

# PEKING REVIEW

8

February 23, 1962

## The Struggle for Proletarian Leadership in the New-Democratic Revolution in China

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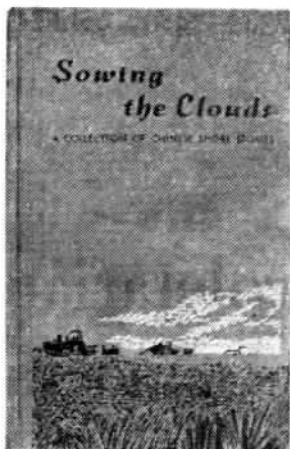
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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# *Sowing the Clouds*

A collection of modern Chinese short stories

by Chou Li-po, Li Chun and others



The ten short stories in this collection are the pick of the latest written by some of China's best-known authors and some talented newcomers. **Sowing the Clouds** by Li Chun tells of the setting up of a weather station in a people's commune and what happens when the forecast of its young meteorologist conflicts with that put out by the county station. It exemplifies what is meant by the Communist Party's call to be "bold in thought, bold in speaking out and bold in action." Chou Li-po contributes a humorous piece on a wedding and a speechmaker. Malchinhu, a young writer of the Mongolian minority people, tells a story of socialist construction in the steppelands with a poignant little reminiscence that does much to explain what it is that animates the enthusiasm of the new socialist people of the Inner Mongolian plains.

**Lingkuan Gorge, Summer Nights, A Fighting Journey** and the rest, by turns lyrical, tender, didactic, give other revealing glimpses of China's new countryside and factories and the life and outlook of her youth and of those who knew well the dark days before liberation.

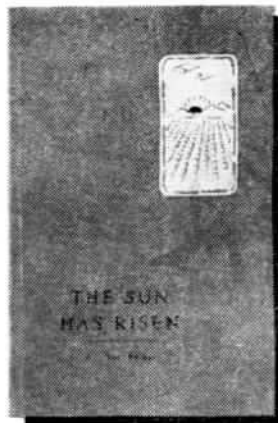
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## THE SUN HAS RISEN

by Ma Feng

The best eight stories by a well-known Chinese author. They cover the years of the struggle to establish a co-operative system of agriculture in China. Written with a light, humorous and optimistic touch they treat this struggle from many angles. They reveal the conflicts that arose over the choice between the two roads, socialism and capitalism; they tell of the heroism and high spirits of the Chinese people during the big leap forward; they accurately portray the new people who appeared at that time and the new ways of doing things. Through these pages you will get to know and admire such go-ahead village personalities as Uncle Chao, the enthusiastic stockman, and Han Mei-mei, the elementary school graduate who, responding to the Communist Party's call, chooses farming as her career.



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# PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 23, 1962 Vol. V No. 8

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### State Farms Set the Pace

With the coming of warmer days, farmers in north China's countryside are hastening to finish off winter jobs and are making ready for the spring ploughing and sowing.

In this regard, the state farms have stolen a march over some of the rural people's communes. As soon as last autumn's harvest was in, they ploughed up large tracts of land and allowed it to lie fallow during the winter. This practice was followed much more widely last year than in 1960. In Heilungkiang Province, in the northeastern tip of China, many of the large, mechanized state farms reported that 30 per cent more land was tilled and left fallow than in the previous year. Soil so treated is in better condition for spring sowing and time is saved for other urgent work on the farms.

Checking and repairing of farm machinery is the order of the day, top priority going to the tractors. The state farms are well ahead with other preparations for the busy spring season — jobs like selection of seeds, compost making, stocking of fertilizers and insecticides and the necessary farm tools. They have learnt a lot in the past few years, particularly in 1961 when, despite natural calamities, they reaped a better harvest and delivered to the state more grain and other agricultural produce and livestock than in 1960. With this experience behind them, they are planning to get an even better harvest this year.

The role of the state farms is becoming increasingly important in China. They are supplying more marketable agricultural products and livestock than ever before. In northeast China, pioneers ploughed up tens of millions of *mu* of virgin land over the years to form fertile state farms. Now these farms supply not only the people in their own region, but ship out large quantities of grain to other parts of the country. Since their establishment they have delivered to the state more than 4,000 million *jin* of grain, 300 million *jin* of meat, 350 million *jin* of fruit, as well as eggs, wool, ginseng, antlers in the velvet and other products.

