot meetings to develop the good points found and overcome the shortcomings discovered, rouse the drive of the people, and find ways of concretely solving current problems and promptly popularizing successful experience. In short, through these check-ups, the work of the people's communes in the country must be generally carried one step forward.

Accra Conference

A New Africa Is Rising

The All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra, Ghana, forged new links of unity among the African peoples and gave fresh impetus to their struggle against colonialism. The day is not far off when all imperialists will be ousted from the African Continent.

"AFRICA Must Be Free!" "Africa Must Be United!" These calls of the All-African Peoples' Conference which closed on December 13, are now resounding from Bizerte to the Cape of Good Hope. Elsewhere in the

world, all those who cherish national independence are hailing the success of the conference. The people of China, too, rejoice over this grand gathering of the African peoples and all that it means to their fight for freedom.

To gauge the full significance of this meeting attended by more than 300 delegates representing 62 organizations in 28 African countries, it is necessary to recall the march of events in this part of the world in recent years. In 1950, there were only three independent states in Africa —



"Get out of the way!"

By Hua Chun-wu

Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia. Then, in 1951, Libya became independent; in 1956, Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia; and in 1957, Ghana. The past few months witnessed the emergence of Algeria and Guinea as independent republics. Now independent states embrace over one-third of the land in Africa and almost half of the continent's population of 200 million. The other African countries, still in a colonial or dependent status, are waging different forms of struggle against imperialism. It is expected that by 1960, Nigeria, the Cameroons, Togoland and Italian Somaliland will also become independent. The so-called "Dark Continent," once the backyard of imperialism, has now become a fiery anti-imperialist front.

It is the hard-won victories of the African peoples that made the Accra Conference possible. And the conference, in its turn, will help the African peoples win fresh victories.

Africa Must Be Free

In Accra, delegates from both independent countries and dependent territories, representing different political trends, got together for the first time in Africa's history to discuss questions relating to national independence. Despite their differences, all of them want to write finis to colonialist and imperialist rule. Expressing the prevailing sentiments at the conference were the slogans hung over the meeting hall: "Peoples of Africa Unite! We Have Nothing But Chains to Lose! We Have Freedom and Dignity to Attain!"

Speaker after speaker took the floor to recount the sufferings of their compatriots under alien rule and condemned colonialism and imperialism from different angles. The Declaration on Imperialism and Colonialism adopted by the conference as well as its other resolutions, are un-

doubtedly of paramount importance to Africa's future course.

The conference, the Declaration states, "registers its vehement protest against this ugly [imperialist and colonialist] system; condemns the pernicious system of colonialism and imperialism in the British and French African colonial territories especially as expressed in its extreme and most brutal forms in Algeria, the Cameroons and Central Africa, Kenya and South Africa, the Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique, Principe, Sao Thome. . . ." The conference further "condemns racial segregation, the reserve system and all other forms of racial discrimination and colour bar."

These unequivocal expressions of determination to fight imperialism and colonialism will certainly add strength to the African peoples' struggles for independence and freedom.

Unity Is Strength

Another keynote of the Accra Conference is its stress on the need for the African peoples to unite and put up a joint fight. This point is clearly made in the Declaration on Imperialism and Colonialism which "calls upon the independent African states to render maximum assistance by every means possible to the dependent peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and thereby hasten their liberation and entry into the community of free, independent African states."

On the broader question of African unity, the Resolution on Frontiers, Boundaries and Federations declares that the ultimate objective of the conference is a commonwealth of free African states. "As its first step, the independent states of Africa should amalgamate themselves into groups on the basis of geographical continuity, economic interdependence and cultural affinity," provided these groups are not federations visualized or constituted by the colonial powers against the wishes of the African people.

As the African peoples forge new links of unity among themselves, they are getting more extensive support from other parts of the world. Indicative of this trend was the U.N. discussion of the Algerian question which concluded in New York at the same time as the Accra Conference. During the discussion, there were stronger voices than ever before against the French colonialist policy which has U.S. backing. At the U.N. Political Committee, a resolution introduced by seventeen Afro-Asian nations was passed — despite the opposition of the colonial powers including the United States — which clearly demanded the recognition of the Algerian people's right to independence and called for settlement of the Algerian question through negotiation. This was a step forward compared with previous United Nations discussions. Although the resolution was not adopted by the General Assembly for the lack of one vote to make up the required two-thirds, it won the obvious majority of 35 to 18 votes.

The course of events is clear. Africa is becoming more resolute, more united and more powerful in its fight against colonialism and imperialism.

The colonialists and imperialists, however, cannot be expected to quit Africa of their own accord. The older colonialist powers are doing their level best to hang on while U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous of its kind, is trying hard to step in.

Large-scale American penetration in the African Continent began during World War II when U.S. troops landed in North Africa in 1942. In the early post-war years, the "European Recovery Program," also known as the "Marshall Plan," proved to be an important lever for American economic expansion, in Africa, too. American private capital followed closely on its heels and, since 1950, has made inroads in a big way. Today, American capital holds sway, directly or indirectly, in most areas of the vast continent. The present total of private American investment in Africa is estimated at 2,000 million dollars. If investments through U.S. "aid," "loans" and other means are added, American capital in Africa has left the older European colonialist powers far behind.

U.S. Imperialism — A New Scourge

Economic expansion is invariably accompanied by other forms of expansion. In North Africa, the United States acquired the rights to build military bases in Morocco (1950) and in Libya (1954). In East Africa, it concluded a military agreement with Ethiopia in 1953 providing for U.S. training of the latter's armed forces. Washington also signed "mutual defence aid agreements" with the Union of South Africa and Liberia in 1951. In recent years, it has been actively trying to effect military penetration in other West African areas.

As its colonial interests demand, Washington sometimes works hand in glove with the older colonial powers, and sometimes stabs them in the back. Its aim is in-

variably to weaken and stifle the national independence movements of the African peoples while gradually ousting the older colonialists so as to take their place.

It was with this sinister aim in mind that the United States tried to influence the course of the Accra Conference so that this important gathering of the African peoples might move in a direction favourable to its colonial interests. On the eve of the conference, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Satterthwaite visited a number of African countries. During the conference, some 35 to 40 Americans congregated in Accra in the capacity of "personal observers" and "fraternal delegates" representing such organizations as the "African-American Institute," to cite one example. What many of these "observers" were up to can be seen from the fact that the "African-American Institute" is financially supported by an American metal company possessing big shares in the mines of Rhodesia and having important interests in Africa.

The Western, especially American, efforts to sow dissension, influence the delegates and hence weaken the militant spirit of the African national independence movements, however, did not succeed at Accra. The great achievements of the conference testify to this.

The Accra Conference is another proof that, in the present era, the national independence movements have grown into an irresistible trend, in Africa as in Asia and Latin America. The days of colonialism and imperialism are numbered.

— T.R.C.

A New Science in the Making

Integrating Chinese and Western Medicine

by LING YANG

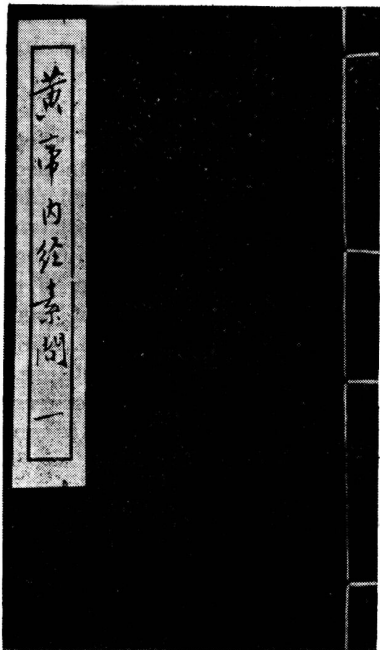
WESTERN medicine and traditional Chinese medicine put together can work wonders. The story of Dr. Yang shows how.

