

# People's 人民中国 China

June 16, 1951

**Study On Practice by Mao Tse-tung**  
(People's Daily Editorial)

**For a Genuine Peace Treaty with Japan**  
Lin Tien-mo

**Tunhuang—Treasure House of  
Ancient Art**

Yao Hua

**12**

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on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet*

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### SUPPLEMENT

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## Tibet Returns to the Motherland

The signing of the historic *Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet* is a magnificent victory in the consolidation of the great unity of the Chinese people. It is a brilliant demonstration of the correctness of the Central People's Government's policy on the national question, a policy firmly grounded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and carried to fruition under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

This peaceful victory has again exposed the utter bankruptcy of the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists.

By this Agreement a sound foundation has been laid for the Tibetan people to smash forever the shackles of imperialism and return to the great fraternal and co-operative family of all the nationalities of the People's Republic of China. By this Agreement they are ensured the full rights of national equality and a regional autonomy and aid to develop their own political, economic and cultural construction and raise their standards of living. This is the herald of the dawn in the Tibetan people's long passage through the night. It ushers in a new era in the relations between the Tibetan people and all the other nationalities within the People's Republic of China.

The victorious development of the great revolution of the Chinese people produced a fresh upsurge of the long-suppressed patriotism of the Tibetan people. The *Common Programme* of the Chinese People's PCC promulgated in September, 1949, abolishes all national oppression and proclaims the equality of the members of the Chinese nation. It provides a new rallying point for this patriotism. Eighteen months ago, the 10th Panchen Ngoerhtehni pledged his support to the Central People's Government. On the day the 14th Dalai Lama assumed temporal power, he began to correct the past erroneous policy of the Local Government of Tibet and, accepting the call of the Central People's Government for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, sent a delegation with full powers to conduct the present successful talks with the central authorities.

Tibet was the object of repeated imperialist intrigues ever since the latter half of the 18th Century. The British imperialists attempted armed incursions in 1887 and 1904. They were successfully repelled by the heroic Tibetan people. But the imperialists never gave up their aggressive designs against this part of China.

Following World War II, the American imperialists also began to increase their activi-

ties in Tibet. In 1947, Wall Street despatched a "Goodwill Mission" to Lhasa and this was followed by a series of typically foul intrigues. As late as February, 1950 when the delegation sent by the Tibetan Local Government for negotiations was already *en route* to the capital, these foreign imperialists still desperately tried to obstruct the liberation of Tibet. These final gamblers' throws of the enemies of China's national unity, however, have been brought to nought. The Agreement signed on May 23 demonstrates that the Tibetan people are determined to unite and rid themselves of every last vestige of imperialist influence.

The Agreement fully embodies the democratic principles of the Central People's Government's policy on the national question. The recognised status, functions and powers of the two leaders of the Tibetan nationality, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Ngoerhtehni, will be respected. So will the religious beliefs, customs and traditions of the Tibetan people. They will enjoy the rights established by the *Common Programme* for all nationalities of the People's Republic.

The realisation of this Agreement will bring about the complete liberation of Tibet and the unity and development of the Tibetan people within the great family of the Chinese nation under the leadership of the Central People's Government.

A united China is a firm guarantee of the peace of the Far East. The imperialists realise this, hence their malignant plots against the unity of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people ardently desire to live in harmony with all other nations. Thus Article 14 of the Agreement clearly stipulates that "there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and the establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty."

The great achievement of this Agreement is unity—unity within Tibet and unity between Tibet and the rest of China. The signing of this Agreement demonstrates that all attempts of the imperialists to split off and seize any part of China's historic territory will be defeated in the end. A united China will make still more rapid progress. A united China will restore Taiwan to the Motherland and complete the liberation of all China, and strengthen peaceful relations with all her neighbours.

# Study On Practice by Comrade Mao Tse-tung

*An Editorial of the People's Daily, Peking, January 29, 1951*

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* is a treatise on the epistemology of dialectical materialism. Written to defend and strengthen the theoretical foundation of Marxism in our Party, this militant Marxist masterpiece severely criticises various erroneous theories of cognition, and, utilising the extremely rich experience of struggle gained by our Party over a long period, substantiates and develops the epistemology of Marxism.

This work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung was written in July, 1937. By that time the Communist Party of China already had 16 years' experience of struggle; it had led the two great revolutions (the Northern Expedition of 1924-1927 and the War of Agrarian Revolution of 1927-1936). It was then beginning a great new revolutionary period, the period of the Anti-Japanese War.

This new historical period faced our Party with an important task: in order to secure the people's victory, it had to be prepared for on the ideological front. And first of all, the necessary ideological preparations had to be made within the revolutionary vanguard. That is to say, there had to be a common understanding of Marxism-Leninism within the Party; all our party members had to be raised to a higher level of consciousness regarding the problems of Marxism-Leninism.

In the light of the experience gained in the two previous revolutions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has explained the extreme importance of this task. He has often pointed out that in the latter period of the first revolution, because of the lack of the necessary ideological preparations within the revolutionary vanguard, the opportunism of Chen Tu-hsiu\* exerted a certain amount of influence, and so the revolution was unable to crush the counter-revolutionary attack of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. In the latter period of the second revolution, namely, the agrarian revolution, owing to the failure of many cadres of our Party to distinguish, ideologically, genuine from spurious Marxism, "left" opportunism exerted a certain amount of influence, and so the revolution suffered a serious setback.

Profiting from these experiences of defeat and setback in the two revolutions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, after he had led the Central Red Army to North Shensi in 1935, and in the early period of the Anti-Japanese War, again devoted great attention to

theoretical work. He produced many extremely important theoretical writings. *On Practice* is one of his works of this period in the field of philosophy.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung shows, the most fundamental ideological problem in our Party concerns the theoretical foundations of Marxism; that is, concerns dialectical materialism and the epistemology of dialectical materialism. As he has made clear in many of his other works, the different kinds of opportunists in the history of our Party are completely at variance with Marxism-Leninism on this most fundamental problem: they are subjectivists. He is of the opinion that, to expose the ideological foundations of opportunism, to facilitate and make more effective the struggle against various kinds of opportunism on political problems, we must, instead of avoiding the struggle on the philosophical front, put the most fundamental theoretical problems in the forefront of the ideological struggle and defeat opportunism on this philosophical front. It is in this spirit that Comrade Mao Tse-tung grasps the most fundamental problem of Marxist epistemology, and launches the attack on the tendency of subjectivism.

In his speech, *To Reform Our Study Methods*, made in May, 1941, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said,

"...this anti-scientific, anti-Marxist and subjective methodology is the bitter enemy of the Communist Party, of the proletariat, of the people, and of the nation. It is a symptom of impurity in the spirit of the party. It is imperative that we overthrow this bitter enemy when we are confronted by it. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can truth raise its head, the revolution triumph and the party spirit be strengthened..."

What Comrade Mao Tse-tung was referring to here is precisely this most fundamental problem, and the militant attitude which Marxists must adopt towards it.

## II

WHAT is the basic characteristic of Marxist epistemology? It is, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung explains with great emphasis, the unity of theory and practice. The denial of this unity implies the denial of materialism as well as the dialectical method; and, in sum, the denial of the theoretical foundation of Marxism. Anyone can quote Marx endlessly; but if he does not show in practice that he acknowledges this unity, then he is only a pseudo-Marxist, in other words, he is no Marxist at all.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* wages, on the philosophical front, a struggle against the two schools of subjectivism, namely, doctrinairism and empiricism.

In our Party there is a kind of doctrinaire who calls himself a Marxist but who, before he is politically awakened, is no Marxist, is only a pseudo-

\* Chen Tu-hsiu, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of China in 1921-27, was a Right opportunist. He proposed that the proletariat should abdicate the revolutionary leadership and sacrifice the interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants in order to compromise with the bourgeoisie. After the Chinese revolution was betrayed, Chen Tu-hsiu became a liquidationist. Finally, he joined hands with the Chinese Trotskyites and became an out-and-out renegade.

Marxist. True, such people prattle about "the linking of theory with practice." But as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out with emphasis, in judging whether they are true or false, we have no criterion other than practice. In actual fact, the epistemology of the doctrinaire is totally different from that of the Marxist. The former has this basic characteristic; it breaks up the unity of theory and practice. Hence doctrinaires are not materialists at all; they are not Marxist-Leninists. They are subjectivists; they are idealists.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung writes,

"The most ridiculous persons in the world are those 'know-alls' who pick up crumbs of knowledge piecemeal and proclaim themselves, each of them, 'the number one of the world.' This serves merely to show that they have not taken proper measure of themselves." (*On Practice* by Mao Tse-tung. Special Supplement to *People's China*, Vol. III, No. 11, p. 9.)

"...one's knowledge consists of two parts: knowledge of things directly experienced and knowledge of things indirectly experienced. And what is indirectly experienced by one is nevertheless directly experienced by others. Hence taken as a whole, any kind of knowledge is inseparable from direct experience.

"All knowledge originates in man's perception of the external world through his sense organs. If one denies perception, denies direct experience, and denies personal participation in the practice of changing existing conditions, one is not a materialist. This is exactly where the 'know-alls' are ridiculous." (*Ibid*, p. 10.)

The 'know-alls' Comrade Mao Tse-tung refers to here are the doctrinaires.

Yet another form of subjectivism is to be found in our Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls it empiricism. Thus he writes.

"Vulgar plodders absorbed in daily trifles do not know this. They bow down before experience and despise theory, hence they cannot have a comprehensive grasp of the entire objective process, lack a clear direction and long perspective, but are self-satisfied with one instance of success, one ray of light. Were these persons to lead a revolution, they would direct it to a dead end." (*Ibid*, p. 15.)

Here Comrade Mao Tse-tung is explaining the nature of empiricism. The epistemology of empiricism has this main characteristic: it also breaks up the unity of theory and practice. In this respect it is similar to doctrinairism, and is also opposed to Marxist epistemology.

Holding that rational knowledge need not depend on perceptual knowledge, doctrinairism denies the necessity of perceptual knowledge as the first stage in the process of cognition. Holding that perceptual knowledge need not be elevated to the status of rational knowledge, empiricism denies the necessity of rational knowledge as the second stage in the process of cognition. The former breaks up the unity of theory and practice in one aspect; the latter, in another.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his report on the ideological remoulding movement made in January, 1942:

"Two kinds of subjectivism are found in our Party. One is doctrinairism. The other is empiricism. Both give a one-sided, instead of a comprehensive view of things..."

One-sidedness: such is the characteristic which the two kinds of subjectivism have in common. This one-sidedness in cognition manifests itself in politics sometimes as "left," sometimes as Right opportunism. Because of this common characteristic, doctrinairism and empiricism can find common ground in dealing with practical problems.

### III

AS Comrade Mao Tse-tung explains, knowledge arises from practice and serves practice in turn. It is through practice that perceptual knowledge is united with rational knowledge; that the advance from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge is effected. Comrade Mao Tse-tung writes,

"Perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge are different in nature, but not separate from each other, being united on the basis of practice.

"It is our practice that proves that things perceived are not readily understood, and that only things understood are more profoundly perceived. It proves that perception only solves the problem of how things appear, and that understanding answers the question as to what their essence is. Thus these problems cannot be solved at all apart from practice." (*Ibid*, p. 7.)

But doctrinaires divorce their thought from practice, which they disdain as unimportant. They deny or fail to understand the advance or development from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Hence they have no perceptual knowledge to speak of, and so at the same time they have as little rational knowledge.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out,

"Those are bound to stumble who approach problems only subjectively, one-sidedly, superficially, who, upon reaching any place, start to issue orders or directives self-assuredly without considering their environment, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole), without coming into contact with the essence of things (their qualities and the internal relations between one thing and another)." (*Ibid*, p. 13.)

These remarks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung are chiefly directed against the doctrinaires. They cover the two aspects of knowledge: perceptual and rational. "Things in their totality," "the essence of things": these refer to the question of rational knowledge. Upon arrival in a place doctrinaires ignore the conditions of their new environment; they neither view things in their totality, nor do they come to grips with the essence of things, that is to say, they have neither perceptual nor rational knowledge. Why? Because in dealing with concrete problems not only do they lack the experience derived from practice, i.e., direct experience, but they also ignore the experience which others have gained through practice, i.e., indirect experience.

But our doctrinaires in the past claimed that they were "the only hundred per cent correct theorists." They considered themselves the monopolists of rational knowledge, even though they were

aware that they lacked perceptual knowledge. No such "Marxist" theorists can be found anywhere in the world. Comrade Stalin says, "Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect." (Stalin: *Foundations of Leninism*.) The pity is that our doctrinaires choose to deny that Marxism is the summary of the experience of the revolutionary movement. If any one mentions the experience of the Chinese revolution, our doctrinaires confer on him the title of "narrow empiricist."

Comrade Stalin in his well-known article, *Lenin—the Organiser and Leader of the Russian Communist Party*, thus describes the group of Mensheviks,

"It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its instructions and directions from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels."

Our doctrinaires are precisely people of this type.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says,

"What is rational is reliable precisely because it originates from the senses, otherwise it would be like water without source or trees without roots and become something unreliable and self-engendered." (*Ibid*, pp. 13-14.)

Doctrinaires do not base their activities on experience gained through practice and on their appraisal of practical work. They deny perceptual knowledge. Hence their so-called "theory" can only be like water without source or trees without roots. Thus they thoroughly distort Marxism-Leninism, which becomes for them something engendered of a subjectivist fantasy, something emotional, dogmatic and mystical. Among them arise "geniuses at theorising" who do not learn things the hard way, or "persons who are born wise" and who never make mistakes. They never seriously come to grips with and gather materials (perceptual knowledge) for the study of China's politics, economy, or of various academic questions; they never systematically arrange materials of any kind, i.e., take the necessary steps to advance knowledge from the perceptual to the rational. Nevertheless, in almost every field they proclaim themselves the greatest "theoretical" authorities. Actually they deprive themselves of all that is rational.

The inevitable and logical consequence of depriving oneself of perceptual knowledge is that one deprives oneself of rational knowledge.

As a matter of fact, some of our doctrinaires have read very few works of Marxism-Leninism, indeed lamentably few, so few that they can hardly be said to possess an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. But this, far from making them humble, fills them with an overweening and well-nigh unprecedented arrogance.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung strongly attacks doctrinairism, because from 1931 to 1934 the doctrinaires among us led to extremely unfortunate and evil consequences in revolutionary work. Wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, these doctrinaires befuddled some comrades who had fallen into the error of empiricism as well as many other comrades

in the Party, and so for some time they exerted some influence in the Party. Comrades who fell into the error of empiricism were unable to grasp a problem in its general aspect; they lacked rational knowledge; so they were easily befuddled by the doctrinaires. But once the error of doctrinairism is exposed, it is possible to bring such erring comrades more speedily and completely to their senses. In fact, this is exactly what happened among us.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also does not neglect to criticise empiricism. Though empiricists have perceptual knowledge in a greater or less degree, yet, as they fail to raise it to a higher stage, it is at best one-sided and superficial; it cannot be profound. "It is our practice that proves that things perceived are not readily understood, and that only things understood are more profoundly perceived." (*Ibid*, p. 7.) Empiricists cannot understand things; hence they cannot profoundly perceive them.

The inevitable and logical consequence of the denial of rational knowledge is that perceptual knowledge is restricted and rendered useless.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out,

"If anyone thinks that knowledge may stop at the low stage of perception and that perceptual knowledge alone is reliable, but not rational knowledge, then one repeats the historical mistake of empiricism." (*Ibid*, p. 14.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung defends scientific, rational knowledge, holding that:

"...it is necessary to ponder over the wealth of data, to remodel and to reconstruct them so as to form a system of concepts and theories by straining the refined from the crude, sifting the true from the false, deriving the yet unascertained from the ascertained, and probing into the deep-seated from the superficial..." (*Ibid*, p. 14-15.)

"Knowledge after this kind of reconstruction is not emptier or more unreliable; on the contrary, only what has been reconstructed scientifically on the basis of practice in the process of cognition can, as Lenin said, reflect nature or objective things more deeply, truly, fully." (*Ibid*, p. 15.)

Marxism-Leninism is developed on the basis of the practice of the international working class by means of this scientific thinking. There would be no Marxism-Leninism had it not been for such scientific thinking. It is evident that no little effort is needed to complete this process. One must be painstaking; difficulties must be overcome. Empiricists are what they are precisely because they do not make good use of their organs of thought, namely, their brains; consequently, perceptual knowledge, which could have been put to proper use, becomes erroneous in the face of the world's complexities.