The state farms have rendered invaluable service in speeding up the technical transformation of agriculture. To date, such farms in the northeast have trained more than 15,000 technicians for the rural people's communes, supplied them with hundreds of thousands of pedigree cattle and large amounts of selected seeds, not to mention helping them till the land or harvest their crops with modern machinery.

The state farms have gone far in the ten and more years since they were first set up. Thousands of them have been established in various parts of the country. The area under cultivation has been greatly expanded in connection with the large-scale reclamation work undertaken in the past four years. Today the cultivated area under the state farms is almost five times as large as in 1957.

Such figures give no hint of the effort and heroism that has gone into them. Some have been built from scratch on land reclaimed from former wildernesses — in the Khingan Mountains in the northeast, in desolate regions north and south of the Tianshan Mountains in Sinkiang in the northwest, on the marshes along the east coast and in hill regions of the interior. Countless difficulties have had to be overcome to put the state farms firmly on their feet.

One of the epics of the new China has been the building of these farms in China's northwest. There hundreds of state farms have been built on former wasteland, sparsely populated and handicapped by alkaline and saline soil or constantly threatened by shifting sands. Demobilized armymen and youthful pioneers, who volunteered for reclamation work, were the core of the effort here. Many formerly barren or arid regions have been transformed into productive fields crisscrossed by irrigation canals and protected by shelter belts. Various kinds of crops, including wheat, barley, rapeseed and turnips, have been introduced to the farms. Crop varieties suited to local conditions have also been developed. Since the big leap forward these state farms have achieved a



Spring

Woodcut in colour by Chao Mei

fourfold expansion of their cultivated area and have strengthened their machine-tractor park with 5,000 more tractors.

Now solidly based, they are important suppliers of grain, cotton, fruit, livestock and other agricultural and animal products. Though, like other parts of the country, they were hit by natural calamities for three consecutive years, they boosted their grain output last year to three and a half times that of 1957 and increased their livestock by nearly 100 per cent.

### Irrigation Machinery for the Farms

In its all-out effort to aid agriculture and give it the tools it needs, China's engineering industry last year turned out an amount of irrigation and drainage machinery equivalent to nine times the total in use on all the country's farms at the time of liberation. Enough machines to irrigate 17 million *mu* of land went to equip some 10,000 pumping stations in the major grain-producing areas — Heilungkiang, Szechuan, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsu, Chekiang and Kwangtung; in Liaoning and the north China provinces most often threatened by drought; in some of the market gardening centres; and in the arid northwest. Immediately installed, they played a big role in the rural communes' fight against drought and waterlogging.

Last year's output of irrigation and drainage machinery included diesel, gas, petrol and steam engines and electric motors; tens of thousands of pumps (more than 7,600 of them with diameters exceeding 300 m.m.); and water turbines. These machines were specially designed to suit the specific

conditions of various parts of the country. Buyers could get the type of internal combustion engines they needed to use the fuel most easily available in their localities. A big 135 h.p. internal combustion engine made last year can drive a power generator and large pumps for large-area irrigation; a small 4 h.p. engine can be used to power a small pump for garden farming. The industry offered farmers axial flow and mixed flow pumps for low-lying land, big centrifugal pumps for raising water from rivers, and deep-well and high pressure pumps specially designed for the northwest China plateau. The biggest pump made last year can suck up seven tons of water per second. Given a sufficient source, one such pump can keep 70,000 *mu* of land watered.

Before liberation only small, inefficient internal combustion engines and ordinary pumps were manufactured in a few places in China and in small quantities. Today almost every province and autonomous region has engineering factories capable of making internal combustion engines.

### A Grand Winter Vacation

As they went back to school to begin the new spring term last Monday, Peking's school children voted that they had had a grand winter vacation.

City authorities and organizations had arranged a full, rich programme of recreational and cultural activities for them during the holidays. Tens of thousands of them went every day to the Young Pioneers' Palace in Ching-shan Park, the Working People's Palace of Culture and the many children's

clubs in the various districts to play ball games or chess, enjoy lantern slide shows, story-telling or ballads, puppet shows or children's plays. For film fans, the cinemas offered special showings of selected films. The zoo, the planetarium, the indoor swimming pools and museums, of course, were crowded as ever.