Yang Fu-chih of Tienmen County, Hupeh Province, is a young doctor trained along Western lines. In 1954, answering the call of the government to doctors of the Western school to study traditional Chinese medicine, Yang learned the old Chinese healing art of acupuncture and cauterization. Between 1956 and 1958 he used his newly acquired knowledge of the traditional method in treating 146 deaf and mute cases. The results were heartening.

After treatment the majority of his patients were able to hear the tick of a watch, to speak sentences of three to five words and to answer simple questions. To solve the problem of why the treatment was only partially effective Dr. Yang concentrated his attention on the "dumb spot" located at the back of the head where the acupuncture needle is applied to stimulate the cerebral nervous system and bring about the desired cure. The ancient texts on acupuncture advise that a needle applied at this "spot" should not be allowed to penetrate to a

depth of more than four-tenths of an inch because of the danger of complications. Dr. Yang, surmising that it was insufficient depth of penetration that rendered the treatment only partially effective, made a detailed study of the area of the "dumb spot" and found that the reason for the warning against deep penetration was because this "spot" is surrounded by many blood vessels which can easily be damaged with dangerous consequences. If his reasoning were correct, he figured, deep penetration could be tried on condition that the needle is handled with the greatest precision. Making his first experiment on himself, he had the needle inserted to a depth of one and a half inches.

A number of patients later treated with deep penetration were enabled to speak with much greater clarity. Dr. Yang then combined needling with electro-therapeutics. He applied his newly developed method to a patient, Liang Chung-yang, who regained his power of speech instantaneously after one such treatment. Liang had lost his power of speech as a result of a cerebral hemorrhage. He was still unable to speak after being treated for fifteen days with ordinary methods of needling.



Huang Di Nei Jing (黃帝內經, The Yellow Emperor's Manual of Internal Medicine), China's oldest extant medical treatise, was written by a number of medical men from the fifth to the second century B.C. Consisting of 81 essays in 18 volumes, it deals with a variety of subjects concerning medical theory and practice. Above is the cover of a 16th century reprint of this manual

Western medicine was introduced to China more than one hundred years ago. It has been mastered by Chinese medical workers and has become an organic part of medical practice in this country. On the other hand, traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacy summarize the experiences gained by the Chinese people in the course of thousands of years of struggle against disease. It incorporates a great wealth of practical experience and theoretical knowledge and many people depend on it. Both medical practices are necessary. The story of Dr. Yang Fu-chih shows the new horizons that can be opened when the two are brought together.

The integration of Western medicine and traditional Chinese medicine has long been the policy of the Communist Party and People's Government of China guiding medical work. Recently, this has become the main subject of discussion in the medical world as a result of the mid-November directive issued by the Communist Party's Central Committee urging Western-trained doctors to study traditional Chinese medicine. This policy was stressed and the achievements of Chinese medicine were reviewed at a 16-day national conference which ended earlier this month in Paoting, a city in Hopei Province not far from Peking.

The Communist Party directive called for the establishment of special courses in Chinese medicine in the various provinces and cities. It specified that such courses should enrol 70 to 80 students each, and that these should be medical college graduates with from two to three years' clinical experience. This should provide some two thousand highly qualified doctors skilled both in Western and traditional Chinese medicine by the winter of 1960 or the spring of 1961.

Nationwide Campaign

The directive touched off a nationwide campaign in medical circles to promote the synthesis of Western and traditional Chinese medicine with the emphasis on the study of traditional medicine by Western-trained doctors. Medical circles began to talk of the creation of a new Chinese socialist medical science.

The directive is a new one but its underlying principles are not. Ever since the founding of New China,

one of the main principles of the state health services has been "to bring together physicians practising Chinese medicine and those practising Western medicine."

This policy bore fruit rapidly in the early post-liberation years. By and large it dispelled the atmosphere of contempt which had been fostered in Kuomintang China towards doctors of the traditional school. Many cities established hospitals and clinics staffed by doctors of the traditional school. Most of them had their own research laboratories. On the other hand many large hospitals of Western medicine began to set up departments of Chinese medicine. In 1955 an Academy of Chinese Medicine was founded in Peking. Many medical colleges and schools of pharmacy set up departments of traditional Chinese medicine and many others added traditional Chinese medicine to their curricula.

Stemming from the old attitudes of a blind worship of everything Western, there still existed, however, contempt for and discrimination against traditional medicine. In 1955, the Communist Party reiterated its positive policy towards Chinese medicine, and urged doctors trained in Western medical science to apply themselves to its study. This, combined with criticism of erroneous attitudes towards Chinese medicine in medical circles, paved the road for the later progress of China's medical work.

In 1955 and 1956 classes were established in six leading cities. Some 300 doctors practising Western medicine began full-time study of traditional Chinese medical science. One of these classes completed its course of study this year, and the results were found to be so



Reproduction of the bronze statue created by Wang Wei-yi in the year 1026, demonstrating spots for acupuncture treatment

satisfactory that it has been decided to set up further classes of this type.

Since 1955 many short-term and spare-time classes were initiated in various parts of the country. Several thousand doctors and other medical workers trained along Western lines have mastered the elementary skills of Chinese medicine. New and unique methods of treatment have been brought to light; in some cases ways have been found to treat illnesses and diseases for which Western medicine had no cure or which have proved to be improvements on Western methods. Chinese medicine offers better methods of treatment, for example, for a wide variety of diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis, chronic inflammation of the kidneys, severe ulcers and tumours, high blood pressure, infantile paralysis, measles, etc., (*Peking Review*, No. 40, Dec. 2). The use of willow wood to replace broken bones and of chicken skin to replace human skin has disproved the old conception held by Western medicinal science that transplantation could not be made from heterogeneous bodies. Chinese medicine also knows how to cure appendicitis without surgery.

A characteristic aspect of traditional Chinese medicine is the fact that there are many people who are not professional physicians and yet know how to treat disease—some have the skill of a competent general practitioner; many have a fairly wide range of practical experience or knowledge of certain specific remedies. Hence, the campaigns to “seek out sages” and “collect traditional remedies.” During the past four years, for example, 1,800 specialists in Chinese medicine have been brought to public recognition in Hopei Province alone.

Since the campaign started to collect secret prescriptions people from all walks of life, old Chinese doctors, peasants and housewives, have turned in prescriptions and methods which they had. Some of these were handed down as family secrets for generations. All are being carefully recorded and tested, and many have received high praise. Two traditional Chinese doctors in Hunan Province made public a special method of treating cancer of the gullet. Invited for consultations to a local hospital they treated 50 cases, 80 per cent of which were successfully cured. A cure for snakebite, kept secret in his family for generations, was presented to the government by Chi Teh-sheng of Kiangsu Province and found to be a most effective remedy. In Kiangsi Province, an excellent prescription for treating dysentery was discovered. There has been tremendous mass support for this campaign. This year alone, Hopei Province collected over 162,000 prescriptions.

Doctors with clinical experience are being assigned to study under outstanding Chinese physicians so that their skill and experience will not be lost.

The training of young apprentices in traditional Chinese medicine is also being increased. There are now 70,000 such apprentices. In three to five years' time they will greatly reinforce the ranks of traditional medical workers. In addition, during the past four years, thirteen colleges and hundreds of secondary schools of traditional Chinese medicine have been established.

Ancient medical literature is being translated from the classical into modern language. This has been going on now for several years and has enabled many more people to gain access to our medical heritage. On the

other hand, eminent practitioners of traditional medicine are being encouraged to write down their theories and descriptions of their practical methods. In the higher research institutes, systematic experiments are being conducted to test the efficacy of Chinese medicine and Chinese pharmacology in the light of modern science.