Doctrinaires are intellectual sluggards. So are empiricists. So it is clear that when doctrinairism no longer has a big influence on our work, we must give more importance to the fight against empiricism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung brilliantly develops the Marxist-Leninist theory of the inter-relation of absolute and relative truth. As the editorial of the Soviet *Pravda* says,

"Mao Tse-tung profoundly explains and develops Engel's and Lenin's famous principles regarding absolute and relative truth, and the correlation of the objective and the subjective."

Thus Comrade Mao Tse-tung completely shatters the ideological foundations of doctrinairism and empiricism. He writes,

"A Marxist recognises that the development of the total process of the universe is absolute, whereas the development of each particular process in this total process is relative. Hence in the great river of absolute truth man's knowledge of a particular process in each given stage of development is only relatively true. Absolute truth is compounded of a sum-total of relative truths." (*Ibid*, p.21.)

Doctrinaires confine themselves to a few abstract formulae from the past which they consider absolute at all times, in all places and under all conditions. They accept absolute truth one-sidedly and deny relative truth. Some empiricists claim as absolute their individual or limited experiences and refuse to recognise them as relative. Other empiricists vacillate between fragmentary perceptual experiences, now inclining to one, now to the other. And thus as a matter of fact they accept only relative truth and deny absolute truth.

It is clear that on this issue of absolute and relative truth, both doctrinairism and empiricism drift into subjectivist idealism.

#### IV

**D**OCTRINAIRISM and empiricism in our country have a definite class basis. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his famous report, *Oppose Party Jargon*, says:

"China is a country with a broad petty bourgeois class. Our Party is in the midst of this broad stratum. A very large number of Party members come from this stratum. Inevitably, in joining the Party, they all drag with them a longer or shorter 'tail of the petty bourgeois class.'"

Our doctrinaires and empiricists are in actual fact the products of this petty bourgeois class. The conservative mode of production of the petty bourgeoisie manifests itself particularly in doctrinairism; while the individualist character of their production manifests itself in empiricism. From this it is clear that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice*, in fulfilling the revolutionary task of ideological criticism, is of great significance not only to our Party directly, but to the people throughout the country.

This militant work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives a full analysis of the laws of the development of knowledge, of the process of cognition. It is a masterpiece which further develops the science of logic of Marxism-Leninism. It is the crystallisation of the ideology of the Chinese working class



Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Sculpture by Wang Chao-wen

developed in the course of its long struggle. It starts a completely new revolution in the philosophical world of China. As the *Pravda* editorial says,

"In his work Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives a succinct and lucid account of the epistemology of materialism, i.e., the theory of reflection. He develops the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding the epistemology of dialectical materialism, the part played by practice in the process of cognition, and the significance of revolutionary theory in the actual revolutionary struggle. This work of Mao Tse-tung has this characteristic: it combines concreteness with vividness in its penetrating analysis and presentation, from the Marxist standpoint, of the intricate problems of philosophy."

This work is intended not only for a few people but for the general reader. Though written more than ten years ago, it is of universal and permanent significance.

This important contribution is of great significance of Marxist-Leninists in all countries. All generations of the present and the future will draw sustenance from this clear fountain of wisdom.

This work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has laid a substantial ideological foundation for the movement of ideological rectification in our Party, a movement of great historic significance. During the course of more than ten years, members of the Communist Party of China, following the ideological direction given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and, in particular, having undergone the process of rectification of their ideology, have rapidly raised their own theoretical standard and deepened their own comprehension of Marxism-Leninism. Thus firmly united on the political line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the whole Party has gained the great victory in the people's revolution.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people throughout the country are now continuing their heroic struggle against the American imperialists. Meanwhile, working in their various fields, they are building a great new China. Cadres engaged in each and every sphere of political and economic work and in the sphere of academic learning (including the spheres of the social and natural sciences), must seriously study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice*. They must arm themselves with the ideas set forth in this essay in order to correct their way of working and their way of thinking, increase their efficiency, and try their best to avoid all mistakes.

Without a doubt, if we really understand how and where in the past doctrinaires and empiricists stumbled, and in practice guard against similar mishaps, we will progress more steadily and avoid blunders.

(Continued on page 35)

# For A Genuine Peace Treaty with Japan

Lin Tien-mo

The Remarks of the Soviet Government of May 7, regarding the United States Draft Peace Treaty with Japan thoroughly expose the lies, hypocrisy and real aggressive meaning of that Draft. At the same time the Soviet Government puts forward concrete proposals for the preparation and drawing up of a genuine peace treaty with Japan.

These opinions and proposals of the Soviet Government have received the emphatic support of the peoples of all countries and particularly of China, Korea and Japan. They correspond to the wishes of all peace-loving people for the early conclusion of a fair, just and overall peace treaty with Japan.

In the People's Republic of China, the representatives of the great popular organisations, of the various democratic parties and of people from every walk of life have unanimously endorsed the Note supporting the views of the Soviet Government and sent to the Soviet Ambassador to China, N.V. Roshchin, on May 22 by Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. This Note is a further expression of the consistent attitude towards the question of a peace treaty with Japan taken by the 475,000,000 Chinese people, who suffered so long and so bitterly at the hands of the American and Japanese imperialists.

The Chinese people are resolutely opposing the United States' plot to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan. They will wage an even more resolute struggle for the conclusion of an overall peace treaty with Japan based on the proposals advanced by the Soviet Government.

The Korean people, who are suffering from the ruthless attacks of the American forces using Japanese bases, have made it plain they consider that the Soviet proposals completely accord with their own interests and those of all other peace-loving people. They are resolutely opposed to the American imperialists' use of Japan as a base for aggression against Korea, China and Asia. They have declared in numerous resolutions that they, too, will strive with even greater determination for the realisation of these peace proposals advanced by the U.S.S.R.

The Japanese people, who have been fighting with the greatest fortitude against the American plot to conclude a peace treaty enslaving Japan, also warmly welcome the Soviet remarks and proposals.

The Council of the Patriotic Movement for an Overall Peace Treaty, organised by Japanese people of various social strata, has issued a statement declaring that the Japanese people sincerely and warmly welcome and support the proposals of the Soviet Government regarding the preparation of a peace treaty with Japan by convening the Foreign Ministers' Council. The head of the Communist members in the Japanese Diet, Hósokawa Karoku, states that the proposals of the Soviet Government show the only way to secure the national indepen-

dence of Japan and safeguard world peace. Nakahara Kenji, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Labour-Farmer Party of Japan, states that the proposals will strengthen the efforts of the Japanese people to win peace and independence. Other democratic organisations and trade unions in Japan also express their warm support for the Soviet proposals. Under the strong pressure of the working masses, Takano Minoru, Head of the General Office of the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions, which is in fact usually a mouthpiece for Right-wing elements, states that, "The proposals of the Soviet Government are correct." He also adds, "The United States is on an incorrect course. It has ordered Dulles to conclude a separate peace treaty with the Yoshida cabinet. The Japanese people will never recognise it even if they are forced to conclude such a treaty." This statement is worthy of attention because it is the first time that the Right-wing dominated trade unions of Japan have made such a comment concerning the proposals of the Soviet Union. This shows how developed is the political consciousness of the Japanese people on this question, how aware they are that their country is being enslaved by the American imperialists.

It is in fact becoming increasingly widely understood in all countries that the U.S. Draft Peace Treaty with Japan is dictated solely by the selfish interests of the American imperialists, and that this arbitrarily concocted document is not a peace treaty, but a war treaty. The most cursory analysis of its contents show that the United States simply ignore those solemn international agreements such as the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Declaration or the Yalta Agreement which embarrass it today. It attempts to deny the legal rights and interests of the Allies; it particularly wants to brush aside the status and rights of both China and the Soviet Union which stand athwart the path of its aggressive designs. The U.S. Draft seeks to intensify American activities to turn Japan into its hapless colony, enslave the Japanese people and revive militarism in Japan as a tool in its expanding aggressions to dominate the peoples of Asia and Australasia. This is why the U.S. Draft Peace Treaty is being so bitterly exposed and attacked from all quarters.

## Soviet Proposals

The forthright remarks and proposals of the Soviet Union on the Japanese Peace Treaty stand in striking contrast to the shyler lawyer's language of the American Draft. Unwaveringly pursuing the policy of peace, the Government of the U.S.S.R. bases its proposals on a consistent observance of the relevant international agreements.

On the question of the procedure for the preparation of the peace treaty, the U.S.S.R. proposes that a session should be held in June or July of the Council of Foreign Ministers composed of the

representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, the states which signed the instrument of Japanese surrender, so as to start the work for the preparation of the peace treaty with Japan. This is in accordance with the stipulations concerning the preparation of the peace treaties for the enemy countries enunciated in the Potsdam Agreement of August, 1945.

The Soviet Union furthermore proposes, on the basis of this same agreement, that representatives of all states that participated with their armed forces in the war against Japan shall join in the preparatory work of drafting the peace treaty so that they can all have the opportunity to express their opinions and reach agreement by mutual consultation.

The draft peace treaty so drawn up will then be submitted for the consideration of a peace conference which will actually conclude the treaty. Only in this way can a genuinely complete peace treaty be signed with Japan.

Pointing to the "inadmissibility of removing China from the preparation of the peace treaty with Japan," the Soviet Union insists that the People's Republic of China must participate in the preparation, drafting and signing of the peace treaty with Japan. This is in accordance with the rights and demands of the Chinese people. The People's Republic of China with its 475 million people is the country that suffered most from the aggression of the Japanese imperialists and fought them for the longest period of time. In view of the position which China holds in Asia and in the world, it is

impossible to conclude a genuine peace treaty with Japan without China's participation. This is recognised by all peace-loving people. It is admitted by many who have no particular love for China, but who have not yet lost all sense of reality.

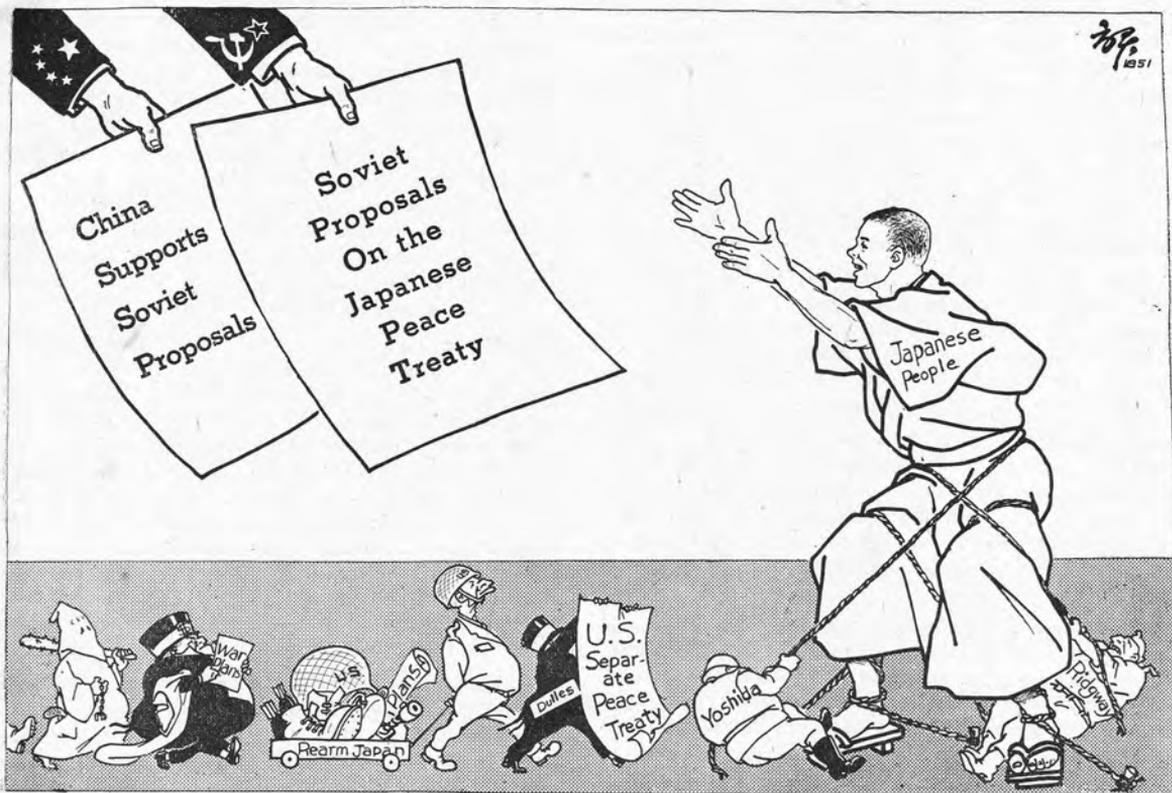
On the question of the contents of the peace treaty, the Soviet Union's *Remarks* make the following proposals:

Japan must become a peace-loving, democratic and independent state, the population of Japan must be ensured democratic rights; there must be guarantees against the revival of Japanese militarism; Japan must be allowed freely to develop its peaceful economy and normal trade; all occupation troops must be withdrawn from Japan within a year after the conclusion of the peace treaty and the signatory states will support the admission of Japan to the UN. All these proposals and those relating to territorial questions are just, reasonable and conform to the relevant international agreements.

These international agreements made at Cairo, Postdam and Yalta, pledged the Allies not to work for their individual selfish interests and not to be motivated by territorial ambitions. They stipulated that the old militaristic Japan must be converted into a peaceful and democratic Japan that will assure its people democratic rights.

Regarding territorial questions, the Soviet *Remarks* denounce the territorial ambitions of the U.S. to monopolise former Japanese island possessions and especially its plot to seize Taiwan and the Penghu Islands (Pescadores). Taiwan and the Penghu Islands

(Continued on page 29)



The Way of Life and the Way of Death.

Cartoon by Fang Cheng and Chung Ling

Peace Forum
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## On Japanese Rearmament

*The editors of this journal have received a number of articles from partisans of peace in various countries and we open this Peace Forum with three contributions on the urgent subject of Japanese rearmament. While the editors do not necessarily agree with the opinions of our contributors, all of us share a common hatred for war and aggression. Indeed, the very fact that our contributors are of diverse backgrounds, beliefs and creeds is an inspiring indication of the universality of the demand for peace, which is of vital concern to all mankind.*

### An Indian View

D. D. Kosambi

*Bureau member of the World Peace Council  
and one of the leading scientists in India*

Rearmament is not a question to be discussed in the abstract. The question of the rearmament of Japan by the U.S. is one of immediate importance and one which vitally affects the whole of Asia, India included.

The U.S.A., the occupying power in Japan, does not talk of rearmament after the occupation ceases. It is actually rearming that country now. Photographs in a recent issue of the American *Saturday Evening Post* show the new Japanese "police" in army uniforms, with army weapons including quick-firing rifles and machine-guns. They live in army barracks, are trained by American military experts and, the accompanying article states, at least 150,000 of them have been recruited so far. Such facts remove the question of Japanese rearmament conclusively from the sphere of abstract debate which to some it has still appeared to be.

The article I cite and many others like it openly brag that the recruits have war experience, are veterans, are tough, have killed many Chinese, and so on. The most insolent caption says that these soldiers will bring hope to the "lost" continent, Asia.

That so heavily and well-armed a "police" force should become necessary after six years of the MacArthurisation of Japan is in itself a striking commentary on the brand of democracy introduced by the U.S.A.! But note, furthermore, that the pretense of using these recruits for police work within Japan has been dropped except in official legalistic arguments.

This force is not meant for use after the U.S. evacuation, because there is no talk of any such evacuation even if a "peace treaty" should be signed. And in fact the U.S. draft treaty makes provision for a continued U.S. occupation of Japan and the use of Japan as a war base.

Thus it is clear that the revived Japanese forces are not meant to protect Japan, but to attack some-

one else. To certain investing companies, it is true, the continent of Asia is "lost." Clearly, these "investors" now hope that the Japanese who failed to colonise the continent of Asia for Japan will now be able to colonise it for their new masters.

It is not enough to laugh at this lunatic ideology, not even enough to expose it to the intended victims of aggression. The greatest victims will naturally be the Japanese people, and it must be made clear to them just what role they are meant to play, at their own cost, and for whom.

Why are these Japanese "veterans," toughened by years of war, now needed again? The answer was provided in an enlightening announcement of General Ridgway, MacArthur's successor, commander of the so-called U.N. forces in the field. He proposed that the American youths drafted for the Korean intervention be sent back home after about five months of fighting, so that the strain might fall evenly upon *all*, and not just upon one group.

No one threatens to attack Japan even when it is actually being used as a war base, and no one has an interest in attacking a peaceful Japan in the future. The mainland of Asia is occupied by powers which have made clear their own love for peace. But they have also made it clear that anyone carrying war to their homelands will not be allowed to do so with impunity.