For those with a flair for literature and art, gatherings were sponsored by the children's clubs where they could meet some of their favourite writers. A painting competition held in the eastern city drew entrants from all over the capital. Prospective scientists made full use of the facilities provided for them at the children's scientific and technical centre in Beihai Park. Here, under skilled instructors, they built model aircraft, ships, radio sets or indulged their flair for "inventions."

These activities, of course, are kept going in spare hours throughout the year. But it is during holiday time that Peking's youngsters really get going at them with teenage concentration.

### And a New Term Begins

The capital's teachers resumed classes after the welcome three weeks' holiday break fresh and well-prepared. Last Friday, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference entertained more than 1,500 secondary and primary school teachers at an evening party. Together with Li Wei-han and Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, and other leading members, they watched a performance by the famous Peking opera actress Tu Chin-fang.

Before the party started, Li Wei-han, Chen Shu-tung and other leading C.P.P.C.C. members received over forty teachers who have taught in primary and secondary schools for more than twenty years. Some of them, now well over sixty years old, have served for thirty or even forty years. Chen Shu-tung paid tribute to their work and toasted their health, their past successes and their still greater contributions in days to come.

The teachers, on their part, expressed thanks for the concern shown them by the People's Government and society. They pledged to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the task of bringing up the younger generation as worthy builders of socialism.

# The Struggle for Proletarian Leadership In the Period of the New-Democratic Revolution in China

by LI WEI-HAN

*Following is a translation of an article published in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), Nos. 3-4, 1962. It will appear in "Peking Review" in instalments. The author is a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Director of the Department of United Front Work of the Party's Central Committee. For articles by the same author on the united front in the Chinese revolution, see last year's "Peking Review" Nos. 23, 24, 33, 34 and 35.*

*This article discusses questions under the following five heads: 1. The twofold struggle for leadership; 2. Distinguish correctly between enemies and friends; lead*

*our allies in a resolute struggle against the common enemy; win victory step by step; 3. Distinguish between the principal enemy and non-principal enemies; make use of their contradictions and concentrate our forces to fight against the principal enemy; 4. Distinguish between our principal ally and non-principal allies; rely on the worker-peasant alliance; unite with the urban petty bourgeoisie and win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements; 5. Distinguish between leader and allies; develop the independent political strength of the working class and raise its allies to the level of the current revolutionary programme. Subheads and the boxed notes for reference are ours.—Ed.*

## 1. The Twofold Struggle for Leadership

**T**HE question of leadership is the fundamental question in a revolutionary united front. The class which holds the leadership in the united front determines the road the revolution takes and, consequently, its success or failure and even its future development.

The only path the Chinese people can take is the path of socialism via new democracy, and they have already triumphantly traversed this road. This is because the Chinese Communist Party, in the course of a protracted revolutionary struggle, won over allies on the broadest scale and established the leadership of the proletariat.

The proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution, in so far as class relations are concerned, has a twofold nature; this is manifested in the two alliances in the revolutionary united front. One is the alliance between the working class and peasants, and the other working people\*: this is in the main the worker-peasant alliance, by means of which working class leadership of the peasants and other working people is struggled for and realized. The other is the alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie\*\* as well as others not of the working people but with whom co-operation is possible: this is in the main the alliance with the national

bourgeoisie, by means of which working class leadership of the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements is struggled for and realized.

Of these two alliances, the worker-peasant alliance is the basic one and the basis of the united front. The more firmly consolidated, the stronger the worker-peasant alliance is, the greater its power to win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements, the greater too its power to isolate and split up the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlord class, and the greater the guarantee of victory for the revolution. Fundamentally speaking, therefore, the question of proletarian leadership is a question of winning over the peasants and other working people, of expanding and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. This is the fundamental question in the national and democratic revolutions in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. The alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as well as those others not of the working people but with whom co-operation is possible can only be an alliance that is not fundamental, that is auxiliary; under the concrete conditions in our country, however, it is also an important alliance. The working class must strive actively to establish this alliance, though it is not a fundamental one; only then can it grasp the overall leadership and provide the worker-peasant alliance with an auxiliary force, keep the big bourgeoisie completely isolated and fully guarantee the victory of the revolution. As the experience of the Chinese revolution has fully proved, the working class must, on the basis of the consolidation and expansion of the worker-peasant alliance, win over all the forces that can possibly be won over and unite with over 90 per cent of the country's population; only so can it establish a strong, overall leadership, keep

\*These include the urban petty bourgeoisie. The urban petty bourgeoisie referred to in this article are in all cases the independent craftsmen and traders, and those engaged in mental labour who are not exploiters but are exploited, and the broad mass of young students.