Since 1955 over 300 hospitals and a large number of clinics of traditional Chinese medicine have been set up. Doctors of the traditional school have also been given greater opportunities to help national health work. In the battle against schistosomiasis they cured a total of 134,000 patients, many of them serious cases, from 1956 to 1958.

All these achievements serve as a good foundation for our future work in integrating traditional Chinese and Western medicine.

A Deeper Understanding

A most important product of this study is a deeper understanding of the true nature of Chinese medicine. “Chinese traditional medicine is a great science,” states an article in *Renmin Ribao* (November 20), written jointly by three doctors of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences. “It does not, as was imagined, consist merely of a body of unrelated experiences. It is a unique theoretical system.”

Pointing out that one of the main features of Chinese medicine is its dialectical method of treatment, the article states that “this gives it great flexibility in treating diseases. It bases itself on inductive methods and analysis of the symptoms in accordance with eight major principles which take into consideration the numerous variations in symptoms.” The article gives three other features in connection with the dialectical method: 1—considered either from the physiological or the pathological point of view, it takes into account not merely the disease *per se*, but the patient as an indivisible entity, and regards the various parts of the human body as interrelated and mutually affected; 2—it pays great attention also to the influence of natural conditions on the human body. Different prescriptions or treatments may be used for the same kind of disease depending on different environments; 3—it puts more stress on increasing the resistance of the human body and restoring those physiological functions which indirectly contribute to the cure of the disease, than on drugs intended to combat the disease directly. Bearing all this in mind, the authors stress again the great importance of developing traditional Chinese medicine and bringing about its synthesis with Western medicine in order to establish a new system of medical science.

At the recent National Conference on Traditional Chinese Medicine, it was decided that the mass line should be followed in future work in Chinese medicine and pharmacology. For instance, all medical workers trained along Western lines in China will be urged to study traditional Chinese medicine; the work will go on for the collection of large numbers of reliable traditional prescriptions. With such concerted efforts, it is hoped and expected that the synthesis of the two schools of medicine will be speedily accomplished. The progress and results achieved along this line already show what a valuable contribution this will be to the health of the people of China and of mankind as a whole.

SINO-ALGERIAN COMMUNIQUE

Following is the text of the joint communique of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria signed in Peking on December 20, 1958. —Ed.

AT the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, a delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria composed of Mahmoud Cherif, Minister of Armaments and Supplies, Benyoussef Benkhedda, Minister of Social Affairs, and Saad Dahlab, Director of the Office of the Ministry of Information, visited China from December 3 to 13 and from December 16 to 20, 1958.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, received the Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria.

Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Lei Jen-min, Acting Minister of Foreign Trade, and Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, held talks with the Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship. During the talks, the two parties exchanged views on questions concerning the present international situation, and particularly the situation of the struggle in Algeria and the development of Sino-Algerian relations, and reached unanimity of views.

The two parties were of the common opinion that the present international situation is favourable to the struggle of the peoples of the world for the maintenance of world peace. Cessation of the testing, and prohibition of the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons are the general demands of the peoples of the world. Both parties expressed their resolute support for these demands.

The two parties pointed out with pleasure that the movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa to safeguard and win national independence has already become an irresistible historical trend. The two parties expressed their firm support for the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against colonialism and were of the opinion that all foreign troops should withdraw from Asian and African countries.

During the talks, the Chinese Government reiterated the just stand it solemnly expressed at the Bandung Conference of supporting resolutely the Algerian people in their just struggle for national independence. Algeria belongs to the Algerians. The two parties were convinced that, supported by the Arab states and peoples and all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, the heroic Algerian people persisting in their struggle against colonialism will certainly win final victory in national liberation.

During the talks, the two parties studied concrete methods to strengthen relations between the two countries and affirmed the principle of establishing diplomatic and cultural relations between the two countries. The two parties indicated their determination to further strengthen friendly co-operation between the two countries.

(Signed)

(Signed)

CHEN YI

*Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the People's Republic
of China*

MAHMOUD CHERIF

*Minister of Armaments and Sup-
plies of the Provisional Govern-
ment of the Republic of Algeria*

TO THE VICTORY OF THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE!

Following are excerpts of the speech made by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi on December 20 at the reception of the U.A.R. Ambassador to China Hassan Ragab in honour of the Government Delegation of the Republic of Algeria. —Ed.

I AM very glad today to gather joyfully once again with our distinguished guests, members of the Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria at this reception given by His Excellency Ambassador Ragab.

The Algerian people's struggle against French imperialism is a component part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab and African peoples. The heroic struggles of the peoples of the United Arab Republic, of Iraq and of Algeria have demonstrated the dauntless, heroic spirit of the Arab and African peoples, and have played a great role in pushing forward the anti-imperialist struggle in that area. The All-African Peoples' Confer-

ence which concluded victoriously in Accra a few days ago marks the thriving growth of the national independence movements in Africa. We are glad to see that the Arab and the Asian and African peoples are closely united in their joint struggle against imperialism. The other Arab and Asian and African peoples, particularly the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, have given powerful support to the Algerian people. This has played a great role in encouraging the Algerian people to persevere in their armed struggle against French imperialism.

The Algerian people's struggle is, furthermore, a component part of the struggle of the people of the whole world for peace and against war. It has therefore won

the support not only of the other Arab and Asian and African peoples, but also of the socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries and peoples. This is fully proved by the recent voting on the Algerian question at the United Nations General Assembly. In that voting, only 18 countries cast negative votes. This shows that the international prestige of Algeria is rising daily; it also confirms once again the situation that the East wind prevails over the West wind. Algeria, the United Arab Republic, all those countries and areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are striving to win or safeguard national independence, as well as the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, are all sources of the East

wind. In the present age, with the East wind prevailing over the West wind, we are convinced the Algerian people will certainly receive the support of more and more countries and peoples, and be able to defeat the French aggressors backed up by the U.S. imperialists.

The Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria is successfully concluding its visit in China. The joint communique just signed shows that our two countries have reached unanimity of views on certain questions of common interest. We believe that your visit will certainly enhance greatly the friendly relations between our two countries and our mutual support in our common struggle.

SIDELIGHTS

Lampshade Furnace. In the rear courtyard of the Beiwei Hotel in Peking there is a little brick structure scarcely a foot square. Attached to one end is a tiny wooden bellows, at the other is an opening. Some schoolboy's new toy? No. It's an honest-to-goodness furnace which turns out some two pounds of iron in 20 minutes using only brushwood for fuel. It was built by twelve-year-old Cheng Chang-cheng of Honan, who came to Peking to attend the National Conference of Active Young Builders of Socialism. Why waste time when you can produce more iron for the country? he thought. And so he's been producing iron in his home-made furnace while attending the conference.

Incidentally, this type of "Lampshade Furnace" which he invented was used to turn out more than 15,000 tons of iron in Honan Province during the month of October alone.

Roadside Snack Bars Move Indoors. Theatregoers and other night owls fond of a snack on their way home need no longer be exposed to the wind and dust which can be annoying in Peking's winter. The famous roadside eating stands selling *huntun* (stuffed dumplings) soup, stewed tripe and giblets, *shaobing* (wholemeal buns coated with sesame seeds), fish and liquors, which form part of the night life of Peking, have been given a roof over their heads.

Practically all of the famous outdoor food stands of Xi Dan, shopping centre of west Peking, have moved indoors. As one of the vendors exclaimed: "Come wind, come rain, we'll carry on our business as usual." A traditional feature of Peking life has been installed in a new comfortable and sanitary environment.