If the Japanese mean to defend themselves, they can do so without a large striking force. If they mean to attack anyone, this cannot be done at all unless, of course—and this is what the U.S. imperialists intend—Japan is part of a far larger army which would treat the Japanese as front-line auxiliaries and colonial troops. The Korean campaign shows that the so-called U.N. troops are incapable of carrying the war further than a stalemate, if, indeed, they can do even that. But this will not regain certain foreign investments in China which the vested interests concerned want to recover at any cost to their own people and those of Asia.

The sole purpose of Japanese rearmament, therefore, would be for the Japanese people to do the hard and dirty work that the so-called U.N. troops are unable and unwilling to perform, and to do this at less cost to the U.S. This, the warmongers hope, would dampen the wide-spread protest within the

U.S. itself against the war, and would also quiet those unhappy satellites who have been dragooned into sending token forces as U.N. contingents. But, it is perfectly clear, this is a policy of the further enslavement of the Japanese people.

Rearmament can only tighten Japan's chains and bring greater misery to her people, not to mention arousing the hatred of those against whom the new armaments would be used. Better then, for the Japanese, therefore, to demand their independence and work for a position of fraternal, amicable leadership in the peaceful development of Asia. We must distinguish sharply between the Japanese people and those who now control Japan. Through their representative at the Berlin World Peace Council meeting, the Japanese people proved their wish for peace and showed their distrust for those who want them to fight battles against their own close neighbours for the profit of foreign imperialists.

## An Australian View

Rev. F. J. Hartley

*Joint Honorary Secretary of the Australian Peace Council and member of the Methodist Church*

As an Australian who took part in the war against Japan, I am one of the many thousands of Australians totally opposed to the American plan of rearming Japan.

Thinking over the question of Japanese rearmament made me live again the terrible battles in New Guinea and my heart again bled for the men I buried there. The blood of the slain cried out to me from the ground—"Have we died in vain? At supreme cost we drove the Japanese out. Now the Americans would put arms into their hands and invite them back."

My thoughts turned again from the men who died for Australia's freedom to the loved ones who bore the terrible burden of waiting only to have their hopes dashed and their worst fears confirmed.

I turned again to my file of letters from heart-broken wives, mothers and sweethearts, so full of tears and courage.

Within I wept again with these women.

"If mothers had more say in government or the world had more unselfish boys like mine, wars would cease."—so rings out the heart-cry of a mother who will do much to prevent the betrayal of her son. . . .

The first man I buried, I remember well. He never heard the cry of his new-born son. . . .

There was another grief-stricken mother who tried so hard to be noble through her tears. "I had a letter from one friend and she expressed her sorrow by saying, 'Your son and comrades need no monuments. What they have all done will never be forgotten.'"

I wonder?—

If John Foster Dulles and his fellow architects of fate have their way, not only will our boys be forgotten, they will be betrayed.

The proposers of the rearmament of Japan are taking the pearls of great sacrifices and trampling them underfoot. Thousands of heart-broken women will join in the cry, "We will not have our boys betrayed." Woe to the madmen who fail to heed this cry!

As a minister of the Christian religion, I feel a great moral responsibility to oppose a government policy which is saying in deeds far more eloquent than words: "In the last world war we were on the wrong track. The people must be told the exact opposite to what was said then."

Another point which we must consider is our moral responsibility to the Japanese people. At the end of the war, there was written into the Japanese constitution a renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes. One can but imagine the disillusionment and cynicism with which any Japanese with the least moral discernment will receive what is tantamount to an American order to rearm.

What will the effect be on the Japanese war criminals who have made confession of their heinous crimes and have made some gesture of repentance? Will they not be encouraged to consider that their crimes were not so bad after all and, if opportunity offered itself, would they not tend to repeat the crimes? The American action in forcing armaments on Japan will only make these men regret their repentance, and in this state they are even more dangerous than they were.

No! Whatever way I look at the question, I must say that on the basis of moral conviction alone, I must oppose the rearming of Japan with all my strength. From the point of view of the security of Australia—which many people put above any moral scruples—the policy is suicidal.

## A Filipino View

Angel Santos

*Delegate to the Executive Meeting of the International Union of Students recently held in Peking*

The many voices raised in protest against the frantic rearming of Japan by American imperialism prompted me to add my voice in this general protest. It is the least I can do, not only because I am a citizen of the Philippines who witnessed the horrors of Japanese militarism and fascism in the last war but also because I, among millions of others, am a lover of peace.

Moreover, I do believe, and those who have travelled around Southeast Asia immediately after the war will bear me out, that Manila was the most devastated city in Asia. While in Europe it was Warsaw, in Southeast Asia it was Manila. A review, therefore, of the untold inhuman atrocities and lingering nightmares of Japanese fascist-militarism in the last war—if only to remind humanity once again about the meaning of a militarised and fascisised Japan—is far from complete

without having heard from the people of the Philippines.

It would be impossible here to detail the many and varied methods of looting, plundering, brutality and torture that fascist-militarist Japan used. Up to now, even the enterprising prober into the extent and amount of damage—personal, material, moral, etc.—wrought both by the Japanese and their hirelings, to the people of the Philippines has not yet been able to complete his survey. But it would be safe here to say that in Manila alone, three-fourths of the buildings were leveled. A large number of its population (Manila before the war had a population of a little less than one million) perished from want, disease and mostly by outright massacre. Manila was the scene of rape orgies, scorched-earth, torture, seizure and confiscation of food, properties and personal possessions. The Japanese “soldiers,” as is now a historical fact, moved without supplies and provisions and depended entirely on the local population for all their requirements. Not an iota of decency was left in these “soldiers” after passing through the mill of fascist-militarist training.

While outside of Manila, that is to say, in other cities, towns and villages, losses in buildings were comparatively smaller, losses in something else were even more staggering. It was generally admitted

that Japanese behaviour outside of Manila was even worse than in that city. Houses were searched periodically for food, women, valuables, etc. Peaceful citizens were shot on the spot at the slightest provocation. Everything was commandeered, from the swankiest cars to the lowliest bull carts of the peasants. Puppets forced the people to supply the hated Japanese with good food, women and wine.

And now American imperialism would want us to support the rearming of the very same power that caused all this suffering! The Filipinos know better. We Filipinos, in whose name I now speak, will not let such horrible events be repeated. Never again!

We cannot allow the very same monster that was accountable for all our miseries and sufferings during the last war to rear its head again. Fascism and militarism are well known to us in all their ramifications. It is plain and unmistakable that the rearming of Japan will bring to life the very same enemy for whose defeat countless numbers of our brothers and sisters died. In opposing the rearming of Japan we are not only saving ourselves from the very same disaster we have only just recently experienced, but we are at the same time saving the Japanese people from a catastrophe.

Long live peace!

## Tunhuang—Treasure House of Ancient Art

Yao Hua

Tunhuang, in West Kansu, is a fertile little oasis surrounded by sand dunes, on the edge of the great Gobi desert. It was once an important stage post on the ancient Silk Road—the long caravan trail that linked China to India and the West, a route of travel for goods, warriors, ideas and cultures.

Twenty kilometres southwest of Tunhuang, the district city, there is a line of steep cliffs running from north to south. At eventide, the sinking sun throws a glorious halo of light over these cliffs as it has done for centuries past. Perhaps this was the reason why they were held to be sacred. It is here that the Grottoes of a Thousand Buddhas nestle like beehives. The first grotto was hollowed out, according to the record on a stone tablet, in 366 A.D. in the Chin Dynasty. Then all through the Northern and Western Wei, the Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties down to the Sung, Yuan and Ming (1368-1644 A.D.), grottoes were dug and consecrated by devout followers of Buddhism and pilgrims journeyed to the sacred place. Devotees donated scrolls, embroideries, tapestries, paintings and icons. Nameless artist-artisans worked through the years on the orders of donors, covering the walls with carvings and marvellous frescoes.

Relatively little is as yet known of the art of Tunhuang. Even specialists had knowledge only of a few scrolls, some sculptures, some photographic

reproductions. But for years travellers' tales have told of their marvels.

And now since April the palace buildings atop the Noon Gate in Peking's former Forbidden City have been filled with an exhibition of 1,000 hand painted reproductions of these unrivalled murals.

It is no exaggeration to say that their appearance in the capital has been something of a sensation. The general public has shown the liveliest interests in these fresh proofs of the richness of China's ancient culture. Artists, scientists and intellectuals in general have found here an inexhaustible source of artistic inspiration and material for historic study.

These long-buried treasures are clearly at the start of a new period of even more vigorous life than any they experienced since their creation.

### Thefts by Imperialists

This is not the first time that Tunhuang has provided “sensational” news.

In the middle of the Northern Sung Dynasty, some unknown hand collected all the movable treasures of Tunhuang and sealed them in a hidden double grotto behind a wall. Thus a priceless treasure was hidden for more than 900 years until in 1900 a Taoist named Wang accidentally discovered it, while doing some repairs. He did not understand its value and at times showed curious people some of it. The news of this important discovery, however, began to spread.

In 1907, a Hungarian named Aurel Stein in the service of the British rulers of India heard of Tunhuang's treasure and hastened thither with a Chinese translator. Bribing the Taoist Wang, he was admitted into the grotto and was allowed to take his choice. Leaving behind a scanty gift, he finally took away 14 trunkfuls of scriptures and scrolls and five trunkfuls of silks and paintings.

When this Stein made a report to the Royal Geographical Society in London, it roused the attention of the whole world. All the greedy eyes of the imperialists turned towards Tunhuang. Pelliot, a Frenchman, followed in Stein's steps and brought away whatever he could lay his hands on.

Assured of the theft safely transported out of China, Pelliot was so arrogant as to display a few scrolls before Chinese scholars. This was the first exhibition of the ancient art of Tunhuang in 1909 in the *Hotel des Wagon-lits, Peking*. It shocked the Chinese scholars of the time and, as a result of their protests, an order was sent to the Kansu Provincial mandarins to arrest the scoundrel Wang and send all remaining scrolls and movables to Peking. Such was the corruption of the decaying imperialist regime, however, that many treasures were pillaged *en route* to the capital. Those that survive, 8,600 scrolls in all, are now in the collection of the Metropolitan Library of Peking.

Stein made a second visit and succeeded in bringing away what the traitor Wang had cunningly concealed. The murals, of course, were a great attraction but neither of these adventurers succeeded in "appropriating" them.

In 1924, however, came a U.S. spy named Langdon Warner who stole away, among other objects, 17 pieces of murals by means of gluey linens as well as a seated Kuan-yin statue, all of the Tang Dynasty. In 1925 he came again. He planned to stay half a year at Tunhuang, with the aim of further thievery. But this time the people of Kansu rose and kept on guard against these "scientific" looters. Warner was chased off after three days.

It was an eager audience of artists and students who heard the introductory lecture by Chang Shuhung, the artist who directed the work of copying and preparing this exhibition as Director of the Tunhuang Institute of Art and Archaeology. He had gone to Tunhuang for a two months' visit. He had stayed there eight years. When he arrived he found that much of the protecting architecture of the grottoes has been destroyed and not a few of them had been buried in the sands. The fate of the murals and sculptures was a source of considerable anxiety. He felt impelled to take action, and

got help to clear away the sand and make repairs. He thus found himself a sort of *ad hoc* curator of the grottoes. Later, in 1924, he founded the Art Institute of Tunhuang. He set out with a dozen art students and planned the copying of selected originals. Through the years of the Anti-Japanese War and the post-war period, they worked as best they could to preserve these ancient masterpieces, steadily going ahead with the work of recording and study.

### A Great Art Gallery

There are murals and sculptures in each of the 469 grottoes and caves of Tunhuang. Most are in a fair state of preservation. There are as many as four or five tiers of grottoes and if the murals in those so far explored were placed end to end they would stretch a length of 32 kilometres. But it is not size alone that is impressive. Here are splendid masterpieces of decorative and pictorial art forming one of the greatest art monuments of the world.

The Chinese art tradition has always been centred on human life, on the social life of man. This is borne out by stone rubbings from the earliest known tombs. This is confirmed especially in the *Famous Paintings of Various Ages* by the art historian Chang Yen-yuan. This is confirmed again in an especially vivid way by the murals of the Tunhuang grottoes. These unknown painters are of that great tradition, preserving, enriching, developing it. In these hundreds of paintings is shown the human world in many phases. These walls present a kaleidoscope of feelings and emotions. Here, too, is an unrivalled encyclopaedia on costumes and customs through the ages, on tools and utensils, vehicles and vessels, rites and ceremonies; on ways of working, of living and enjoyment, as the illustrations in our pictorial section show.

The general standard of craftsmanship is on an astonishingly high level. The brushwork at its best is forceful and compelling. The colour bright and unsteretyped. The use of lines free and very varied. The working style meticulous: even the smallest details are treated with care and vigour. Each of the great periods of painting are vividly represented in their making, yet each style, represented by hundreds of works, seems to have been painted by some versatile genius of the epoch.

Standing in these grottoes, one feels instantly that everything from the wall and ceiling paintings to the decorations around the columns, the architecture and sculptures, combine to create one atmosphere, one artistic whole. Decorations are unified with their architectural background.



A Tang Dynasty Angel from Tunhuang

Copy by Chang Sa-na

A whole world is mirrored in these images. And a characteristic feature of this world is that it is not static, but, like life itself, pulsates with energy. In Grotto No. 254 of the Northern Wei (386-535 A.D.), for instance, not only the flying angels with their ribbons whirl around you, but the whole grotto revolves and even the mountains seem to fly. The artists have cleverly placed dashes of colour here and there on the wall among the floating lines to give an impression of perpetual movement.

### Three Periods

Chronologically, the murals of Tunhuang can be conveniently divided into three periods. The early period ends with the Sui Dynasty (581-610 A.D.), the middle embraces the whole of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and the late period extends on through the Sung, Yuan and later dynasties.

Though in all three periods the murals have one common over-all aim—the propagation of the Buddhist faith, this is in many cases but an incidental theme much as the direct propagation of the Roman Catholic faith is often only incidental in the “religious” frescoes of Michelangelo in the Vatican Sistine Chapel. The religious theme is often little more for the artist than a starting point for an artistic commentary on some completely secular subject such as hunting, feasting, farming or building. It is this feature that gives that rich variety of subject matter to the murals.

While there is an enormous wealth of decorative “abstract” design to fill in cornices, friezes, ornament door lintels, the tops of columns or ceilings, the predominant aspect of these paintings is their realism. Most of these murals have a story to tell. They popularise the parables and legends of Buddhism. The murals are designed for the people who seek to learn the scriptural stories by looking at the pictures. It is for this reason that the element of realism is so strong in these paintings. And it is this realism that makes them so valuable to us today.

It is the development of this realism that runs as a red thread through these thousand years of art mirroring the thought of the times. While the early period tells its story in the form of a series of episodes within a single composition—telescoping a whole period of time into one single instant as it were—the more developed realism of the middle period, the resplendent Tang period, extracts the essence of the story and sums it up in a single incident. In Grotto No. 110 of the early period (Wei Dynasty), for instance, is the painting of Gautama as a golden gazelle who, having saved the life of a wastrel, is betrayed by him to a royal huntsman. All the in-

cidents of the story are present in one panoramic composition. The development of perspective is rudimentary. Men, mountains, the whole of nature are austere pictured in earth colours. In the Tang Dynasty, by contrast, an opulent Buddha is shown in a monumental composition teaching his doctrine. The Buddha, with ponderable weight, dominates the whole surface. Below him is the altar and his audience. An orchestra plays in the foreground with gracefully dancing figures. Flowers rain down from the heavens. It is really the imperial court transferred to paradise. The scriptural episodes themselves are relegated to a series of marginal compositions each separate in itself. A complex system of perspective is employed.

Each period has its own special beauties. The early murals have the primitive charm and directness of a Giotto. The Tang murals are especially noteworthy for their intricate and yet precise composition. Hundreds of human figures, terraces, buildings, flowers and trees combine into grand scenes of abundance. In later periods the inquisitive eyes of the artists take in more and more of the phenomena of life. Landscape, still life, birds and animals attract them as themes. But there is a growth of stultifying mannerism.

Throughout these paintings there is a bewildering wealth of imagination united with fluent technique. The Tunhuang artists developed at all periods a truly indigenous style, a local style even. Strategically placed where the cultural currents of East and West flowed together and mingled, they drew with great discrimination from all available cultural trends. Thus the early period artists of the Wei Dynasty derived their basic style from the culture of the Han but were strongly influenced by the Greco-Indian School.