\*\*The national bourgeoisie mentioned in this article includes the middle bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals.

the enemy completely isolated and win victory for the revolution.

The establishment and strengthening of proletarian leadership entails a complex struggle: a struggle between the new-democratic road of advance led by the working class as opposed to both the colonial and semi-colonial road represented by the big bourgeoisie and the old-democratic road represented by the national bourgeoisie. The struggle against the old-democratic road is, in the last analysis, also the struggle against the colonial and semi-colonial road. (This point will later be further discussed.)

### **The Struggle Against the Old-Democratic Road Of the National Bourgeoisie**

The main aim of the struggle against the old-democratic road of the national bourgeoisie is to win over the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, and, concurrently, to win over the national bourgeoisie as well.

The peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, as the *Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party* has pointed out, "being an intermediate social class, has a dual character; so far as its good and revolutionary side is concerned, a great majority of this class is receptive of the political, organizational and even ideological influence of the proletariat, at present demands a democratic revolution and can unite and fight for it, and may in the future follow the path to socialism together with the proletariat; but so far as its bad and backward side is concerned, this class possesses weaknesses which distinguish it from the proletariat, and may, when deprived of proletarian leadership, often be influenced by the liberal bourgeoisie or even the big bourgeoisie and become their captive."\* It is quite clear: either the working class and the Communist Party will be adept at guiding and educating the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, helping them to rid themselves of the influence of the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie, and embark on the road of new democracy—and so achieve the political leadership of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and isolate the bourgeoisie, or, on the contrary, the working class and the Communist Party will not be adept at guiding and educating the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and thus fail to help them rid themselves of the influence of the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie—and as a result permit the national bourgeoisie and even the big bourgeoisie to seize political leadership, and force the working class into an isolated position.

In China, the national bourgeoisie is a patriotic class. They developed a certain amount of modern industry and formed a national market; at the same time, they disseminated bourgeois culture and cultivated a number of modern, bourgeois intellectuals. On this basis they gradually grew into a democratic revolutionary political force. At the beginning of this century, the revolutionary democrats, represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, put forward the programme of the Three People's Principles (see *For Your Reference* on p. 7), spread the ideas of a bourgeois democratic revolution and a bourgeois republic, and opposed and isolated the reformist ideas represented by Kang Yu-

\* Appendix to "Our Study and the Current Situation" by Mao Tse-tung, English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 95.

wei and Liang Chi-chao (see p. 7); they also staged a series of armed uprisings and eventually brought about the 1911 Revolution (see p. 7).

The 1911 Revolution overthrew the last imperial dynasty in China and put an end to the absolute feudal monarchy which had existed for more than two thousand years; to a certain extent it emancipated the minds of the people. Its historic significance is great. But it was not able to carry out its anti-imperialist and anti-feudal historical mission. Historical conditions both in China and the world changed radically after World War I and the Russian October Revolution. With the May Fourth Movement of 1919 (see p. 7) and particularly the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 China entered the era of new-democratic revolution led by the working class, which put an end to the era of the old-democratic revolution led by the national bourgeoisie. In 1924, under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and with the help of the Chinese Communist Party, Sun Yat-sen, great man that he was, and some of his comrades-in-arms, put forward the three cardinal policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists and assistance to the peasants and workers (see p. 7), developed the old Three People's Principles into the new, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Three People's Principles and reorganized the Kuomintang into a national, democratic political alliance. This was an epoch-making revolution in the Kuomintang itself, and it played a big part in promoting the people's great revolution of 1924-27. Soon after the death of Sun Yat-sen, however, as the mass movements of the workers and peasants began to develop on a broad scale and the revolution deepened, the national bourgeoisie wavered violently. As the revolution began moving in the direction of an agrarian revolution and the Northern Expeditionary Army (see p. 7) entered the Yangtse valley, the lifeline of the imperialist forces, and its heart, Shanghai, the national bourgeoisie eventually went over to the side of the counter-revolution of the big bourgeoisie. In this way, by its own actions, the national bourgeoisie once again made it clear to the Chinese people that it had long since utterly lost its qualifications for leadership of the revolution.