Shanghai Uses Natural Gas. Shanghai is making wide use of natural gas discovered over an area of 5,000 square kilometres within the city itself and the counties around. In the past two months over 1,000 wells were sunk to tap the gas for lighting, cooking, generating power, steel-making and manufacturing chemicals. Factories, schools, government offices, shops and people's communes have all turned to extracting natural gas for their own uses. It is estimated that this will save a million tons of coal.

Clinical Observation. A red scroll edged with gold posted on the wall of the dental clinic attached to Peking Medical College attracted the attention of patients one day last week. It was a list of names of the dentists in attendance, and under each name there was a hook. Beneath the scroll was a little paper box filled with slips of red and white paper. What did it all mean? Another poster near by gave the explanation.

"We wish very much to serve you better," it said, "and have thought up the following way in which you, our patients, can help us improve our work. If you are satisfied with the services of the dentist who looked after you, please hang a red marker under his name to show your approval. If you aren't, a white one will register your criticism and he will do his best to improve his work. We eagerly await your candid opinions." It was signed by all the dentists.

Smelters by the River. You can find steel-smelters not only in the industrial cities of China, or people's communes, but almost everywhere. The steel drive has swept the country so that they are found even in the inaccessible upper reaches of the Yangtse River. In Yunnan, people take steel-making and copper-making in their strides. On the banks of the Chinsha River steel-smelters are

set alongside copper furnaces. The women in the province are playing as big a part as the men. Many furnaces and smelters are named after women, a token of the contribution they are making to swell the country's steel output.

Professor Chao. Chao Kuo-ming is his name. For many years he was known as "Dough Figure Chao," a familiar folk artist who made and sold dough figurines on street corners. Tiny but life-like, these figurines of legendary heroes and real people made out of bits of coloured dough are a favourite household decoration among the people. Despite his skill and artistry, he frequently had to worry about where his next meal was coming from during the long and difficult years before liberation. But times have changed and "Dough Figure Chao" is today Professor Chao in the spare-time Shanghai Industrial and Handicrafts Arts College—teaching his now respected craft to the younger generation.

New Steam Turbine Plant. In Harbin, northeast China's rising machine-building centre, a new modern steam turbine plant went into operation on December 10.

The Harbin Steam Turbine Plant, which turned out China's first 25,000-kw. high-temperature, high-tension steam turbine while still under construction, is now working on a 50,000 kw. high-temperature, high-tension steam turbine.

Construction of this new plant, which is equipped with up-to-date Soviet machinery and was built with the help of Soviet experts, began in March 1956.

With two other plants—the Harbin Boiler Plant and the Harbin Power Equipment Plant which went into production earlier—a power generating equipment manufacturing centre has been created.

Artificial Rain

Chinese scientific workers in Kirin, Kansu, Hupeh, Hunan, Anhwei and Hopei Provinces have successfully caused artificial rainfall, with results up to international levels, it was reported at a recent three-day conference on artificial precipitation.

Between August 8 and September 13 of this year, twenty-two experiments were conducted in the Kirin area from aircraft, with seventy to eighty per cent success. The man-made rain fell on an area as large as 120 square kilometres. The heaviest rainfall reached a maximum of 25 millimetres in some places. These experiments helped counter-act the drought that affected the outskirts of Kirin city and parts of Yunchi, Chiaoho, Chiaho, and Shulan Counties and benefited 40,000 hectares of farmland. The declining water supply in the Fengman Reservoir was increased by more than 60 million cubic metres—equivalent to the whole capacity of the Ming Tombs Reservoir near Peking. It was enough to generate 7 million kwh. of electricity.

In August, members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, co-operating with government departments in Kansu Province, conducted 40 experiments at high altitudes and on the ground in the Chilian Mountains. Six of the experiments made from aircraft succeeded in bringing about rainfall.

The work to date clearly proves that it is possible to cause artificial precipitation in the dry areas of China's north-west and the prospects for the future are optimistic.

Through the experiments, Chinese scientific workers have by and large mastered the techniques of artificial precipitation. In addition, they have succeeded in causing rain to fall from thin cloud accumulations, correcting the erroneous theory put forward by scientists of some countries that this is impossible.

In addition to artificial precipitation, scientists and others have also carried out successful research in the artificial melting of ice and snow and the dissipation of cloud, fog and hail. A noteworthy result was obtained by the geophysicists who derived 500 tons of water an hour per square kilometre of glacier on the Chilian Mountains.

Since dry and semi-dry areas account for a considerable part of the country's

territory, and other areas are liable to be affected by drought to varying degrees at different seasons, artificial precipitation is a major problem in China's efforts to control the weather.

The conference on artificial precipitation adopted a plan for large-scale experimentation in the coming year in Kirin and five other provinces. Practical drought prevention work will be carried out in areas exceeding tens of thousands of square kilometres. Experiments and practical work in the artificial melting of ice and snow and the dissipation of clouds and hail will also be extended.

A successful experiment in artificial snow was conducted at Tungkang, Fusung County, Kirin Province, in north-east China. The artificial snow, created by burning chemicals on the ground, fell for a whole day on November 24. It fell only in the experimental zone without affecting the surrounding areas.

According to the meteorologists, burning chemicals on the ground can precipitate snow in the winter and rain in the summer, both in mountainous areas and in the plains, provided there are suitable cloud formations.

The fine smoke particles created by the burning rise to a high altitude and precipitate the freezing of moist in the clouds.

This method is easy to master and large-scale artificial weather control can be undertaken with the participation of the mass of the people.

The experiment was conducted jointly by the central meteorological services, the meteorological bureaux of Kirin and Liaoning Provinces and the People's Liberation Army units stationed there, under the leadership of the Kirin Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Atomic Science

China's first 7,000 to 10,000 kw. experimental heavy-water reactor, which went into formal operation on September 27, has produced thirty-three kinds of radioactive isotopes. A 25-Mev particle accelerator and nearly ten other kinds of accelerators have been produced. Different detecting instrument units needed in the peaceful uses of atomic energy have also been produced, including nuclear emulsion plates, many kinds of counter tubes, 100-channel impulse height analysers, 50-channel impulse height analysers and various spectrometers and isotope separators.

The thirty-three kinds of radioactive isotopes produced included cobalt 60, sodium 24, phosphorus 32 and calcium 45. Cobalt 60 can be used to treat cancer and to detect internal faults in metals. In agriculture, research on its use to postpone sprouting in plants and prevent rotting in storage is being conducted. Phosphorus 32 can be used as a tracer atom to study complicated problems including the nutrition of plants.

China's atomic science and technique have caught up with advanced world levels in some aspects.

Nuclear emulsion is used to record traces of various radiations and is one of the important tools in atomic science. The nuclear emulsion plate produced in China surpasses that of the world-known British products of the same kind.

The production of 100-channel impulse height analysers and 50-channel impulse height analysers demonstrates that China has mastered the complicated technique of atomic electronics.

THEATRE

Shensi Opera

When the Shensi Opera Troupe ended its tour in Peking early this month, it had enhanced the affection which theatregoers of the capital have for traditional opera from China's northwest; it also delighted them with new operas produced since liberation. The troupe brought three companies playing three different kinds of local opera—*Chin Chiang*, *Meihu* and *Hua*. They gave over ninety performances of thirty operas.

The *Chin Chiang* (Chin Melodies) are among the oldest of local operas. They originated in present-day Shensi Province, site of the ancient State of Chin during the Eastern Chou period (770-221 B.C.), and became quite popular in Peking towards the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.). In 1780 local opera troupes came from various parts of the country to perform in Peking at the seventieth birthday celebrations of the Emperor Chien Lung of the succeeding Ching dynasty. Among them was Wei Chang-sheng, a famous *Chin Chiang* actor who played female roles; his singing created a sensation in the capital, and the "new melodies of Chin" which he sang had quite a vogue for a time.