It need hardly be stressed that the Tunhuang murals are a rich source of iconographical material about Buddhism, but for us today their greatest value is as a reflection of the thousand years of the people's life.

This exhibition has unlocked a treasure house of art to the Chinese people and Chinese artists and scientists. It has brought home the tremendous importance of this repository. The People's Government through its Ministry of Cultural Affairs has taken the first steps to secure the future of Tunhuang. One day the grottoes will be fully restored, their protecting buildings repaired and, with the possibilities provided by modern science, Tunhuang will be turned into one of the world's most unique and greatest art galleries.



The Central Grottoes at Tunhuang  
Sketch by Chang Shu-hung

# New China's Efficient Railways

Liu Hsin-hua

In 1949 the railway programme laid greatest emphasis on the restoration of the nation-wide network. In 1950 the emphasis was on efficient operation. This efficiency in railway operation is implementing the government's policy of encouraging the exchange of commodities between the cities and the countryside. From January to August, 1950, about 70 per cent of all commodities moved in North and East China were carried by rail.

Large quantities of grain were transported from producer to consumer areas. Coal from North China was moved to Shanghai, Tientsin, Mukden, Tsingtao and inland cities to feed factories, and to the countryside where peasants for the first time used coal for heating. Cotton from Shansi, Shensi and Hopei flowed to coastal cities to supply the textile mills. The people's railways came to play their full and vital role in building the country's economy.

## Grading of Rail Freights, Preferential Rates

In conformity with the policy of the Central People's Government which calls for "the development of production," "interchange of commodities between the cities and the countryside" and "equal consideration for both private and public interests," the Ministry of Railways classified rail freights into 30 categories.

The rail charges for goods in category I is 17 times greater than that of category XIII. All luxury goods are classified in category I while raw materials and machinery for agricultural production and daily necessities such as rice, flour, coal and salt are placed in the lower categories. Preferential rates, some of which are less than the actual costs of transport, are applicable to certain goods that are of vital necessity to the national reconstruction. Coal, for example, a necessity for both the people and industrial production, is accorded this special rate.

On July 13, 1950, the Government announced a 25 per cent reduction in freight charges for wheat and a 30 per cent reduction for rice and flour. This coincided with the wheat harvest in North China and the rice crop in South and Central China. With a view to encouraging the export trade, as well as the exchange of commodities between the various provinces, a 50 per cent reduction in the freight charges for tea, raw silk and egg products, and a 30 per cent reduction for wool, tung oil, antimony and cement was announced by the Government on July 1, 1950.

Low freight rates have stimulated rail transport. The system of favourable rates for essential goods has swelled the volume of freight and helped in the stabilising of prices. Freight rates in 1950 showed a reduction of 63.5 per cent for coal, 60

per cent for salt and 40 per cent for rice compared with 1937 pre-war freight rates.

Passenger travel is smoother than ever before. Trains have improved their facilities. Dark, dirty trains are a thing of the past. Today's trains have light airy coaches which are kept clean. Every effort is made by the crew to enhance the comfort and enjoyment of the passengers.

A traveller can settle into the train in Manchouli on the Siberian border with the temperature well below freezing, be whisked past the industrial cities of the Northeast into the plains of North and Central China, cross the Yangtse into the lush beauty of South China and reach the sunshine of Canton after travelling 4,600 kilometres in 142 hours and 29 minutes. Another from Lienyunkang in coastal Kiangsu Province can follow the Yellow River all the way to the geographical heart of China, Paochi in Shensi Province, covering 1,226 kilometres in 41 hours and 38 minutes. Fares are cheaper too. In 1950 they showed a reduction of 59.5 per cent compared with rates for 1937.

Freight movement and travel on this scale were impossible before liberation. The wars between warlords, the Japanese invasion, the war against Japan and the counter-revolutionary war of the reactionary KMT cut and damaged the railway lines so seriously that there was no through travel even between relatively short distances. Railway workers worked night and day repairing tracks. It was only after 1949 that the country's railways were restored and unified for the first time.

By the end of last year, 22,160 kilometres had been restored. Today new lines are under construction, in particular the important line between Chungking and Chengtu. The 1950 transport plan was fulfilled 21 days earlier than scheduled. The average loading capacity per day overfulfilled the schedule by 7.4 per cent. The loading capacity in December, 1950 increased 51.3 per cent over December, 1949, and passenger travel by train in 1950 exceeded the scheduled capacity by 10 per cent.

The high spirit of the railway workers was shown in their response to the call of the famous labour hero Li Yung, driver of the engine named for Chairman Mao. During the patriotic emulation drive he called upon all railway workers to raise their efficiency and speed and to increase their loading capacity. His locomotive which normally hauled a maximum of 2,000 tons raised its capacity to 2,377 tons, and still kept to its time schedule.

Locomotive No. 105 on the run between Takuan-tun and Suchiatun on December 25, 1950 hauled 4,174 tons. Its average before this record was made was 2,000 tons. It arrived at the station two minutes before schedule. It had worked out a new method for stoking the engine which reduced the coal consumption by 561 kilograms. From July, 1949 to December, 1950, this locomotive hauled 56,781 tons

beyond its scheduled capacity. In this way it eliminated 31 runs.

On March 8, 1951, Locomotive No. 75 operating on the same run hauled 4,530 tons and arrived on time, setting the highest record for haulage in China.

Locomotive drivers and railway workers voluntarily set themselves the target of increasing their haulage capacity without any damage to the locomotive and the rolling stock, eliminating accidents and guaranteeing punctual schedules. In this spirit they raised the over-all technical efficiency of China's railways.

#### New Efficiency

The high efficiency is expressed first of all by the reduction in "turn-round,"\* which in 1948 in Northeast China was 5.6 days. In 1949 it dropped to 3.98 days and in 1950 to 3.3 days. For the whole of China in 1950 the average operational frequency was 3.34 days. This was 11.4 per cent lower than anticipated for 1950 and made possible the most efficient usage of freight cars and the fulfilment of scheduled freight loads.

To raise the efficiency of train operations a new method has been instituted with the help of Soviet experience and the high morale of the railway workers. In spite of the shortage of freight cars and still inadequate installations, efficiency has risen sharply. For example, in Kirin station, Kirin Province, before the new method was introduced it required 40 minutes to harness a set of freight cars. Now the same process takes only 18 minutes.

Trains also run at higher speed. In 1950 the average speed of trains for the whole of China was 20.9 kilometres per hour. In the Northeast it was 23.1 kilometres in 1950, 3.6 per cent higher than in 1949 and 15.5 per cent higher than in 1943 during the days of the Japanese occupation. During 1950 a campaign to reduce the consumption of coal was introduced. In January, 1950 a freight unit carrying 10,000 tons consumed 317.2 kilograms of coal per kilometre. By December, 1950, coal consumption was reduced to 284 kilograms per kilometre, or a reduction of 10.5 per cent. Throughout the whole year, 72,867 tons of coal were saved.

Not only is the efficiency of rail traffic high, but the record for safe operations is also very high. In 1950 the railway workers introduced a campaign to eliminate accidents. By May, 1951 there were 14 locomotives in China which each registered 200,000 kilometres of safe operations. Sixty\* locomotives had records of 150,000 kilometres of safe running, and 180 locomotives registered safe operations of 100,000 kilometres each.

Railway traffic is also running in good order. In February, 1950, only half of the trains were punctual to the minute. By June, last year, 99.4 per cent of the passenger traffic trains were punctual in leaving and 96.9 per cent were punctual in arriving.

#### Responsible Transport

The regulations for passenger and goods traffic clearly enumerate the duties and rights of the rail-

\* The average length of time, in terms of days, required by the rolling stock in a particular station or goods-yard between its first and second loading.

way administration. The state-owned railways are responsible to the people.

The specified date of delivery must be strictly adhered to by the railway administration. If the delivery is behind schedule the administration must pay a fine. On the other hand, the freight owners have to pay demurrage charges if they do not consign their cargo according to an agreed schedule. The railway administration is also made responsible for the safety of goods entrusted to its care. Should goods be damaged in transport, compensation has to be paid to the owner. These provisions are in sharp contrast to the practice under the KMT regime when little or no regard was paid either to time schedules or safe transport of goods.

A further instructive example of the growth of mutual co-operation between the railways and industrial enterprises is typified by the contract signed during the latter part of 1950 between the Northeast Railway Administration and the management of a certain coal mine. The purpose of this contract was to facilitate increased coal output on the one hand, and raise efficiency in utilising the carrying capacity of the railway, on the other. According to this contract, the mine management is required to supply the railway administration with a transport plan which specifies the definite amount of coal scheduled to be transported during a fixed period of time. The railway administration, on its part, is required to allocate an adequate number of wagons in such a manner as to eliminate loss of time in loading.

In 1949 the loss sustained by the mine in demurrage charges paid to the railway administration as a result of the postponement of the dispatch of coal trains amounted to a very large sum apart from the loss in coal production thus involved. However, since the signing of the contract, the railway administration has not only been able to supply the mine with the necessary number of wagons in keeping with the coal output, but has also been able to assist the mine management by introducing improvements in the technique of loading and unloading the coal wagons. As a direct result of this close co-operation, the average time of "turn-round" of the coal wagons has been very considerably reduced.

These far-reaching improvements in the railways are welcomed by the people who realise that the railways are now in the service of the people and no longer an instrument of a handful of reactionaries as was the case in the past. While before liberation as a general rule the railways were only able to operate with heavy government subsidies, in 1950 China's railways achieved a balanced budget. Furthermore, 13 per cent of the income from the Northeastern railways was used in reinvestment. These accomplishments are unprecedented in the history of China's railways.

Already a vital factor in the building of the country's economy, the railways are making careful plans for expansion to keep pace with the country's development. Keenly interested in these plans of enormous economic value to the country, the people are confident that under the people's government they will be carried to completion.

# Sino - Korean Friendship

By their actions and splendid spirit, the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea have greatly strengthened the ties of friendship between the two great peoples. Skilful and courageous fighters, they are sympathetic and considerate protectors of the people. Wherever they are billeted they help their hosts with household tasks and work in the fields.



A Chinese people's volunteer.



Lending a hand at the plough.



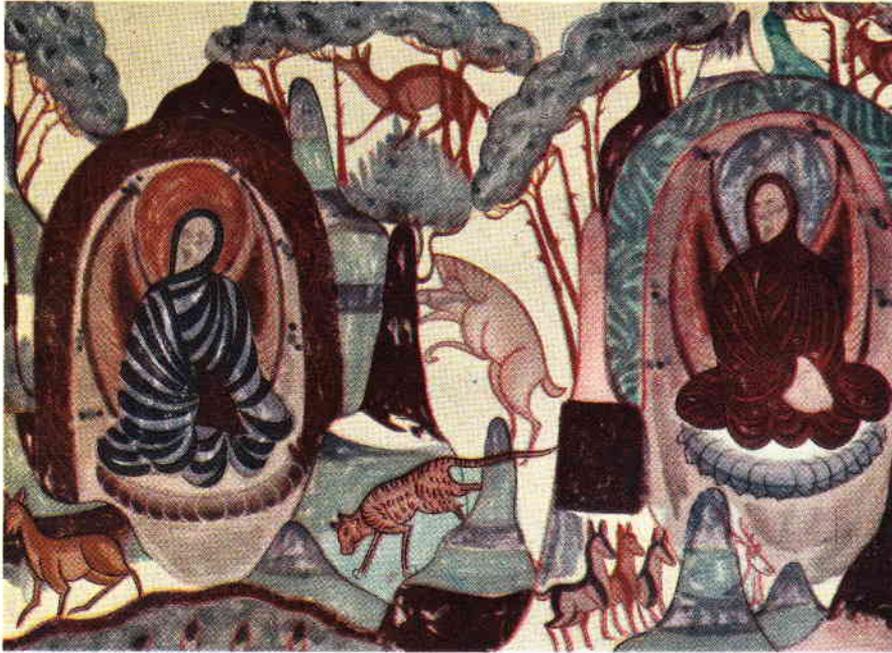
Helping with the threshing.

Taking part in preparing cotton for spinning.



Making music for a Korean dance.





**Monks in Meditation**

*Western Wei Dynasty (535-557)*

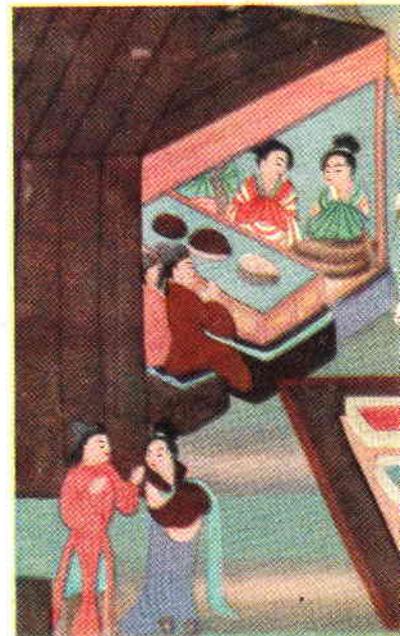


**The Hunters**

## **DETAILS FROM THE TUNHUANG MURALS**

The *Monks in Meditation* was painted at a time of incessant feudal strife. It is an artist's dream of monastic tranquillity. But besides such typically Buddhist themes, the unknown artists of the Tunhuang caves in western Kansu Province took a multitude of subjects directly from the daily life of the people.

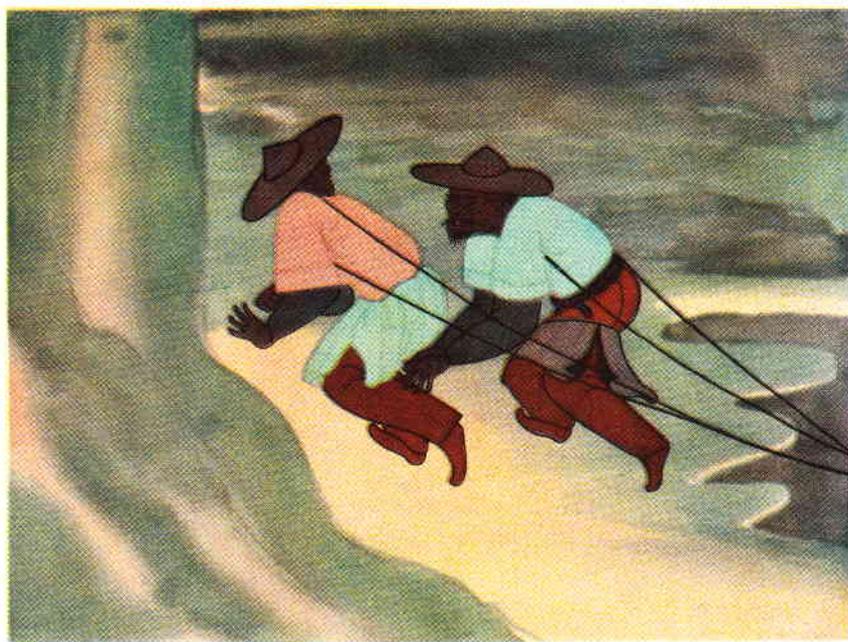
The Tunhuang murals, the collective creation of the Chinese working people, are a unique treasury of art and an invaluable repository of knowledge about the social life of their times.



**A Banquet**



*Sui Dynasty (581-610)*

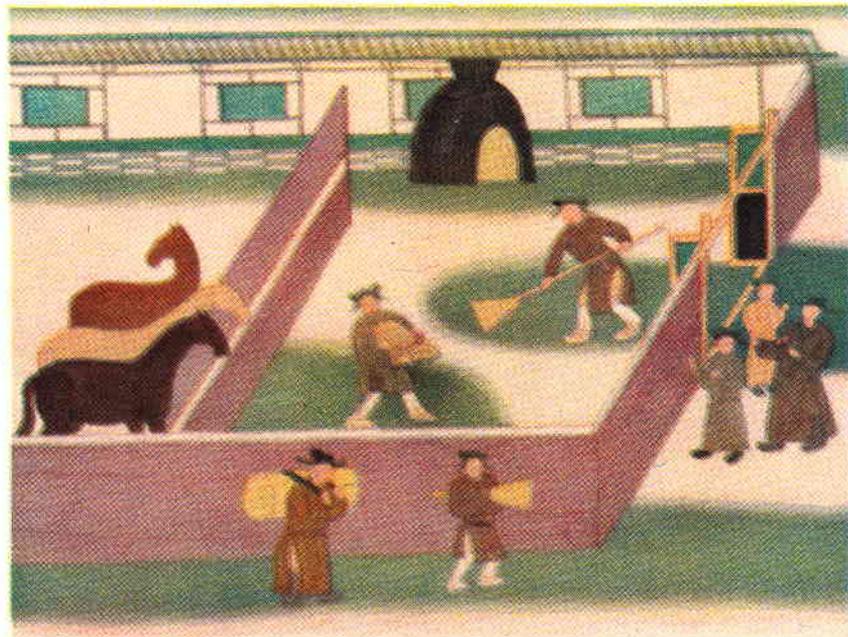


**The Boatmen**

*Tang Dynasty (618-907)*



*Tang Dynasty*



**Horses in a Stable**

*The Five Dynasties (907-960)*

# China's Bright Future

The children of China have never been so happy as they are today. They learn and play with equal enthusiasm. Liberation has brought the advantages of school to new millions of them, given them better health and recreational facilities. Their future spreads bright before them.