### **Old-Democratic Revolution Not Feasible in China**

In Chinese history the Revolution of 1911 was in a fairly full sense an old-democratic revolution; its failure showed that this road of the old-democratic revolution was not feasible in China. This was determined by the historical conditions of the Chinese revolution. This revolution was taking place in the era of imperialism and of proletarian revolution, so imperialism could not permit the Chinese national bourgeoisie to establish an independent, bourgeois republic; it could only permit it to take the colonial and semi-colonial road. After the May Fourth Movement and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese working class, growing day by day into a powerful, independent political force, could not on its part permit China to take the road of old-democratic revolution but had to strive to carry China forward to socialism through new democracy.

Caught in the mortal struggle between the two major forces of revolution and counter-revolution, the national bourgeoisie in China is a very weak and vacillating class.

Unwilling to see China turned into a colony, it has contradictions with imperialism, the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie; at the same time it was afraid that the people's revolutionary forces led by the working class might triumph completely and turn China into a people's republic. This is why when China entered the era of the new-democratic revolution in an uncompromising battle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the national bourgeoisie, long wavering between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution, was unable to develop into a really independent political force, much less realize independently its political ambitions. Throughout the period of the new-democratic revolution, the national bourgeoisie took part in the 1924-27 revolution but from 1927 to 1931 it went over to the side of the big bourgeoisie's counter-revolution. Following the September 18 Incident in 1931 (see p. 9), as the Chinese nation stood at a dangerous crossroads, a crisis of life or death, the national bourgeoisie again turned round with a will to resist Japanese aggression and a desire for democracy and joined the National Anti-Japanese United Front and the democratic movement both led by the Chinese Communist Party. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan

and the period of the People's War of Liberation, the left-wing elements among the national bourgeoisie rallied round the Communist Party, while its right-wing elements attached themselves to the Kuomintang; but the majority of it for a long time assumed a neutral attitude, vacillating between the Kuomintang diehards and the Chinese Communist Party, that is, between the big bourgeoisie and the working class. It was not until 1948, when the people's revolution was approaching final victory and Kuomintang rule was nearing its final military, economic and political collapse, that the majority of the national bourgeoisie really began to come over to the side of the people's revolution. It was because of its weakness and its dual character that the national bourgeoisie, under the historical conditions of 1927, betrayed and deserted the working class, followed on the heels of the big bourgeoisie and then in the intermediate years long remained neutral and wavering. It was after 1948 under different historical conditions that it came over again to follow the lead of the working class. History has thus completely borne out the statement made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1926:

**"But its aim [that of the national bourgeoisie] of establishing a state under its own rule is impracticable,**

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## FOR YOUR REFERENCE

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**Three People's Principles** Nationalism, Democracy and the People's Welfare — these were proposed by Sun Yat-sen as guiding principles for China's bourgeois-democratic revolution.

**Kang Yu-wei & Liang Chi-chao: Their Reformist Ideas** In 1895, after China had been defeated by Japanese imperialism in the previous year, Kang Yu-wei led 1,300 candidates for the third grade in the imperial examinations at Peking in submitting a "ten thousand word memorial" to Emperor Kuang Hsu, asking for "constitutional reform and modernization" and asking that the autocratic monarchy be changed into a constitutional monarchy. In 1898, in an attempt to introduce reforms, the emperor promoted Kang Yu-wei together with Tan Sze-tung, Liang Chi-chao and others to key posts in the government. Later, the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, representing the diehards, again took power and the reform movement failed. Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao fled abroad and formed the Protect-the-Emperor Party, which became a reactionary political faction in opposition to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen.

**The 1911 Revolution** The revolution that ended the autocratic rule of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty. On October 10, 1911, under the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionary groups, a section of the imperial "New Army" staged an uprising in Wuchang, Hupeh Province.