Meihu is one of the most popular types of opera among the people in northwest China. Evolved from folk song, it has retained its close links with the working people throughout the centuries of feudal rule. Unlike *Chin Chiang*, which is characterized by its strident, stirring notes, *Meihu* melodies are tender though lively. It is their music more than anything else which distinguishes these Shensi operas.

Hua opera originated from a type of shadow play popular in the area around Hua Mountain, from which it got its name. It is also known as the *Wan Wan Chiang* (Bowl Melodies, *Wan* means a bowl), from the bronze percussion instrument shaped like a bowl which is used in the orchestra. It was only two years ago that these shadow plays were taken over to be performed by actors on the Shensi stage, bringing a welcome addition to the traditional repertoire.

The Shensi Opera Troupe performed many fine traditional pieces in all these styles during its Peking tour. *Visiting West Lake* was one of the most dramatic and as popular as it always proves. Its theme has a never-failing appeal: a chaste and courageous heroine, steadfast in her love, and tragically beset by enemies. In this case it is Li Hui-niang who loves the scholar, Pei Sheng, but has fallen into the clutches of Chia Shih-tao, a corrupt official. She refuses to submit to him and is killed. Even after her death her spirit protects the man she loves, saving his life from a murderer sent by Chia.

At a superficial glance, Shensi opera looks like Peking opera. It has the same stylized costumes, make-up and style of acting and stage conventions (use of pantomime to indicate real objects — the gestures of opening and stepping through a non-existent door, etc.), economic use of props and decor and so on, but its musical style sets it apart immediately and also its greater use of dialogue and recitative accompanied or unaccompanied by music. Ma Lan-yu, a young actress, used all these arts to make a most appealing heroine in *Visiting West Lake*. Tien Teh-hua, a veteran *Chin Chiang* actor now over seventy years of age, played the role of Chia with suitable repulsiveness. His mannerisms and

cynical cackle characterized this rogue to perfection while the play brings out the full lengths of his relentless callousness in the scene where he comes with his underlings "to try the ghost," after Pei Sheng has been saved from the sword of the assassin. He wants the hand of the law to reach beyond the grave itself. But in the end it is not the powerful official who triumphs but the steadfast girl. Chia is frightened to death by the appearance of her spirit.

Three Drops of Blood is a comedy and a satire. An incompetent bookworm of a magistrate puts implicit trust in a method he thinks he has read about of deciding paternity cases by seeing whether drops of blood from two persons mingle or not. Sometimes they do and sometimes they don't, depending on the weather; but, in the absence of any real investigation of the circumstances, this leads to families being ruthlessly torn asunder. The Shensi troupe plays this *Chin Chiang* opera with great freshness and humour. Several critics have compared it to the famous *Kunchu* opera *Fifteen Strings of Cash*, a drama of detection and miscarriage of justice which was the talk of the town a few years ago. The touch of this Shensi production, however, seems to be both lighter and not so bitterly probing.

In its *Orphan of the Chao Family*, the Shensi troupe gave another excellent performance. This is a version of one of those bloody, real-life dynastic dramas of old China in which the courage and loyalty of men to their ideals shine out all the brighter because of the perfidy that surrounds them. To curry favour with the emperor, Tu An-ku, a ruthless minister of the State of Tsin during the Eastern Chou period, kills the Prime Minister Chao Tun, a loyal, upright man, and massacres his kinsfolk in a vain attempt to avert retribution.



A scene from *Visiting West Lake*. Li Hui-niang's ghost saves Pei Sheng from assassination

Only Chao's infant grandson escapes. He cannot be found. Tu threatens to kill every baby of the same age in the land if the child is not delivered up within three days. To save the children of the country and the orphan, Chao Tun's two friends, Cheng Ying and Kungsun Shu-chiu, who have hidden the baby, hatch a desperate plot. Cheng Ying puts his own child in Kungsun's house, then goes to Tu An-ku to "inform" him that Kungsun is hiding Chao's grandchild. Cheng's own child and Kungsun are killed, but the sole heir of the Chao family is saved and grows up to avenge the death of his family and rid the country of its evil genius, Tu An-ku.

The Shensi actors do full justice to the dramatic moments of *The Orphan*. The scene when Tu An-ku finds the child in Kungsun's house is tailor-made for the terse dramatic idiom of the traditional theatre. The two friends have to act in such a way as to deceive the wily minister and yet stifle their own profound emotions. Cheng has to see his own son and friend put to death yet give the impression of remorseless satisfaction to Tu An-ku while showing the audience that this overlays poignant sorrow. Chao Yu-ping in a masterly portrayal of Cheng Ying achieves this difficult "double-take" in emotions. Li Chi-chu, in the role of his friend Kungsun in the same episode, gives a moving performance of a man who faces death without fear and yet has to simulate fear; who feels sorrow at parting from a dearly loved friend but has to keep that sorrow hidden under a mask of hate.

During its month in the capital, the Shensi opera troupe also staged several plays with modern themes. Its *Spring Thunder on Yingshan Mountain* is about the efforts of the people in the northwest to bring vital water to their loess highlands. Its *Liang Chiu-yen*, to mention another of its modern efforts, is an up-to-date version of an age-old theme — the struggle, in this case of two young peasants, for the freedom to choose their own mates in marriage.

Shensi opera takes these new things in its stride. During the war against the Japanese invaders and the War of Liberation, the revolutionary cadres gathered in Yen-an and the rest of the liberated areas in Shensi developed a great affection for all these traditional forms of opera, and the Yen-an theatre workers adapted them to dramatize the revolutionary struggles of the time. So it is no new thing for these traditional forms to be dealing with modern themes. Furthermore Shensi opera, and particularly *Meihu*, has never lost the common touch.

— CHIANG TUNG

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Berlin for the German People

In its December 14 editorial expressing the Chinese people's full support for the Soviet proposal to turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, *Renmin Ribao* gives cogent replies to the flimsy objections raised by the Western countries. One is the so-called "defence of freedom in West Berlin." The editorial asks, "What kind of 'freedom' are they trying to defend?" "It is their 'freedom' to turn West Berlin into a centre of 'cold war' and an outpost of aggression against the German Democratic Republic and to drag the people of Berlin, of Germany, of the whole of Europe and the world into war. It is this 'freedom' of the imperialists that deprives the people of West Berlin of their freedom."

Another argument put up by the Western countries is their allegation that the four-power agreement cannot be abrogated unilaterally. But the Potsdam



Dig it out!

By Ying Tao

Agreement clearly laid down that Germany must be totally disarmed and demilitarized, and that German militarism and Nazism must never be revived. However, the Western powers have unscrupulously trampled on the agreement, *Renmin Ribao* notes. Two documents recently published by the Government of the G.D.R., the memorandum on the threat to peace represented by the policy of arming West Germany and the White Paper on the aggressive policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, are a most convincing in-

dictment showing that it is the United States, Britain and France which have unilaterally abrogated the four-power agreement.

Western ruling circles have raised the pretext that a solution of the Berlin question depends on the reunification of Germany, the editorial points out. In doing so, they have once again brought out their tattered plan for the "unification of Germany through free elections." This is in fact a scheme for the annexation of the G.D.R. by West Germany and the absorption of the whole of Germany into the NATO bloc. It is an absolute pipe-dream. Germany belongs to the German people and the reunification of Germany can only be carried out by the German people themselves. No foreign intervention is permissible.

Cambodian-Thai Relations Tense—Why?