Chairman Mao with two Young Pioneers on the reviewing stand at Tien An Men watching the May Day demonstration.



Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh with a group of youthful admirers.



Happy friends in a kindergarten in Peking.

Young Pioneers pledge to defend peace—to defend their future from the warmongers.



# New China's Children

Yang Yeh

On June 1, the children took over the capital for International Children's Day. All over the country there were celebrations. In Shanghai six children's palaces were opened on this day. They were thronged with 200,000 youngsters, who pressed to the recreation rooms and the science halls where children can do experiments themselves. In Hankow and other cities special radio programmes were arranged for the children.

Gaily decked trams in Peking carried the children to parks and gardens. Bookstores and cinemas threw open their doors to them and offered them special prizes. Singing and shouting, they rowed on Peking's North Sea Lake in the former Imperial Palace grounds. In gay holiday dresses, and the Young Pioneers with red scarves and white shirts, they filled the Workers' Cultural Palace, a wonderland with bowling, target shooting and ball games, exhibits on health, a circus and stage plays.

In nearby Chungshan Park the children of Peking factory workers, tram conductors and railwaymen put on skits before huge audiences. They struck the day's only sombre note. Written by children, acted by children, they showed the lives of children—the once-exploited, grist for factory mills, child labour, child brides, and child slaves. The note was a reminder of just how far, how rapidly, New China's children have come; of how, protected from child labour by Trade Union Law, from early, forced marriage by the Marriage Law, provided with land in land reform, with health services and ever wider spheres of education opened to children of the working people they have entered upon a bright future.

To educate the people in child hygiene and welfare, a nation-wide campaign was launched on International Children's Day. In pre-liberation days a child's life was a hazard from its very first hours. Now scores of thousands of old-style midwives have been trained in modern methods and the newborn infant has a far better start

in life. More than 800 health centres now supplement the hospitals and clinics in the cities and mining areas in promoting maternal health. Publicity on health measures now penetrates to the remotest village. Last year over 10 million children were inoculated against smallpox and 650,000 against tuberculosis. The main emphasis is on preventive medicine.

Nurseries, which by May of this year had increased to eight times the number before liberation, are playing an increasingly important role. In Shanghai, for example, before liberation there were only 36 factory nurseries with 2,192 children in their care. As a result of the active work of the Public Health Bureau, the Democratic Women's Federation and the workers' trade unions, there are now 95 factory nurseries in Shanghai caring for 6,033 children and new ones are being set up each month.

Elementary school education, which under the KMT was almost out of the question for the children of workers and peasants, is being expanded. In 1950 there were 36.8 per cent more elementary school students throughout the country than in 1946. In Peking, the number of elementary schools has almost doubled since liberation. By April it had 708 elementary schools with 180,000 pupils in the city itself and its suburbs. Of this number the children of working people number 110,138, more than 60 per cent of all pupils.

## Land Reform Brings Schools

Land reform brings with it a greater demand for education and the means to satisfy it. In North-east China, which underwent land reform several years ago, for example, there were 6,941,990 children in school in 1950 compared with 4,576,111 in 1949 and about 2,300,000 before liberation. Between 75 and 80 per cent of the school children in the Northeast come from worker and peasant families.

The relationship between the teacher, child and parents has changed completely since libera-

tion. Backward children are no longer simply dismissed as misfits but given special help. Brilliant children and those with special talent in music, science and the arts are provided with special supplementary training as far as possible. Where strained family relations show in a child's class-room behaviour, the teachers look into the circumstances and try to help.

Twelve-year old Sun Li-sen, for example, fell asleep in class several times. His teacher questioned him and found that he went to bed every night at the right time. She visited the home and had a talk with his mother. His mother told her that the only explanation she could think of was that she and the child's father, a carpenter, quarrelled in the night and perhaps they disturbed the child's sleep. The quarrels took place because the husband complained that household accounts were never clear. The wife was illiterate and didn't know how to do sums. The teacher thought this over and made a suggestion. Why not have Sun Li-sen who was a good student give his mother lessons in reading and writing and in the use of the abacus? The plan worked out very well and the child no longer fell asleep in class.

Young Pioneers, the activists among the school children, have increased their number to some two million children between the ages of nine and 15 since their organisation was founded in October, 1949. By a variety of activities they are fitting themselves to be valuable citizens of New China. Through practical and educative tasks such as tree planting, growing vegetables, and helping peasants during harvesting, they learn to respect labour. Young Pioneers are developing a warm love for China and a strong sense of internationalism among all the children.

China's children are her national treasure and they are made to feel it. Celebrations on June 1 were a lively demonstration that the children are aware of the bright and boundless future before them as masters of the people's China.

# A Great People's Artist

Hsu Chih

"Shed no tears for our Pao-kun today. For he died gloriously. Give him not tears, but applause. Salute the heroic death of a people's artist and a great patriot who gave his life for the noble cause in Korea."

So spoke the father of the comedian-artist Chang Pao-kun. The crowded memorial meeting organised by the Tientsin writers and artists rose to its feet. His friends and comrades clapped their hands. For five minutes they clapped. But they could not hold back their tears.

\* \* \*

When the Chinese People's Delegation which was going to Korea accepted the offer of a group of Peking's folk art entertainers to perform for the volunteers and Korean People's Army, Chang Pao-kun, a Tientsin artist, proposed organising a Tientsin group at the same time. Tientsin, in fact, contributed a team of her best artists, including Chang Pao-kun and his partner Chao Pei-juo, the celebrated ballad singer Fu Shao-fang and the famous lute accompanist Cheng Shu-tang.

On March 21, 1951, the people's delegates and artists, 575 in all, arrived at Mukden. There Chang Pao-kun was appointed captain of the Fourth Artistic Team. On April 8 they crossed the Yalu.

The Chinese people's volunteers fighting on the Korean front were elated at the news of the arrival of the people's delegation and artists from the Motherland. In the valleys covered with pine trees and azaleas, the fighters welcomed the delegates. Word of their arrival was passed from forest to forest and from hill to hill.

The morning after they crossed the Yalu a young volunteer greeted Chang Pao-kun: "You must be Chang Pao-kun. I recognise your voice. We always listen to your broadcasts and records, but this is the first time we see you in person."

Another volunteer joined in: "We've waited for you five days. Every night we went out to the highway to look for you."

"What do you expect from us?" Chang asked them.

"You can't guess how much your coming means to us. Just to see you and talk with you!"

The volunteers and the KPA were enormously encouraged by these visiting delegates of 475 million people who wore volunteer uniforms and were under the same strict discipline as the volunteers. From the very first day they became close friends with the Korean people. In their spare time they helped the local Korean people in many ways, by fetching water for the housewives and building fires to warm the peasants' houses.

On April 16 they arrived at the front where they performed for the fighters. Every item on the programme was successful but Chang Pao-kun's jokes were the best-liked of all. He was encored again and again. Indefatigable, he would say after each number, "If you want more, I can give you still another."

Preparations for the fifth blow against the enemy released on April 22 were nearing completion. Enemy planes came overhead during the frontline shows on the 38th parallel. Often the whirring of their engines would drown out the music and the flare of rockets would light up the ground. Then the commanders would order them all to the dugouts. Chang Pao-kun's first concern at such moments was the instruments—"instruments are to the artist as weapons to the soldier."

On April 22 in a small village somewhere near the front a group of volunteers sat enjoying an open air entertainment. Moonlight poured through the pine branches. The fighters were warmly applauding the artists from their Motherland and Chang Pao-kun and Chao Pei-juo cracked their jokes to the delight of all. No one imagined that this was to be the last performance of this rollicking comedian and the

lute-player Cheng Shu-tang.

Four P-51s bombed the village where the artists were staying at noon on April 23. The house caught fire. Chao Pei-juo was injured. Chang Pao-kun and Cheng Shu-tang were killed.

\* \* \*

The sad news spread. The volunteers in Korea on hearing of their beloved artists' death vowed to fight more courageously than ever to avenge them. The whole of Tientsin mourned.

Friends remembered him as a 4-year-old child juggling beside his father. That was 27 years ago. When he was eight he became a *hsiang-sheng* comedian. (In *hsiang-sheng*, popular in North China, a pair of comedians exchange a rapid fire of satire and humour with expressive gestures.) At that time Chang Pao-kun was known as "Little Mushroom" for he came originally from Kalgan where the best and most succulent mushrooms grow. He was so small then that he had to crack his jokes standing on a chair.

At 12 he appeared on the roof garden of the largest Tientsin department store as a comedian, and began to broadcast over the radio. "Little Mushroom" became known all over Tientsin.

He worked hard for his living and developed into a forthright and witty artist. He became famous, not only because he amused people but because his satire was so penetrating. One of his famous jokes made during the Japanese occupa-



Chang Pao-kun entertains the Chinese volunteers at the front.

tion when rice and flour were rare and costly and the people were fed with a mixture of beans and cornhusks, began with a conversation between Chang and his partner. Chang announces that he has a piece of good news.

"For two and a half dollars you can buy a bag of flour now!"

The price of flour was soaring and the audience opened their eyes wide and leaned forward in their seats.

"How's that?" his partner asked.

"Thanks to the strong measures the authorities have taken. As for the bag I just mentioned, it's about the size of a packet of tooth powder."

It was a brave, audacious sally. The audience roared. But the next day he was under arrest. Under the Japanese-puppet occupation and later the KMT, he was arrested three times and badly beaten on a number of occasions.

"Quails — monkeys — comedians," Chang Pao-kun later said, "they used to be one of a kind...." But in 1948 the PLA stormed Tientsin, and the city was liberated by the people's forces in 12 hours. "With liberation," he continued, "the comedian who used to be lumped with quails and monkeys became a Man."

Under the leadership of the people's government and the Communist Party, Chang Pao-kun's political awakening came quickly. When the ballad singers and folk art entertainers joined the nationwide study movement, not only was Chang Pao-kun to be found among them, but he was an activist. In the new society his passion, wit and truth-loving spirit found the climate they needed. He became a people's representative and participated in the Third Session of the Tientsin All-Circles People's Representative Conference.

The social status of all people's artists rose with liberation. Chang Pao-kun spent much time reforming his art. He studied hard and the new jokes he cracked carried a political message. At the same time, he tried to revise and modernise his older works and his revisions and new creations were warmly received by the public. He visited factories often and entertained the workers, using his jokes to stimulate them to join spare-time schools and raise their cultural knowledge. He employed his wit to poke fun at those who

## Night Attack

*Special Hsinhua Correspondent with the Chinese People's Volunteers*

On the evening of May 17, while the enemy on Karisan Mountain, northeast of Hongchun, was keeping up a general fire at the volunteers' positions in front, a volunteer unit made a detour and approached one of the enemy-defended peaks from the rear. One squad destroyed four wire-entanglements and cleared away the mines on the mountain side, breaking through the enemy's defence line without being observed.

Other volunteer units advanced along the valleys and reached Taisutong at the south of the mountain by midnight. The officers of the Headquarters of the U.S. 38th Regiment were sleeping in their tents when the volunteers' hand grenades exploded among them. Fierce fighting broke out in the area.

Four volunteers attacked some 200 confused enemy troops with their tommy guns. A volunteer platoon leader killed four U.S. soldiers in hand-to-hand combat. Surprised and demoralised, the enemy crawled into foxholes and under trucks.

At the same time, another volunteer unit cut the highway south of Taisutong. Blocking the road by wrecking an enemy truck, the volunteers cut off the retreat of 100 trucks and armoured cars in the valley and set two armoured cars on fire. The ammunition inside exploded, killing many Americans.

Panic-stricken American troops tried to flee, those on the mountain tops sliding down and those below climbing up, but all came under the volunteers' fire. While this was going on, the volunteers attacked the mountain from the front, taking one peak after another. Volunteer messengers, cooks and other non-combatants joined in the attack.

On the following day, the volunteers checked counter-attacks by reinforcements from the U.S. 2nd Division and the puppet Syngman Rhee troops. One volunteer company leader and 12 volunteers on a mountain peak repulsed 12 attacks by a whole enemy battalion without sustaining even one casualty.

The entire 1st and 2nd Battalions and most of the 3rd Battalion as well as the Headquarters of the 38th Regiment of the U.S. 2nd Division were wiped out in a single night by Chinese volunteers in this action northeast of Hongchun. Nearly 1,000 Americans were killed, and 258 captured, including the Commander of the 2nd Battalion.

were backward ideologically or unwilling to study. His humour was close to the people and they felt at home with it.

\* \* \*

As the train pulled in with the bodies of the artist-heroes, the transport workers at the Tientsin station removed their caps and stood quietly at attention. Crowds came to the cemetery for the funeral. Grandmothers who knew "Little Mushroom" only over the radio and who rarely came out in public, were there. Pedicab drivers carried wreaths but refused to be paid for their work. Factory workers swore to turn their anger into strength and to raise production. Volunteer donations by the

thousands flowed in spontaneously to support the Korean struggle in memory of this great people's artist.

Tientsin artists came forward at the memorial meeting and then and there expressed their determination to organise another team to go to Korea to perform for the volunteers. Chang Pao-kun had set an example for them, they said. Though he had fallen, thousands would rise up to take his place.

His father spoke too. "Everyone, young and old, knows who are the murderers of peace-loving people. Pao-kun is dead but his spirit lives on. Comrades! Volunteers! Wipe out these enemies of peace!"

How the Tillers Win Back Their Land—V

# Red, Yellow and White

Hsiao Ch'ien

The rain gradually came to a stop as dusk approached.

It was a new Huilung *hsiang* that greeted the sunrise the following morning. On the dykes on either side of the quietly flowing Pigeon River, one could see tall, withered grass weighed down by raindrops, glistening in the early morning sun. A soft breeze sang through the telephone wires.

There were women laundering by the pond and men with baskets on their backs cutting grass. From time to time one of them would straighten up and stare at the graveyard south of the temple. "So tyrants are made of flesh and blood too, and a few bullets can easily dispose of them! You, Peng Yin-ting, why don't you get up again to bully us? And you, Peng Erh-hu, where are your old airs now?"

For thousands of years it had been the invariable rule for people like Fu-chuan and Grandma Li to be kicked around, swallow insults and cringe without hitting back. But the sight of the two tyrants gone down before the law had instilled confidence into them and the last vestige of fear for the landlords was dispelled.

The day was December 18 and, for a change, instead of Lu Yang going out to call on the peasants, they had come to look for him. One of them reported how a certain "big family" had sunk their pewterware into a pond to avoid confiscation. Another came lugging a number of trunks and bundles which some landlord had deposited with him before the arrival of the Work Team. "I now understand," he said, "that these things are really ours, and I'll be damned if I act as 'an airraid-shelter\*' any more."

\* Term used by peasants indicating a hiding place for landlords and their properties.

*This is the fifth instalment of a seven-part reportage-novelette dealing with the agrarian reform in Hunan Province. The fourth instalment described the public trial of three landlord-saboteurs. The sixth instalment will describe the confiscation of the landlords' land, farm tools, livestock and surplus houses and grain, and the assessment of the annual yields of the individual pieces of land, ending with the final distribution of land.*

*The illustrations are by Chiang Chao-ho.*

What kept Lu Yang busiest, however, was the registration of militia members.

"Comrade Lu," Li Ta-ming, a farmhand from Li Garden, thus addressed him. "Please put down my wife's name too. We would like to do night patrol together."

"Comrade Lu!" This came from Tu Yu-chen, who bounced into the room. "My mother-in-law says it's all right for me to join." At first Tu Yu-chen had wanted to enlist in the militia in spite of her mother-in-law's strong opposition. Lu Yang had dissuaded her from it, saying that such over-straining of relations would only create greater handicaps. He'd advised her then, "Come when she's changed her mind." Now Tu Yu-chen had her wish. She also confided in Lu Yang that she had sent word to her ferryman husband to quit his present job and come back for a share of land.