Observer notes in *Renmin Ribao* (Dec. 14) that since relations between Cambodia and Thailand became tense, the Thai authorities have repeatedly slandered China in an attempt to shift the blame for their worsening relations with Cambodia onto China. "The aim of these totally groundless slanders is to cover up the real facts, mislead world opinion and create a pretext for U.S. aggression and expansion in Indo-China."

"The fact is," he writes, "that the worsening relations between Cambodia and Thailand have been solely manufactured by U.S. imperialism. Ever since Cambodia declared its policy of peace and neutrality, U.S. imperialism has used its lackeys to bring pressure on it. After Cambodia established diplomatic relations with China, U.S. imperialism intensified its efforts to instigate Thailand and south Viet-nam in stirring up trouble with Cambodia. All this was intended to create difficulties for Cambodia and force it to give up its policy of peace and neutrality. The recent worsening of relations between Cambodia and Thailand is patently part of this U.S. imperialist intrigue."

"China has made consistent efforts to develop friendly relations with all Asian and African countries in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the Bandung spirit. She wants all Asian and African countries to coexist peacefully," Observer states. "China and Cambodia have maintained

friendly relations in the past," he recalls, "and their formal establishment of diplomatic relations is a natural outcome of their strict observance of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, especially of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty."

"Friendly relations between China and Cambodia do not preclude their having friendly relations with other countries," Observer continues. "We not only sincerely hope that Cambodia and Thailand will maintain friendly relations but that such relations will also be established between China and Thailand on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese people value their traditional friendship with the people of Thailand. China has repeatedly extended the hand of friendship to Thailand in the hope of improving relations between the two countries. But, under the pressure of the United States, the Thai authorities, against the will of the people of Thailand, have adopted an unfriendly policy towards China. The recent persecution of Chinese residents in Thailand and the slanders against China in regard to Thailand-Cambodia relations are the result of Thailand's following further of U.S. policy. We cannot but express great regret over this."

Observer writes that "the Chinese people understand how Thailand is placed; they have all along adopted an attitude of waiting patiently on the question of improvement of relations between the two countries, but they will never permit the Thai authorities to encroach upon their interests and make vicious attacks on China."

He stresses that unity among the Asian countries conforms to the common interests of the Asian peoples. U.S. imperialism which aims to enslave the Asian peoples does not want to see them united. The tactics of "divide and rule" and "use Asians to fight Asians" have traditionally been used by U.S. imperialism. The United States now seeks to create disputes between Thailand and Cambodia not only to force Cambodia to give up its policy of peace and neutrality but also to tighten U.S. control over Thailand.

"It is necessary for the Asian peoples to heighten their vigilance and beware of U.S. imperialist intrigues intended to sow discord among them," Observer concludes.

Rountree's Middle East "Visit"

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary on December 16 says: As the old Chinese



"The ministers then turned to military affairs. . . ."
By Cheng Wen-chung

proverb has it, "It is easy to change the rivers and mountains, but it is difficult to change one's nature." Just so, the U.S. imperialists have not learnt anything from the failure of their armed aggression in the Middle East, and of late have been trying by every means to carry out new aggressive plans in the area.

The commentary refers to the military pacts now being prepared between the United States and Iran, Turkey and Pakistan and, particularly, to its underhand subversion and disruption in the Middle East countries. On December 6, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Rountree started his "visit" to the Middle East with his baggage loaded with such poison. To sugar-coat the poison, it is reported, Rountree also intends to offer some "financial aid." But public opinion in the Middle East has already exposed the fact that Rountree went there with the aim of destroying the unity of the Arab people, and with plots to undermine those Arab countries which adhere to the policy of national independence.

U.S. imperialism, as it always has in the past, is waving the anti-communist flag in an effort to cover up its own aggressive activities. The U.S. news agencies have recently been clamouring about the so-called "communist menace" which they allege is present in Iraq. This is nothing but a signal that the imperialists are going to use that pretext to subvert the Iraqi Republic, the paper says. On December 8, it points out, the Iraqi Government announced that it had unearthed an important subversion case involving foreign conspirators. Many Bagdad newspapers have pointed out that the United States is involved in this case, which is clearly worthy of attention.

Cuban People's Struggle: A New Stage

Renmin Ribao's Commentator writes (December 14) that the decision of the Cuban insurgent forces to form a national government in the areas they control shows that the Cuban people's struggle against the Batista dictatorship is entering a new stage. The decision is also an expression of the determination of patriotic and democratic

forces in Cuba to carry this struggle to the end and of their increased solidarity. The Commentator points out that the Batista regime sprang from the reactionary coup engineered by the United States in March 1952. Once in power, Batista turned the country into a huge concentration camp which he has ruled by the most cruel and sanguinary methods of suppression. Externally, Batista has been following a policy of subservience to U.S. imperialism and giving facilities

to U.S. monopoly capital to plunder Cuba.

But the Cuban people who have a glorious anti-colonialist tradition rose against Batista from the very first day of his enthronement by his U.S. masters, the Commentator continues. The Cuban insurgents have grown from a small group of 80 two years ago to the present well-armed force of more than 11,000. They control one-third of the country and have set up school, tax and juridical systems. A situation of two regimes existing simultaneously appeared in the country some time ago.

The Commentator points out further that the decision of the Cuban insurgents to form a government not only conforms to the will of the Cuban patriotic and democratic forces, but will also be a strong stimulating force in pushing the struggle against the Batista dictatorship forward. The Batista dictatorship has long been on the verge of collapse. The reason it is still able to cling to life is the support it gets from U.S. imperialism and the lack of close unity among the anti-dictatorship forces. If the future insurgent government carries out the Caracas Solidarity Agreement and unites all forces fighting against the Batista dictatorship, the final victory will come sooner.

THE PASSING SHOW

V. I. P. Ahoy!

The day William Rountree, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, arrived in Bagdad, all tomatoes were sold out on the market.

U.S. news agency report

Rountree's in Bagdad. A banquet awaits him.
The embassy chef's got it ready on cue.
The red wine's passed a security test.
The beer is a potent West Germany brew.
There's soup, sauce and chicken; the chef's done his best.
The lobster's been frozen a delicate white,
But Rountree's complexion's a similar hue—
There's something **wrong** with the Rountree appetite.
Rountree wants a tomaytoe.

Rountree's in trouble.
It began at the airport.
What a crowd had assembled
to "welcome" him there!
By the skin of his teeth
he escaped by the backgate!
So his stomach rejects
this ambrosial fare.
The chef is in trouble;
he rails at his fate:
'Mid pears, watermelons
and peaches and dates
Not a single, blessed
tomytoe's in sight!
But if Rountree'll go
to the crowd that awaits
Rountree'll get a **ton** of tomaytoes!



Cartoon by Miao Ti

CHINA AND THE WORLD

With Brother Countries

The Chinese people are studying the Soviet 7-Year Plan with the greatest interest and enthusiasm. Everybody is talking about it and discussions are going on all over the country on its significance as a programme of communist construction and in strengthening the socialist camp and assuring world peace. The interest in the plan is all the greater with the present big leap in socialist construction in China.

This is only one of the many expressions of the internationalist interests of China today. Recent weeks have seen many other activities reflecting the constant attention China pays to the strengthening of unity of the socialist world.

- Two important Hungarian delegations are at present touring the country: the Hungarian Military Delegation headed by Minister of National Defence General Geza Revesz and the Hungarian journalists' delegation headed by Dezso Nemes, Editor-in-Chief of the *Nep Szabadsag* and alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Both have come to exchange experiences with their Chinese colleagues in the common struggle for socialism.

- In honour of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Communist Party, a photo exhibition was opened in Peking on December 16 showing the various phases of the heroic struggles of the Polish Communists and people. At the opening ceremony, Liu Lan-tao, alternate member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, reaffirmed the solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism of the Chinese Communist Party and people with the Polish United Workers' Party and people in the common cause of socialism and peace.

On the same day, the noted Polish pianist Padeusz Zmudzinski, winner of the 4th International Chopin Piano Contest, gave his first recital in Peking.

- Since the latter part of November, the Erich-Weinert Art Troupe of the Na-

tional People's Army of the G.D.R. has been touring the country and winning the hearts of Chinese audiences in many cities with their spirited singing of German revolutionary songs and modern Chinese songs. The Chinese people have turned their performances into an occasion for the expression of support for the cause of the unification of Germany and the demand that West Berlin be turned into a demilitarized, free city. A G.D.R. cultural delegation headed by Gerhard Neukranz is also on a visit to China.

In the field of scientific and technical co-operation:

- An exhibition on the peaceful uses of atomic energy in the Soviet Union opened in Shanghai on December 17. This gives an impressive picture of the latest Soviet achievements in this field. Soviet experts are on hand to pass on experiences. A dozen special study groups, organized by Chinese scientists in Shanghai, Peking and from 11 provinces, are visiting the exhibition in turn. In China today there is a great and growing mass interest in nuclear physics.

A Sino-Soviet conference to exchange experiences in water conservancy was recently held in Peking. Korean and Mongolian representatives also attended. It heard scores of reports on various aspects of construction of large-scale water conservancy projects, dams, irrigation systems, etc.

- In Ulan-Bator, Chinese experts participated in a 5-nation conference of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Korea, Vietnam and China which discussed co-ordination of railway transport and other questions of common interest. A 1959 protocol was signed to co-ordinate rail transport plans for the import, export and transit of goods.

- China also participated in several other international conferences of the socialist countries. These ranged from the 12-nation film workers' conference in Sinaia, Rumania, to the 12-nation conference in Prague attended by scientists of the economic institutes of the various academies of sciences. China was also present as an observer at the recent Prague session of the Mutual Economic Assistance Council of the eight European socialist countries.

- In Hanoi, a Chinese agricultural exhibition is arousing wide interest among the Viet-name people. It shows the way China's agriculture has been transformed and developed along socialist lines. It gives a picture of the various forms of organizations in the villages including state farms, farms formed by

armymen on land they have reclaimed and the new people's communes.

Cultural News

Chinese Paintings in Rome: An exhibition of Chinese paintings is attracting a great deal of attention in Rome. Held under the auspices of the Italian Research Association in Sinology, it displays the works of the late Chi Pai-shih, Hsu Pei-hung, Huang Ping-hung and many other modern Chinese painters.

The opening ceremony, televised by the Rome Television Station, was attended by some 500 people, including Enrico Mole, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ferruccio Parri, former Premier and President of the Italian Centre for the Development of Cultural and Friendly Relations with China, and many other prominent figures in cultural circles.

U.S.S.R. Studies Chinese Medicine:

Increasing attention is being paid in the Soviet Union to traditional Chinese medicine. The Soviet Academy of Medical Science has founded a special committee to supervise research work on *chen chiu* (acupuncture and cautery) therapy and other therapies extensively used in traditional Chinese medical practice. In the past few years, several Soviet doctors have come to China especially to study acupuncture therapy which is now being introduced in several Soviet hospitals. Soviet doctors are co-operating with their Chinese colleagues in the popularization and development of traditional Chinese medicine. A book on traditional Chinese medicine has recently been translated and published.

Books on China in the U.S.S.R.: To mark the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic in October next year, Soviet publishing houses plan to publish a series of forty titles on China's achievements. Russian translations of the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and writings by Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and noted novelists and historians will also be printed in large editions.

Gifts to Indian University: Twelve thousand volumes of Chinese books have been presented to the Visva-Bharati University of India by the Chinese Ambassador Pan Tsu-li. These are gifts from Premier Chou En-lai who was a guest of the university when he visited India in 1957.

Doctor S. N. Bose, Vice-Chancellor of the university, receiving the gifts, said that they were very helpful to Indian research work on Chinese culture and the strengthening of Sino-Indian mutual understanding and friendship.

FOREIGN TRADE NOTES

Trade Agreements with U.A.R.

A three-year trade and payments agreement between China and the United Arab Republic was signed on December 15. A Chinese trade delegation headed by Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Lu Hsu-chang negotiated the agreement in Cairo.

Under its term, China will export to the U.A.R. frozen mutton and beef, tinned foods, cereals, tea, silk, machinery, chemical raw materials, building materials, etc. U.A.R. exports to China will include cotton, cotton yarn, staple fibres and minerals. The one-year trade protocol signed at the same time provides for transactions of £30 million sterling each way.

China's trade relations with both regions of the United Arab Republic grew rapidly over the past few years.

Since 1956, China has been one of the biggest buyers of Egyptian cotton. Chinese exports to Egypt, aside from those

listed in the present agreement, also included steel products of various types, oil and fats, and oil seed.

Closer commercial ties were also established as the volume of trade increased. Seven trade delegations have been exchanged since 1955. In addition there have been constant visits between trading groups of the Chinese state foreign trade corporations and representatives of Egyptian industrial and commercial firms to negotiate the details of business transactions. The Chinese Commodity Fair held in Cairo in April 1955 was warmly welcomed by the Egyptians.

Since 1954, China has been an annual participant in the Damascus International Fair. The Chinese Pavilion, always a centre of attraction for visitors, played a useful role in promoting trade and friendship.

China's trade with the United Arab Republic is carried out in the Bandung

spirit. It promotes economic construction in the two countries and mutual friendly co-operation. It can be safely predicted that Sino-U.A.R. economic and trade relations will become still closer with the conclusion of the present agreements.

Sino-Bulgarian Trade Protocol

The 1959 Sino-Bulgarian trade protocol on the exchange of goods and payments was signed in Peking on December 18.

The protocol provides for a greater volume of trade than in 1958. Under its terms, China will supply Bulgaria with grain, tung oil, cotton, tyres, animal products, electric equipment, cotton knitwear, silk and other goods, and receive from the latter equipment for electric power stations, electric motors, various kinds of machinery, ingot lead, fertilizers and sugar-beet seeds.

At the same time a protocol was signed extending the Sino-Bulgarian long-term trade agreement from 1958-1960 for another two years to 1962 and giving a supplementary list of goods to be exchanged.

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

▲ **YANG NGO** An historical opera. A patriotic woman of the Ming dynasty leads the people against foreign invaders. Produced by the Fourth Troupe of the Peking Opera Company of Peking.
Dec. 26, 7:00 p.m. *Guang He Theatre*

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** The amazing story of the concubine of a Tang emperor, who later became the first woman ruler of China. Produced by the Fourth Troupe of the Peking Opera Company of Peking.
Dec. 25, 7:00 p.m. *Guang He Theatre*

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BITTER FLOWERS** A play about the Shantung peasants who rose against oppressive traitors and landlords at the start of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.
Dec. 23, 7:00 p.m. *Da Zhong Theatre*

THEATRE

▲ **THE EGRET** Laid in Amoy on the eve of liberation, this play by Pai Jen tells the true story of a young girl, of middle-class family, named Liu Hsi-fen. Educated by the Party, she became an underground revolutionary, true to the revolutionary cause to the end. She is killed by the enemy but, as she herself puts it in her brave last words, "it is not the people but the evil old society that is being destroyed." After her death the people grew to know her as "The Egret" — symbol of foresight. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.
Dec. 23-27, 7:00 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **HEARTS AFLAME** A group of Volunteers back from Korea set up a factory in a disused building. Battling difficulties, they make it a success. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.
Dec. 23 & 24, 7:15 p.m. *Shoudu Theatre*

▲ **RED STORM** A play about the great "February 7" railway workers' strike in

1923. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Dec. 28, 7:00 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **PAPER TIGER** A satire on the men in Washington who dream of annexing China's Taiwan. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Dec. 29, 7:00 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

FILMS

▲ **AN ORDINARY JOB** Lin Pei-ming, a primary school graduate, becomes a kindergarten teacher. At first, she doesn't like her work at all. How she learns to love her "ordinary job" and becomes an "activist," is the theme of the story. Produced by the Haiven Film Studio.