Chun-hsing also joined, and that was a big event. Ever since she became a member of the Women's Small Group, she had stubbornly refused to return to Big House Lo. To the Lo family she had this to say: "For me to go on being a child-bride is out of the question. You want me to pay for what I've

eaten during the five years, don't you? All right and good. First you must pay me my five years' wages. During the past five years, I've fed pigs and cattle, spun three ounces of yarn a day and woven I don't know how many hundreds of yards of cloth for you. Pay me my wages and I'll pay you my board."

She owed this brilliant stratagem to the instruction of Mrs. Peng Hsin-wu. As had been more or less expected, the Lo family at first yammered about a lawsuit but thought better of it.

All the militia members being activists of the village, scarcely a night went by without their patrolling around, armed with spears, to watch over the landlords. When off duty, they attended night schools where they studied how to differentiate between the various classes. The school, sponsored by the *hsiang* Peasants' Association, was located in the Lo Family's Primary School in Big House Lo. There the peasant-pupils all sat on long benches and they easily filled the classroom. Grandma Li, Fu-chuan, Chun-hsing, Tu Yu-chen—they all attended classes regularly and threw themselves heart and soul into the study of this fundamental work so essential to land reform.

In the night school Lu Yang first explained the purpose behind this class differentiation—to draw a clear line of demarcation between peasants and landlords, between friends and enemies. He pointed out how necessary it was in the work of preparing the further transformation of rural society. As to how the actual differentiation was to be made, Lu Yang's approach was to get at the essential points first and avoid the technical details. For instance, he pointed out that a rich peasant differed from a landlord by taking part in labour and that whether a person was to be classified as a rich peas-

ant or middle peasant depended on whether or not his income from exploitation exceeded 25 per cent of his total annual income. Middle peasants depended chiefly upon their own labour for their living and did not usually hire themselves out. Those who only slightly exploited others without overshooting the 25 per cent mark were to be considered well-to-do middle peasants. Poor peasants were those who had to cultivate land and sell their labour power as well. Farmhands generally had neither land nor farm tools, and depended mainly on the sale of their labour power for their living.



"Class differentiation" was taught at the night school.

Then with the Village Chairman and Chairman of the Peasants' Association as guides, the peasants picked out a few landlords and rich peasants from the three homesteads in Hsinlu Village and discussed each individual case.

While class differentiation was being taught in the night school, members of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants began making tentative classifications on the basis of what they had learnt. Small Group Leader Peng Hsin-wu had gone through a three month land reform training course in town shortly after his discharge from the army. Therefore he led the others in making classifications, starting with the big families. In the course of classifying, they also had a chance to investigate all the related problems touching each landlord or rich peasant such as their labour conditions, the extent of their exploitation, the number of labourers they hired from 1946

to 1949 and whether or not they practised usury.

There was the case of a woman in Big House Lo who had a 6-year-old boy. Her husband, formerly a battalion commander in the KMT Army, had not been heard from since 1945. Her land was all rented out and she had lent out money. Both Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming voted for making her a landlord.

Hsin-wu wanted to know why, and Fu-chuan answered, "She never laboured. And that's not all. Didn't her husband help the reactionaries fight us? What else could she be if not a landlord?"

Chun-hsing, whose experience as a child-bride in Big House Lo made her qualified to judge, thought so too and justified her opinion by remarking that the woman was "mean and catty."

Good-naturedly Hsin-wu went into a detailed explanation. "The degree of exploitation," he pointed out, "should be our chief consideration in class differentiation. We must not confuse class status and political background. As for personal likes or dislikes, there is still less reason for their entering into the matter. It's not as though she were actually anti-revolutionary, in which case she'd certainly be arrested. She has no labour power in her family and the amount of land she rents out is quite small. Therefore a small land lessor\* is the correct classification for her."

\* \* \*

This went on for over 10 days. A great many peasant activists in Hsinlu Village succeeded in grasping the correct standard for class-differentiation. The Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants made out a tentative list of local landlords and rich peasants and submitted it to the Peasants' Association for inspection. A two-day check-up followed, mainly to see if any rich peasant had

been classified as a landlord by mistake. Then came the first Class Differentiation Meeting, this time inside the temple, in the big hall.

The day before, all those who had been classified as landlords had been notified by the Peasants' Association to register punctually at eight o'clock in the morning. The meeting place was simply furnished with a square table and a few benches placed beneath the portrait of Chairman Mao. Before the landlords showed up, the hall was already filled with peasants. Tu Yu-chen's ex-ferryman husband cheerfully threaded his way through the crowd with a fat baby in his arms and a broad grin on his face. "Catch me wandering outside," said he, "when I can get a share of land at home!"

When the landlords arrived on the scene, the peasants saw that they were followed by a group of the people's militia, including such people as Fu-chuan, Li Ta-ming and Chun-hsing, all carrying spears, alert and vigilant. Most of the landlords, by contrast, looked abject and cowed. A few of them brought along tiny bamboo baskets, in which some charcoal were burning in sand to warm their hands.

Around half past eight, the chairmen of the village and the Peasants' Association and the Secretary of the Village Government, with files, account-books and abaci under their arms, took their seats around the square table, and Lu Yang stood up and called the meeting to order.

"Our Hsinlu Village," said he, "will begin our class differentiation today. We've had half a month of preparation and discussion. Now, the people standing there we regard as landlords. Our decision naturally is backed by strong factual evidence. We'll start by asking them to state their own financial standing. Mind you, we want absolute honesty. If anybody catches them in a lie or a trick, don't hesitate, point it out to their face. Of course, they also

\* Revolutionary armymen, dependents of martyrs, workers, staff members, professional people, pedlers and others, who rent out small portions of land because they are engaged in other occupations or because they are unable to work are to be referred to as small land lessors.

have the right to defend themselves if they think our decision is unjust."

Li Chao-chu was the first landlord to stand up. Considered an educated man because he had gone through a normal school course in Changsha, he had carefully studied every article of the *Agrarian Reform Law* in preparation for this very meeting. He had on a light blue gown, and his small sharp features were half-shaded by a felt hat. His cheeks and chin were protected from the cold by a white towel which he had tied under his hat. After delivering a sketchy account of his financial condition, he cast a scornful glance at the peasants and said in an icy, cutting tone: "Make me a landlord if you like! Remember, however, that I'm not one of those idlers who reap what other people have sown. I labour also. Therefore, if we go by the *Law*, I ought to be classified as a rich peasant."

"In what way have you laboured?" asked Li Ta-ming with suppressed anger. He'd worked as a farmhand for Li Chao-chu for five years.

"When work was busy down in the fields, didn't I also climb out of bed before it was light?" replied Li Chao-chu.

"Sure!" The excited Li Ta-ming rose and pointed his finger at Li Chao-chu. "You climbed out of bed to hustle us farmhands to work. Then you returned to your sleep. Lots of times after I'd fetched six bucketfuls of water, I could still hear you snoring!"

"But," said Li Chao-chu in a faint voice, his cockiness fast disappearing, "I used to go down to the field even when it was raining. If that is not labour, what is?"

"You have the nerve to mention that?" Li Ta-ming noisily spat on the floor to show his contempt. "When we were threshing corn, you stood leisurely by on the fieldpath and 'directed' us. That's all you did. You wanted the corn well threshed. Not one single grain was allowed to go to waste. Our work had to be both fast and thorough. Now, look at me. I started ploughing the field

early in spring when the soil was still frozen hard. My feet were covered with cuts and bruises, and the pain I felt when I washed them in the evening was something awful. Then turning the water-wheel in June under a scorching sun until I felt groggy—you wouldn't understand that either. In August, bringing the hay in would often keep me busy until well into the night. When I finally collapsed on the hay pile, I'd sleep like a log and wake up to find myself covered with dew. These, and lots more, are things that you don't know. I've worked for five landlords. You're all as bad! You all eat a lot but don't stir yourselves. And you talk about labour!"

Uncle Kuang-lin, one of Li Chao-chu's old tenants, also could not contain himself any longer. In a voice shaking with emotion, he said: "I've stood about as much as I can from Li Chao-chu. A few *tan* of land was all I rented from him and what treatment I had to put up with! For every *tan* of land, he must have a chicken as 'extra.' One year his wife bore him a daughter. He was disappointed and took it out on me, saying it was because I had been sending him hens. From that time on, he wouldn't accept anything but roosters. But roosters can't lay eggs, so we had to present him with eggs too, by the hundreds.

"When it was time for him to collect rent, he said there were three kinds of grain he would absolutely refuse to touch: wet grain, flat grain and reddish grain. His invariable rule to test the quality of the grain was first to scoop up a handful and scatter it over the table. Then he'd blow at it hard with all his breath. If the grains of rice remained where they were, he was satisfied. Otherwise he'd say they were bad and refuse to take them."

A young peasant rose and, pointing at Li Chao-chu, said, "My name's Li Jih-chang. I happen to be his nephew but he's treated our

branch of the family as though we were dirt. A year before liberation, mother got jaundice, and we needed money to give her treatment. We borrowed 15 silver dollars from him and paid him two months' interest. Grain was cheap then, so he calculated the loan in terms of grain, and said it was 20 *tan*. For four months, he didn't ask for any interest. Quite the big-hearted Master, wouldn't you say? Then came a time when the price of grain went up, since the harvest was a little behind time. He therefore converted the loan into money again. After the autumn crop came in, he turned it back into grain. The result was, after a period of eight months, we found we owed him 58 *tan* of grain. That's why I've no padded clothes to wear in winter. As for him," he flipped open Li Chao-chu's gown to give the people a full view of its fur lining, "Just you see—a fox-fur-lined gown! I don't care if you are my



"A fox-fur-lined gown!"

uncle or not. All I know is you're one of those cruel landlords!"

Seeing that his own nephew had thus turned against him, Li Chao-chu's defenses began to break down. Time and again, he tried to put in a word edgewise, "All right! All right! Call me a landlord!" But the peasants' accusations went on and on. Obviously, to many of them, still getting the pent-up

grievances off their chests was at least as important as class differentiation, possibly even more so. Hence although a queue of would-be landlords had lined up waiting for their turns to speak, Lu Yang gave no sign of trying to cut short or stop the peasants' accusations. On the contrary, as they made the accusations, he noted them down. When he got to some of the crimes, he would throw glances of intense hatred at the landlord, sometimes even muttering, "the son-of-a-bitch," or words to that effect. At the end of each accusation he would turn around to look at the masses expectantly as though saying, "Sure no one has anything more to say? Let's not keep anything back!"

An unfamiliar looking peasant had detached himself from the crowd. With one hand on his hip and the other pointing at Li Chao-chu, he said, "I come from Ssupu of Hsuehhu Village. Our place is high up and the water-supply has always been a problem. Every year we have to pass through his fields to operate the water wheels, and in return pay him seven *tou* of grain a day. If no grain is handy, we must pay him in the second half of the year plus one *tan* interest. Besides that we have to get him enough water to irrigate about three *tou* of land—free. If we'd been paid for it, the wages would have amounted to about one *tan* of grain. In the year 1936, he made over 100 *tan* of grain merely through that scheme, and in a few years' time he had bought another 20 *tan* or so of land. Once before liberation, our village thought of sounding him out on the subject of the 'transit land'—just to see if he was willing to sell. But he just rolled his eyes and answered that the land had been handed down by his ancestors and was therefore sacred! Another hundred or thousand years, and it would still remain in the Li family, he said."

\* \* \*

After five days and five nights of unceasing accusation and struggling, a first list of Hsinlu Village landlords was drawn up. The ones that had given most trouble were the landlords on the street near the Seven Star Slope, because a great many of them were concurrently industrialists and merchants. With every meeting, more new facts and

new methods of exploitation would turn up, thus increasing the peasants' hatred towards their oppressors. Then followed three more days of classifying the rich peasants.

When the lists of landlords and rich peasants were ready, they were passed on to the Peasants' Association and the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants for review. Only one error was found—that of a well-to-do middle peasant who had been included among the rich peasants, and it was quickly corrected. Thus the first "class list" of Hsinlu Village's populace was posted up on the carved wall outside the Pengs' ancestral temple, one white, bearing the names of the landlords, and one yellow, the rich peasants.

When the classification process came around to the farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants, the atmosphere changed completely. True, occasionally after someone had reported on the size of his family, his land, farm implements, draught animals and debts, others who were present might still point out omissions or mistakes. But it was, at the worst, not unlike a family quarrel. A lot of shouting but scarcely any rancour.

Outwardly, too, they were not in conflict. They all sat in rows on the long benches facing one direction and not opposite each other. Some of the women were busy nursing children. Militia members were polishing their spears on their sleeves. A small boy with a copper ring around his neck, a charm, was dashing to and fro in the crowd with the slipperiness of an eel. All present wore the same sort of clothes and everybody was at ease. They knew they were among themselves, and that they all belonged to the exploited class crushed under the millstone of a feudal society.

The reports were accompanied by the noisy computations of an abacus and the Village Secretary busily entered everything in his book. As soon as one peasant had finished, the Chairman of the Peasants' Association would ask, "How do you people think we should classify him?"

The rule was to work from the top down. Therefore the peasants started with those whose life was comparatively less bitter—in other

words, the middle peasants. Naturally some who fell into this category attempted to get themselves lowered. Uncle Kuang-lin was made a "tenant-middle-peasant." Although his land was rented from Li Chao-chu and he laboured himself, yet he owned quite a complete set of implements and never had to sell his labour power. On the whole, his life had not been as difficult as some. Still, he felt disgruntled and, smoothing his head, murmured, "How come I can't be classified as a poor peasant? Do I own one *mou* of land? Don't I have to pay my annual rent to the landlord same as everybody else?"

Lu Yang hastily explained, "In the past, the land wasn't yours. After the land reform, you'll have your own land." Then he added, with a view to reassuring the middle peasants, "The main purpose in class differentiation is to draw a line separating us from the landlords. All of us peasants are in one group. We're all the masters of the countryside. The farmhands and poor peasants of today will soon become middle peasants too, since their wealth will increase after they've got their own land."

The classification of farmhands and poor peasants also proceeded on the basic principle of each reporting on his own financial conditions. Time and again, tragic happenings were recalled. Grandma Li burst out crying when she blurted out the words, "no labour power," which reminded her again of her long lost son.

The tinfoil, incense and candle manufacturers on the street near the Seven Star Slope sent in a request to be made poor peasants. It seemed that business had declined sharply since liberation. After the land reform, they said, the peasants' cultural level would be raised and no one would want to buy superstitious articles any more. Therefore their trade was doomed to go. It seemed to them that the land reform had offered them a merciful "out," and they would like to leave their trade and become peasants. Lu Yang replied that they were still handicraftsmen in the classification; however, in the distribution of land, their cases would certainly be considered.

When the whole thing was over, a file containing all the necessary

information—name, age, amount of land and implements owned, extent of exploiting of others or exploitation sustained—was submitted to the *hsiang* government and the *Hsiang* Peasants' Association for review and ratification.

As a result, the status of some of the peasants was altered. For instance, Lo Tung-sheng of Big House Lo had joined the Red Army during the Great Revolution. When the Red Army marched north, however, he got left behind and made a living out of pushing handcarts, cutting firewood and doing odd jobs. He did not start renting and tilling his four *tou* and five *sheng* of land until after liberation when the landlord had to refund interest on a debt Lo Tung-sheng had been paying interest on for years. Hence his status should be that of a farmhand, but in the file he had been mistakenly listed as a poor peasant.

The second class-list of Hsinlu Village was on red paper. It was posted up beside the first list. The names of all the farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants were on it. All the peasants in the village, together with the children and the old people, rushed over to "take a look at the list." Those who could read stood on tiptoe and called out the names. Even the order of listing appeared significant to them, and as they pronounced each name, some would query, "number how many?"

Among the crowd were Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing, their spears tied with red tassels. Both of them had been attending night school; so they could recognise their own names, although most of the others still remained unintelligible to them.

"Aren't you happy, Fu-chuan," asked Chun-hsing, "that they've made you a farmhand?"

"Me?" Fu-chuan glanced at the list again. "Oh, that's not the only thing I feel happy about."

Hsin-wu, who had been helping other peasants with the names, turned round at this remark.

"What else do you feel happy about, Fu-chuan?"

Pointing to the list posted up on the wall, Fu-chuan replied, "I feel happy because there are so many of us on the red list."

Hsin-wu nodded. "True. Every-

one should bear in mind the fact that there are ever so many of us—and with one heart. On top of this, we have the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. Never, never again will the landlords be able to regain their old position."