Dec. 25-28. *Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Zhongguang, Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club*

▲ **THE FALLEN CITADEL** The fate of a bourgeois family in liberated Rumania. A Rumanian film dubbed in Chinese.

Dec. 24-27, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou*
Dec. 25-28, *Shoudu Cinema*

▲ **AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON** Adapted from Sholokhov's famous novel of the same title. The first two parts of this three-part film are now showing. Part I is about the life and struggles of the Don Cossacks during World War I; Part II covers the period from 1916 to the early days of the October Revolution, the growth of class struggle among the Cossacks, and the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

Dec. 23-26, *Shoudu Theatre, Dong Dan Workers' Club, Peking Theatre, Shengli*

▲ **HAMLET** The well-known British film with Lawrence Olivier playing the Prince of Denmark; in two parts dubbed in Chinese.

Dec. 29-31, *Shoudu Cinema, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Zhongguang, Guang An Men*

▲ **BATTLE OF WITS AND BORROWING THE EAST WIND** A colour film version in two parts of the famous Peking opera of two episodes from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* recording the battle of

wits and strategy between Chukuo Liang of the Shu Kingdom and Chou Yu of the Wu Kingdom in the third century.

Dec. 24-28, *Xin Zhong Guo, Guang He Theatre*

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **POLISH PHOTO EXHIBITION** to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Communist Party. A graphic record of the history of the Party. Open daily 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At *Zhongshan Park*

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** Over 200 sketches and water-colour paintings by Wang Shih-kuo, Li Chi, Tsai Jo-hung and Chang Wu-chen, produced during their recent tours of the Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic and Mongolian People's Republic. Open daily 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Dec. 25.

At the *Gallery of the Artists' Union* on Shuai Fu Yuan, off Wangfuching St.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF THE NATIONAL SANITATION CAMPAIGN** Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At the *Working People's Palace of Culture* and *Zhongshan Park*

▲ **EXHIBITION ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ACTIVE YOUNG BUILDERS OF SOCIALISM** Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. at 13 West Kung Yuan St., inside Chien Kuo Men Gate.

▲ **EXHIBITION ON THE INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION WITH PRODUCTIVE LABOUR** Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. at the College of Agricultural Mechanization, outside Teh Sheng Men Gate, and the College of Educational Administration, outside He Ping Men Gate.

LECTURE

A lecture by S.G. Kaplenko: "The Works of the Soviet Poet, Alexander Tvardovsky."
Dec. 27, 7:00 p.m. at the *Cultural Club of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association*

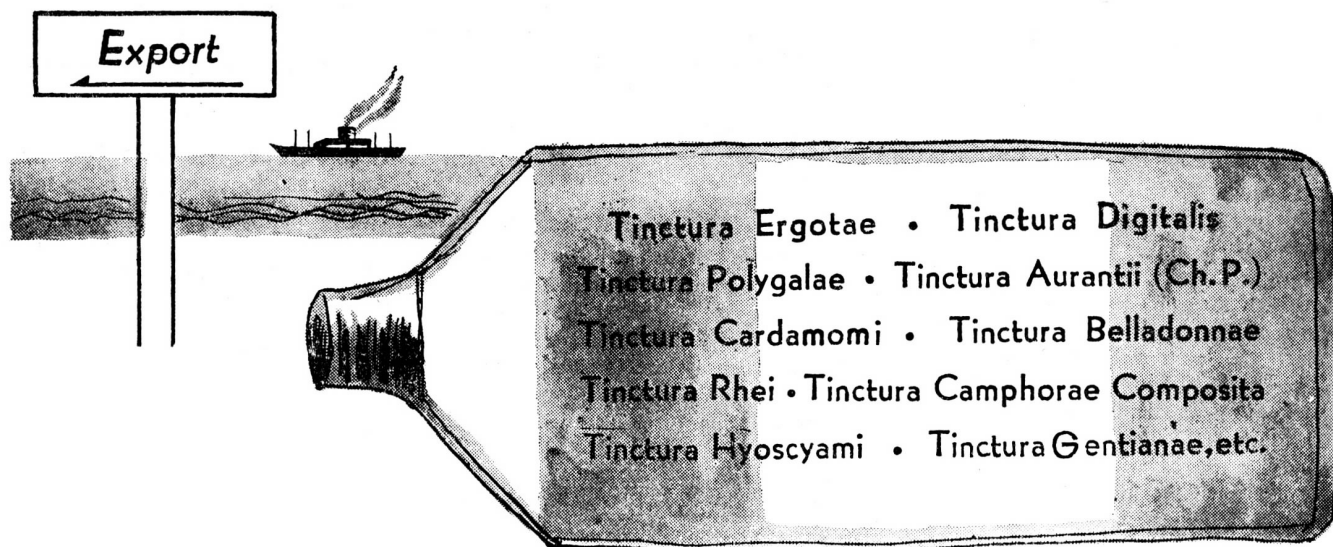
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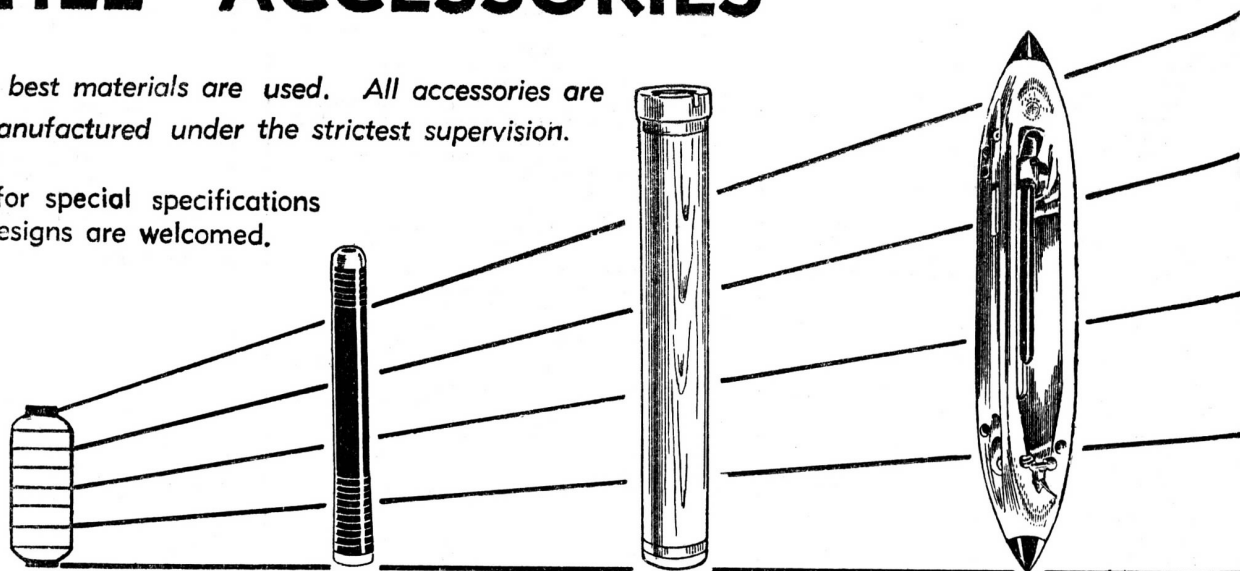
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