On the following day, Lu Yang and a responsible leader of the Peasants' Association summoned all the landlords to the temple for a talk. There they were informed that, if they thought they were unjustly classified as landlords, they could appeal to the County People's Tribunal within the next 15 days. Further, they were told that after the third list,

which was to be final, landlords were to turn over the whole of their land, farm implements, surplus houses and foodstuffs. The money deposited by peasants who rented land was to be refunded. All debts which the peasants owed the landlords prior to liberation were to be cancelled. In case a landlord had sold some land or draught animals to others after liberation, he must either try to get them back or pay their equivalent value in cash. Until the Peasants' Association officer took things over, they were ordered to protect very carefully what was to be confiscated. If anything were damaged or missing, they would be held responsible. In conclusion, Lu Yang told the landlords that they were not allowed to have guests staying in their houses and that whenever they wanted to leave the village, they must first obtain permission from the Small Group leader.

Next, the rich peasants were called together. They, too, were allowed to appeal to the People's Tribunal. Then Lu Yang reiterated the government's policy of preserving the rich peasant economy, adding, however, that according to the *Agrarian Reform Law*, the portion of land they rented out would be requisitioned after the ratification of the District Government, since it was a well-known fact that Huilung *hsiang* had a shortage of land. The land they tilled themselves and their other properties would not be touched. Finally Lu Yang urged them to

work hard at production and not listen to rumours. "You can rely on the People's Government," said he, "never to go back on its world."

The complete file of Hsinlu Village's class differentiation documents was put together by Village Chairman Peng Yu-chang and sent to the District Government. A meeting was subsequently called by the Chairman of the District Government of all the land reform cadres of the nine villages, at which he announced that on the whole all nine villages had carried out the task of class differentiation correctly and justly.

In summing up the cadres' reports, he pointed out a few cases which deserved close study. One was a rich peasant in Shihchiao Village, Second Division, who insisted on giving up part of the land he tilled himself. Naturally, the cadres declined to accept it. The incident was a significant one in so far as it reflected some uneasiness which still existed in the minds of some of the rich peasants. "We haven't yet fully convinced them of our policy of preserving the rich peasant economy; hence they dare not as yet devote themselves wholeheartedly to production. More energetic propaganda work is necessary, as only in this way can we rid them of their unwarranted scruples and fears."

Then there was the affair of Liao Cho-nan. Himself Village Chairman of Shuangfeng Village, Third Division, yet he helped landlord Liao Peng-fei "slip through" part of his land with the result that the latter was made a rich peasant instead of a landlord. The fraud was quickly discovered. Liao who was exposed as an old henchman of the landlord had cunningly slipped into the job of village chairman. He was yanked from his post, and his name was struck off from the membership list of the local Peasants' Association. His accomplices also had their membership suspended. This went to show that vigilance must not be relaxed and, as the peasants' organisation expanded through struggles with the landlords, the importance of "cleaning house" must not be overlooked. He finally summed up the experiences of the nine villages in drawing class differentiations. The proper method, he said, was to work from the top down: first, enemies;



then, friends; and last, our own people. Outstanding cases should be dealt with before routine ones, and complex cases should be saved till the last. In dealing with farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants, a little leniency wouldn't do any harm. One couldn't, however, be too exact when faced with landlords.

The final lists were duly ratified by the District Government and sent back to the village to be posted up. That was a big day—the biggest, in fact, since the land reform work got underway in Hsinlu Village. Once more, a platform was set up in front of the temple, and the wall was splashed with slogans like: "Follow the Communist Party forever!" "Long live the unity of peasants!" and "Wipe out the feudal landlord class!" Everyone in Hsinlu Village came out to attend the meeting and to read the final decision of his class status which in turn would decide his status economically as well as politically.

It was a cloudy day. Occasionally, white flakes of snow would drift past. Li Chao-chu stood shivering as he read his name on

the white list, the list of landlords. He had on only a torn, thinly padded jacket and a battered hat that was pulled down practically to his eyebrows. He dared not risk having other people point at his fox-lined gown again. Behind him stood a few other landlords. Not very many to begin with, and everyone of them looked downcast and apprehensive, with knit eyebrows and lowered heads.

The rich peasants by contrast were quite different. Their number was also small. Chu Yao-hsien was there, with a hat which came down right over his head, leaving only his eyes and his nose exposed. He wore, in addition, a woolen muffler around his neck, and he was more than usually quiet. Others, however, were placidly smoking their long "water pipes." Manipulating the spill with one hand, they puffed and inhaled noisily.

The long, lively and jubilant team of farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants entered the meeting place together, in formations. Li Ta-ming marched ahead of the rest, carrying a huge red banner, on which were embroidered the

characters: "Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association, Second Division." Behind him were gongs and drums and several rows of militia armed with shining spears. Women, young men and children followed, all waving flags with anti-feudal slogans. In no time at all, the entire space was taken up while the tail of the procession was as yet invisible. The handful of landlords and rich peasants were asked to step to one side and give them the room. Even so, some of the peasants still had to remain outside the meeting place.

After singing the national anthem, Comrade Chao Chieh-min spoke up: "What is land reform for anyway? To do away with all the privileges which this handful of people," pointing at the landlords, "have assumed in order to exploit you all," and he made a wide gesture taking in the greater part of the audience. "So long as the strong team of peasants remains organised and closely united in production, education and self-defence, there isn't any doubt but that we will pull clean out the last roots of feudalism. . . ."

## For A Genuine Peace Treaty with Japan

(Continued from page 9)

are a part of China's sacred territory. This is known and admitted even by the American buccaneers. The Chinese people will never tolerate the U.S. support for the KMT bandit clique and its armed aggression and invasion of Taiwan. Taiwan and the Penghu Islands will be liberated.

At the same time the Soviet Union stresses the need to limit the size of the Japanese armed forces so as to prevent the remilitarisation of Japan, and the withdrawal of all occupation troops so that no foreign country may maintain armed forces or military bases in that country. Japan too must not be allowed to enter into any coalition directed against any one of the states that had participated with its armed forces in the war against militaristic Japan. This is intended to safeguard lasting peace in Asia, to root out the possibilities of another disaster caused by Japanese militarisation and prevent Japan from being used by other states as the tool of aggression.

The Soviet insistence on the need for the democratisation of Japan and that she be allowed to develop her peaceful economy and normal trade is inseparable from the defence of peace and the security and vital interests of the Far Eastern countries. The demilitarisation of Japan and the prevention of the revival of Japanese militarism can only be achieved on the basis of the democratisation of Japan. And this too is the only basis for the development of the peaceful productive activities and

trade of Japan to raise her people's living standards. By these means Japan's economic and trade relations with other countries will be directed along the right channels without being permitted to expand at the expense of its neighbours. This will help establish stable commercial relations based on mutual benefit between Japan and other states.

Clearly perceiving the truth of these arguments, the Japanese people welcome these opinions and proposals of the Soviet Union. Only by concluding an overall peace treaty on the basis of such proposals can the state of war against Japan be entirely brought to an end, and Japan be preserved from being turned into a colony and military base and reserve of cannon fodder for the U.S. government's aggressive wars. Only so can the Japanese nation be freed from the dangers that threaten her in the mad gamble of the U.S. imperialists.

Once they are ensured their democratic rights, the Japanese people will travel with confidence the democratic road of a free, peaceful and happy life.

Is there any doubt, then, where the interests of all peace-loving people lie? The U.S. Draft Treaty with Japan aims at extending its wars of aggression by rearming Japan on a grand scale and reviving Japanese militarism. The Soviet Union's proposals stand for the defence of lasting peace in the Far East and the security and vital interests of the Asian and Australasian countries.

The People's China will strive with every effort for the conclusion of a peace treaty based on these just proposals of the U.S.S.R.

Book Review

## The Moving Force

Two years ago, at the All-China Conference of Writers and Artists, the critic Chou Yang pointed out the shortage of books depicting industrial production and the working class. "Formerly," he said, "because our work was concentrated on the rural areas, the great majority of our works reflected rural struggle and production."

In the two years that have elapsed there has been an astonishing and vital growth of artistic activity among workers themselves. Some of the plays written, produced and acted by workers, such as *Not A Cicada*, dealing with the reform of a wastrel in a factory, and *Gate No. 6*, which tells of the struggles of waterfront transport workers to rid themselves of gang bosses, have met with big and popular approval.

Established writers and artists have gone to the factories to help workers develop their talents. The exchange is two-way, for they study and learn from them, so that the whole content of literature is doubly enriched. Among them was Tsao Ming, a young woman novelist.

### The Authoress

Tsao Ming was born in 1913 in Kwangtung in a poor family and joined the Revolution before she was twenty. The turning-point in her literary life came when she had to flee to Yen-an in 1942 to escape Chiang Kai-shek's White Terror. "In Yen-an," she says, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung constantly impressed on us literary workers the need for us to unite with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to learn from them, write for them, write about them. This truly, I am absolutely convinced, is the right path for every literary worker to take." Tsao Ming went to Northeast China in 1945 to participate in land reform and "to study and learn from the peasants." Later she spent "some time in Northeastern factories. In one I joined the trade union and did trade union work. In another I helped the

workers with their literary activities and taught them cultural subjects."

It was in this way that Tsao Ming gathered material for her novel on industrial construction. She lived for five months in a Northeast power plant, and the result is *The Moving Force*, a vivid, realistic and exciting account of the rebirth of a hydroelectric power plant built on Jade Girdle Lake by the Japanese with forced labour, built at the cost of 15,000 workers' lives, despoiled and abandoned by the KMT bandits, and saved from total destruction and put back into use by the workers' own ingenuity and courage. In the transformation from destruction to construction, the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, surmounted many difficulties and overpowered all saboteurs. We see their rapidly growing class consciousness, their intense struggle with the reactionary forces and their new attitude towards labour.

The chief character of the book, Old Sun, has much of the typical Chinese worker about him, though a bitter life has made him cautious to a greater degree than most. A man of 48, he had once been a poor farmer and deserted the famished land with his wife and child to earn the rice and flour which industry promised, only to find himself cheated. He suffered under imperialism, in his case Japanese imperialism, saw his son killed blasting for the Japanese to build Jade Girdle power station and watched his wife die of grief. He is a good, honest, hard-working man.

The Red Army of the Soviet Union freed Northeast China from the Japanese and for the first time "brought him the conviction that all men are born equal and that all the workers of the world are brothers." He did not know how the new society which this proclaimed would come or develop, he only knew "for certain that it was in the process of development." Even when the KMT retreated and

he cheated its officials into flooding the plant but not destroying it, he was not sure. He knew the plant needed workers and the workers needed the plant.

Now, when the KMT is gone and the plant lies ice-bound, silent, inactive, he dreams, like other true workers, that "the day might come when the machine shed should be in good shape, that the authorities should send someone to repair the machines, for once they were repaired electricity could be generated, and the people could work hard and have a decent life." Sun is so sure of the truth of his dream that he leads the workers to break the ice that binds the machines and to salvage turbine oil.

That, however, is as far as they can go on their own initiative, an ironic comment on the fact that under the old society technical skill remained a jealously guarded monopoly of a small, educated and privileged group. A worker's initiative and skill was never allowed opportunity to develop. And since this small group fled when the KMT left, the workers of the power plant can go no further—as yet. They must wait for direction, for the impulse that will lead them on and develop their own capacities.

### New Forces

When Wang Yung-ming, a Communist, arrives from headquarters to become director, bringing with him skilled workers from another plant and three engineers, a new stage in the plant's rehabilitation is begun. The workers have the backing of the Northeast People's Government. They have the leadership of the Communist Party. The repair of the machinery progresses. But the workers are far from a united body.

There are good ones among them like Old Sun and Wu Hsiang-tai, a newly-introduced worker and a Communist. "There are plenty of good ones at the works, plenty. . . ." says Wu. There are also, however, Tung the Timeserver, who did service for the Japanese and the KMT,

a product of puppet "Manchukuo" who flatters his superiors and bullies his subordinates, and his nephew who hopes for the KMT's return. There are workers who aren't yet sure of the meaning of the new society and cannot see the value of putting their greatest efforts into their work. There is Chang who finds it difficult to respect the Eighth Route Army's high cadres because they dress and act so simply and "don't even look as awesome as a 'Manchukuo' police chief."

### The Technicians

There are the three engineers. Ladylike Lu, the Assistant Director, and the Yang brothers, educated in Japan and imbued with fascist ideas, contemptuous of "uneducated" workers, secretive with their knowledge, preoccupied with "face" and a false sense of their own dignity. Finally there is Chen Tsu-ting, brought in by Director Wang, an honest and enthusiastic technician but one who compensates for his own lack of the qualities of leadership by bureaucratic methods and the issuing of orders until, as one of the workers complains, "Democracy, the workers are the masters of the world!"—even the blackboard in the classroom is sick of it!"

To unite these men of varying class backgrounds, to bring them into close co-operation, raise the class consciousness of the workers and weed out any dangerous elements that might still be plotting for the KMT, is not an easy task. Director Wang himself has faults. He is impatient and at times bureaucratic, and puts too much faith in Chen Tsu-ting, who has become Chairman of the Workers' Union. It is only when the first generator to be repaired burns out through the over-confidence of the engineers and their refusal to listen to the workers' suggestions that the disunity among the workers and its root causes are brought to light.

The incident is gone into carefully. Wang Yung-ming, through criticism and self-criticism, realises his own faults. He had not spent enough time among the workers. He had placed too much trust in Chen Tsu-ting, and Chen's attitude had held the workers back. "I'm conscientious all right," he says, "but I don't let anything out of my hands, I haven't the strength

to trust the people." This very ability of the Communists to recognise their own faults and correct them, to keep always the aim of the greater benefit of the people before them, and their whole-hearted and sincere love for the people, wins the workers over and gives them the enthusiasm and direction they required for their tasks. They had never met such people before, and never thought that leadership could be identified with themselves.

Old Sun—and he speaks for the good workers—impressed by this honesty and sincerity, breaks through his own reticence and humility. "Growing up in the old society he had been oppressed and down-trodden all his life, and this had sapped his courage." Now he remembers the advice Wu Hsiang-tai had once given him: "When the time comes, speak out," and reveals everything concerning the plant and the workers' feelings that he had been concealing in his heart. From this point the workers, the Communist Party, the specialists and management come together and merge.

The second generator is repaired. The workers' enthusiasm is now high, and even the engineers cannot resist it, but share their knowledge so that their skills become part of the common treasury. The lights go on, lights for the city, the factories and the villages. Electricity and light, in fact, are one more family tie between the workers and peasants.

It is at this point that the scum of society, inside and outside the factory, maddened by this success, make one more bid to inject destruction into this work of peaceful construction. The group, however, is already too tightly knit for their schemes. Their class consciousness is raised. Workers, their wives, the engineers, have one aim—to repair the plant, bring it into operation, put its power to the use of the people. Characteristically, Tsao Ming gives to the wife of one of the workers, a true working-class woman, the role of the first discoverer of the counter-revolutionary plot.



In the last chapter of the book we are present at the election of labour heroes in the plant. Three are outstanding, the representatives of the best among the workers. Wu Hsiang-tai who had willingly borne the brunt of any difficult task, sacrificing himself for the common good, skilled in helping others to improve. Liu Yueh-hsuan, who has a fine record in discovery and invention and in studying substitutes that could be used. And above all, Old Sun, who had maintained the good traditions of the proletariat, capable of self-sacrifice, "an obscure hero who had doggedly worked on in spite of difficulties," one who led the way and "inspired the rest," good at "promoting unity between the leaders and the masses" and at uniting the men and directing the strength of the whole group.

### A New Beginning

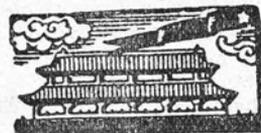
This success, however, is not an end but a beginning. They have more on their minds now, a co-operative, a medical department, a club for the workers, a school. The Women's Group is being strengthened. There are sanitation and safety measures to be attended to. They have become a community, vibrant, pressing forward. They are reaching out in new directions. Old Sun, listening to the sound of the rushing water in the big conduit, says to himself, "What force the water has—it sounds as joyful as the young workmen!" It is indeed not water and oil that make the moving force, but the workers, whose strength and determination is carrying them on to "even more beautiful and splendid things."

Tsao Ming's novel is not perfect. Some of the characters are incompletely drawn. Nevertheless, she has written a moving story of the prowess, integrity and creativeness of the Chinese working class. She has drawn a realistic and convincing picture of the difficulties that confront it, of the ragtag and bobtail, ideas as well as people, of an old, corrupt society that have to be overcome, and its triumphant surmounting of all difficulties under the leadership and guidance of its own Party. Her novel is a fore-runner, the first to be written on this theme, the first fruits of a harvest that will be rich.

—Kung Ho

## CURRENT CHINA

May 26—June 10

**More Aid to Korea**

A call for contributions to buy more planes, tanks and other heavy equipment for the Chinese people's volunteers aiding Korea is contained in a June 2 message to the nation from the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression. This is in response to an appeal from the Chinese People's Delegation to Korea which recently returned to Peking from the Korean Front. The message also calls for a further development of the campaign to sign patriotic pledges and to pay greater attention to the dependents of volunteers and those who have sacrificed their lives in the cause of liberation.

Peking workers were among the first to contribute part of their earnings for planes. Industrialists and businessmen in the capital are contributing 27 planes. The people of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region are contributing 12 planes. Noted writers including Ting Ling have turned over their book royalties to the fund.

Over ¥118 billion were contributed by people throughout China by May 30 to purchase gifts for the KPA and the Chinese people's volunteers and for the relief of Korean refugees. In addition, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression has collected 1,264,000 gifts and 774,000 gift parcels.

The People's Delegation to Korea is sending its members to all the 2,050 counties of the country to publicise the donation campaign to hasten an early and final victory for the democratic forces in Korea.

**Co-ops Assist in Production**

The All-China Federation of Co-operatives at its 12-day national conference, ending on June 2, reviewed the development of co-operative work throughout the country. The conference stressed the need for handicraft production co-ops, fishery co-ops as well as urban consumers' co-ops and rural supply and distribution co-ops.

**Nation of Peace-Lovers**

More than half of China's population have signed in support of a 5-Power Peace Pact and voted against the rearming of Japan, states an announcement by China's Peace Committee on June 6. Over 246,000,000 people or 51.8 per cent of the population have signed the appeal while 247,140,000 or 52 per cent of the population have voted against the rearming of Japan.

**Tibet Agreement Hailed**

News of the conclusion of the *Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet* was received with joy in all parts of the country. In various cities spontaneous demonstrations welcomed the Tibetan people back to the big family of the Motherland. The most joyful celebrations were held in the provinces bordering Tibet where the festivities were on an even larger scale than those held during the lunar New Year.

Panchen Ngoerhtehni has paid tribute to the leadership of Chairman Mao. He has also cabled the Dalai Lama his congratulations on Tibet's peaceful liberation and pledged sincere co-operation.

Panchen Ngoerhtehni left Peking on June 2 for Chinghai. On the same date, Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme, chief Tibetan delegate, left with his colleagues for Tibet.

**Cotton Sowing Completed**

The cotton sowing plan is nearing completion all over the country. In certain areas the plans have been surpassed. The North China area, which accounts for some 40 per cent of China's cotton production, overfulfilled its plan by more than three million *mou* and Shantung Province, by 600,000 *mou*. Despite a drought that threatened, an additional 495,000 *mou* have been planted to cotton in the North-east's Liaohsi Province.

Both Northwest and Southwest China have completed the sowing. Honan Province has planted 100,000 *mou* over the plan.

**Flow of Local Products**

To accelerate the interflow of products, the Northeast region in mid-May concluded Local Products Barter Agreements with North and Central-South China, according to the May 30 issue of Peking's *People's Daily*.

Products to be bartered between Northeast and North China are worth ¥10 billion. According to the terms of the agreement, the former will deliver over 1,400,000 catties of apples, medicinal herbs, etc. to North China in exchange for chestnuts, walnuts, dates, onions and mats.

According to the agreement with the Central-South region, the Northeast will supply 29 types of products including lard, bacon and musk. In return, the Central-South area will send the Northeast *tung* oil, lotus-seeds, etc. The barter agreement covers the exchange of products valued at over ¥26 billion. The two areas will extend the barter arrangement for 1951 to cover the exchange of products valued at over ¥200 billion.

**Tea Trade Reviews**

China's tea trade has regained the ground lost after several decades' decline. Last year's tea exports doubled the 1949 level, with the Soviet Union and People's Democracies as the biggest customers.

**Seed Selection Campaign**

A 4-point directive from the Ministry of Agriculture launched a nation-wide wheat seed selection campaign on May 30. Measures proposed by the directive can be taken in plenty of time for the coming summer harvest and will help increase crop yields in the next harvest.

**Clubs for Workers**

New China aims to establish at least one club in every factory by the end of this year. Already thousands of clubs are operating. More are being established every month.

Besides the club, workers in 26 municipalities have well-equipped cultural and entertainment centres exclusively set up for them. Four special mobile cultural trains are touring the smaller centres.

## Children's Day

On June 1, children throughout China marked their own day with celebrations, garden parties, camp fires and athletic meets. In Peking, combat heroes, model workers, writers and artists were invited to take part in their celebrations.

## Korean Front

U.S. and satellite troop losses totalled over 54,100 in 43 days' fighting ending June 3. Between April 22 and May 21, 10,873 U.S. troops were killed, wounded or taken prisoner out of the enemy's total losses of 46,302. A breakdown of the rest shows: 4,585 British, 132 French, 1,060 Turks, 335 Filipinos, 3 Chiang Kai-shek gangsters, and 29,314 Syngman Rhee puppet troops, killed, wounded or captured. In the same time, 168 enemy planes were destroyed and 68 damaged.

Reports from Tokyo disclose that the ashes of 4,500 Japanese killed in Korea were recently brought back to Yokohama. In order to conceal the fact that Japanese were used in the aggressive war against Korea, the U.S. occupation authorities forbade the relatives of the dead to hold funerals.

## Cultural Relations

**The New Czechoslovak Exhibition**, sponsored by the Liaison Bureau for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, opened on May 28 at the Working People's Palace of Culture in Peking. Ambassador Weiskopf of Czechoslovakia presided at the opening ceremony.

Over 200 people attended, including Vice-Premier Kuo Mo-jo, writers, artists and others. The exhibits include factory models, machines, industrial products, pictures and sculptures.

**A New China and Crafts Exhibition**, held by the India-China Friendship Association in Calcutta from May 12 to 16, drew large crowds of visitors.

The exhibits included works of porcelain and ivory, Hunan embroidery, charts and photographs which showed the improved conditions in the rural areas as well as the progress in industry, education and the political life of New China.

## Berlin Youth Festival

China will send 200 young people to the World Youth Festival in Berlin, according to the report of Liang Ken, the Chinese Youth

## Spring Water Conservancy Projects Near Completion

This year's gigantic water conservancy projects are well ahead of schedule and in many places nearing completion. Over five million people have been engaged in the work this spring.

Along the Huai River nearly all the earthwork involved in this year's plan has been completed. A total of over 2,200,000 workers, technicians, engineers, students, medical workers and government cadres have been working on the great project of harnessing this difficult river.

The main effort is now concentrated on constructing reservoirs on the upper and middle reaches.

On the Yellow River, once the scourge of China, nearly 500,000 people have been repairing and reinforcing the dykes. To date, over 14 million cubic metres of earthworks have been built. The whole project aims at containing a flow as swift as that of 1933, which destroyed over three and a half million people and vast areas of farmland. It will be finished before the summer floods set in.

In Central-South China, apart from the Huai River, a total of 113,000,000 cubic metres of earthworks were moved this spring. The 530,000 hectares of land on the vast plain between the Yangtse River and the Han River will be protected from floods. Dykes and embankments along the rivers of Kwangtung Province and around Tungting Lake have also been reinforced.

Two hundred and twenty thousand workers of East China finished dredging the middle reaches of the Yi River and the drainage system of the whole river basin by late April. This river can now no longer flood its banks even if the flow reaches 3,200 cubic metres of water per second. Moreover, the work has removed another menace, that of large temporary lakes forming on the land in periods of excessive rain. Excess rain will now drain off into the river.

Intensive water conservancy work is still being carried out in North and Northeast China and in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. In the dry regions of Northwest and Southwest China work has been concentrated this spring on the building up of canal systems to irrigate the land.

delegate to the Preparatory Committee of the festival. This delegation will be composed of outstanding representatives of China's youth, cultural and athletic groups.

## Protest to UPU

Despite repeated protests and a warning from China, the Universal Postal Union Executive and Liaison Commission excluded the People's Republic of China from the UPU at its meeting in Switzerland, on May 21. It invited the illegal representative of the KMT reactionary clique. Director-General Su Yunung of the Postal Administration of China on May 31 protested against this illegal act.

## Germany-China Friendship

A reception was held in Peking on June 5 in honour of Germany-China Friendship Month which began on June 6. It was sponsored by Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression, and attended by Johannes Konig, Chief of the Diplomatic Mission of the German Democratic Republic, and others.

Kuo Mo-jo and Konig exchanged greetings. Both speakers pointed out that the unity of the two peoples will defeat imperialism on the eastern and western fronts and strengthen the world peace camp.



## PICTORIALS FOR THE PEOPLE

Friendly rivals in the mass pictorial field, three large quarto-size pictorials with brilliantly coloured covers today attract all eyes on the bookstalls of our cities.

With its current number in six languages, the *China Pictorial*, which started its publication in July, 1950, has become one of the most popular magazines of New China. This is as one might expect, for this monthly magazine is a picture record of the People's China today. In its pages you actually see what is happening from end to end of the vast country in these great times in which we live. The *Pictorial's* success is duplicated by the success of the *PLA Pictorial* and the *Chinese Workers' Pictorial*.

In its present form the *China Pictorial* has taken its pick of make-up men, artists, photographers, technicians and presses and built its success up on the best traditions of its local Liberated Area predecessors—the *Northeast Pictorial* and the *Shantung Pictorial* that appeared as soon as those areas were liberated.

Its special feature is topicality. It carried vivid pictures from the Korean front from the first weeks of that epic struggle between a free people and the American invaders. Recent numbers have followed the advance of the land reform, the rapid development of agriculture and industry. Its initiative in opening up new fields is well shown in the coloured reproductions of the famous Tunhuang murals which we re-publish in this number of *People's China*. This parallels its work in popularising contemporary art, sculpture, painting and the graphic arts, and the use of cartoons and stories.

The *China Pictorial* covers a wider national field than any other similar journal but the honour of being the first national pictorial for the people's China actually belongs to the *Chinese Workers' Pictorial* which first appeared in January, 1950, published by the All-China Federation of Labour. Unlike the other two pictorials, however, this is not a periodical. It has so far

appeared as part of the publicity drives around the great labour movements. Its first number surveyed the history of China's Trade Union movement; its second, the work of national construction; the third, the work of Labour Heroes. The coming fourth issue will deal with the movement to resist American imperialism and aid Korea. The fifth and six issues will record the patriotic emulation movement; the seventh will sum up the first results of the Labour Insurance Law and the eighth will review the past year's achievements. Like the *China Pictorial*, it is also multilingual, appearing in Chinese, English and Russian.

### PLA Pictorial

The *PLA's Pictorial*, a monthly in a similar format, first appeared in February, 1951, a worthy successor of the more than 100 local PLA pictorials which, by the end of 1949, were being published in various parts of the country. It records the achievements of the defence forces and introduces its readers to the latest techniques and fighting experiences, and the role of the people's forces in the worldwide struggle for peace. It carries photographs from no less than 600 experienced war photographers, several of whom are now with the people's volunteers in Korea. Its circulation continues to climb up.

It is almost impossible, however, to assess the total number of read-

ers of these pictorials because their pages play an additional role as the raw material of countless wall newspapers in factories, farms, schools and institutions, in shop windows and at street corners. The double page spread of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which accompanied the eight-page picture story of the salient points of his life carried in the January number of the *China Pictorial*, has surely been taken out of most numbers for framing.

In the early days of the revolution the woodcut had perforce to perform many of the functions of the technically more advanced lithograph or photogravure. Now pictorials are taking the place the woodcut so effectively filled as mass propagandist, particularly in newly liberated areas and among the national minorities. It is for this reason that the *China Pictorial* has pressed ahead so rapidly with its plans to publish in other languages as well as Chinese. By February, 1951, our bigger national minorities found in their hands copies of the *China Pictorial* in their own languages, in Tibetan, Mongolian and Uighur. In addition, English and Russian editions are going abroad.

These three pictorials are already national institutions as popular among the children as the grown-ups, as eagerly looked forward to in Peking as in the Tibetan foothills of the Himalayas.



A Peasants' Spare-time School

Woodcut by Ku Yuan

# Letters from Our Readers

## From a Volunteer

To the Editor:

One warm spring day at the Korean front while shells were bursting around us, we received a shipment of gifts—presents from our international friends, the Hungarian people. Though many thousands of miles separate the Korean front and Hungary, the shipment of sweets, tinned goods and other items were treasured by us all not only for the pleasure of receiving the gifts but because they reminded us of the great Hungarian people and their close ties with us.

In Korea I have learned many lessons from the heroic Korean people who are fighting for the freedom, unity and independence of their Motherland. The strong will and the confidence in ultimate victory of the Korean people remains unconquered. I have seen thousands and thousands of tons of bombs dropped by American aircraft burn this green peninsula and turn it into a land of deserts. But these crimes can only raise the tide of vengeance of the Korean people.

The strength of the peoples in the East has proved that victory belongs to us and that all imperialist systems are nothing but paper tigers. For example, when an American soldier named Lon Schwartz was captured by us on the southern shore of the Han River, he said to me trembling, "I'm afraid." And there are countless such examples among the American soldiers who have been duped to become cannon-fodder for the Wall Street bosses.

We in Korea have the determined will to fight. I know that only

a life which is ready to make sacrifices for the great cause of mankind's liberation is worth living.

Tu Shao-chuan

(A Chinese people's volunteer)  
Somewhere in Korea  
May 26, 1951

## U.S. Consulate Scandals

To the Editor:

Four homosexuals in the American Consulate-General in Hongkong have been fired.

One of them, John Wayne Williams (25) of Carrboro, North Carolina, admitted that he had, as an official of the Visa Department, accepted bribes and gifts amounting to US\$10,000.

The names of the other three dismissed persons were not revealed in an announcement from Washington.

Williams' case is, of course, not an isolated one in the long history of corruption and malpractices in which American officialdom has indulged. Williams was unlucky. He was caught and exposed. Thousands today in the U.S. are living in luxury on the fruits of their ill-gotten gains from UNRRA, from CNRRA and from the thousand-and-one murky channels in which they wallowed with their KMT henchmen during the palmy days of the "Get Rich Period" that followed the Japanese surrender.

The period from 1945 until the liberation of the mainland was, perhaps, the most sordid in the history of China—a saga of American-KMT graft that outshone even Chicago or New York in the heyday of the Capones and Dillingers.

And today, the story is unchanged in any place where the Americans maintain officials. The Hongkong scandal is just one small, isolated incident in the vast theatre of corruption that goes on behind the shelter of the Stars and Stripes.

What the Americans forgot to announce when they fired Williams was that most of his victims were Chinese. When a consular employee can sport a high-priced Lincoln luxury car, then his victims must have either been very rich or there were a lot of them.

There were a lot of them—poor people. Most of Williams' "business" was done with families of overseas Chinese living in the U.S. Many were the tragic scenes enacted in Edinburgh House in Hongkong (the Visa Section was formerly there) when wives, children and parents—all of them dependent on menfolk in the U.S.—were curtly refused visas. Some were lucky. They paid up and left Hongkong. Others without the cash remained behind and pined.

Today in Hongkong the U.S. Consulate-General occupies huge premises in the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank Building, in a completely new building on Garden Road and over the harbour in Kowloon. It has a huge staff of Americans and it has become the American "listening post" against China and the Chinese people.

But the sorry tale does not end in Hongkong. It seems that wherever American officialdom congregates, then corruption comes in as a welcome guest.

G. B. W.

Hongkong  
May 5, 1951

## STUDY ON PRACTICE

(Continued from page 7)

Various kinds of reactionary trends of mysticism and empiricism have been current among the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie in modern China. Attempts have been made to erect flimsy structures of reactionary philosophical systems. Such reactionary philosophical trends and their remnants have one after another been adjudged bankrupt when confronted with the revolutionary practice

of the people. The re-publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* will be of decisive significance for the elimination of all such philosophical trends or their remnants.

In our country the progressive intellectuals have in the past been seriously contaminated with the bombastic ways of thinking of bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals. There was often lots of verbiage, but little sense.

The re-publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* will

also combat such ways of thinking.

In this work, a very high estimate is placed on the importance of theory. Its purpose is to set people on the correct path of Marxist epistemology so that they may, on the basis of practice, raise theory to a higher and still higher plane in order to continue the task of reconstructing the world. The republication of this work is a great event in the sphere of Marxist theory. It will lead to a new upsurge in theoretical studies in China.

People's China



A Nomad Family of Tibet

by Shih Lu

(Reproduced from *China Pictorial*)

人民畫報

經中國人民郵政登記認為第一類新聞紙類  
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