Similar uprisings in other provinces followed in rapid succession and the Ching regime soon crumbled. On January 1, 1912, the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was inaugurated in Nanking with Sun Yat-sen as President. This revolution at first triumphed through an alliance of the bourgeoisie with the peasants, the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but finally failed because its leading groups took to compromise. Giving the peasants no real benefits and yielding to the pressure of the imperialist and feudal forces, they let political power slip into the hands of Yuan Shih-kai, founder of the Northern clique of warlords. (For more details, see "A Great Democratic Revolution" by Tung Pi-wu, *Peking Review*, No. 41, October 13, 1961, pp. 7-11.)

**The May Fourth Movement of 1919** In January 1919, the imperialist countries convened the "peace conference" in Paris, at which they refused to relinquish their prerogatives in China and rejected China's demand to recover all her rights in Shantung seized by Japan. On May 4, more than 5,000 Peking students assembled at Tien An Men Square to protest. On June 3, students in Peking held public meetings and made speeches in defiance of persecution and repression by the army and police. The strike spread from the students to the workers and businessmen in Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, Hangchow, Wuhan, Kiukiang and in the provinces of Shantung and Anhwei.

Thus a broad mass movement was launched in which the proletariat, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie all participated.

**The Three Cardinal Policies** In the *Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang*, issued in 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen reinterpreted his Three People's Principles, defining his Nationalism as the fight against imperialism and pledging active support for the workers' and peasants' movements. The old Three People's Principles thus gave way to the new, which embody the three cardinal policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists, and assistance to the peasants and workers. The new Three People's Principles of the three cardinal policies served as the political basis of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation during the First Revolutionary Civil War period.

**The Northern Expeditionary Army** In July 1925, the Revolutionary Government in Kwangtung reorganized its army into the National Revolutionary Army in which members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Youth League were its cadres and played the role of vanguard. In July 1926, with the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang co-operating with each other, the National Revolutionary Army started its northern expedition from Kwangtung in three directions. This was a war against imperialism and feudalism waged by the Chinese people.

because the present world situation is one in which the two big forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are engaged in the final struggle. . . . The intermediate class will beyond doubt rapidly fall apart, some sections turning left and joining the ranks of the revolution and others turning right and joining the ranks of the counter-revolution; there is no room for any to remain 'independent.' Therefore the idea cherished by the Chinese middle class of an 'independent' revolution in which it would play the leading role is a mere illusion."\*

In the era of the new-democratic revolution, the national bourgeoisie had lost the qualifications for leadership of the revolution, and the old democracy was already obsolete, but the inherent nature of the national bourgeoisie still caused it for a long time to cling to the illusion of a bourgeois republic, and to hopes of contending with the working class for leadership. This resulted in a protracted struggle for leadership between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, both inside and outside the united front, and a struggle between the two roads — new democracy and old democracy.

### The "Middle Road"

The old-democratic illusions of the national bourgeoisie at one time manifested themselves in a so-called "middle road," also known as the "third road." For a time following Japan's surrender there was quite a to-do about this so-called middle road; this was no accident. At that time, victory having been won in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese people were faced with the task of building their country and deciding what kind of country to build. The big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, wanted to maintain and rehabilitate their semi-colonial, semi-feudal dictatorship in China. The broad masses of the people, represented by the Chinese Communist Party, in the light of the concrete conditions at that time, were striving to establish a coalition government of various classes that could guarantee China's independence, democracy and freedom so as to make, step by step, a transition to a new-democratic people's republic led by the working class. The national bourgeoisie, on its part, hoped to turn China into a bourgeois republic. The situation in the country at the time was like this: (1) The Chiang Kai-shek clique still had a certain amount of influence among the people because it had taken part in resistance to Japan. It had preserved its reactionary armed forces because it only fought the war of resistance passively and had got help from the United States. After Japan's surrender, it strengthened these forces, taking over most of the Japanese and puppet armies and the enemy-occupied areas and continuing to get a big amount of help from the United States. (2) The people's armed forces and the People's Liberated Areas led by the Chinese Communist Party had grown more powerful than ever after eight years of a heroic war of resistance, although they were still scattered in various parts of the country and in a less favourable position than the reactionary forces. (3) The various democratic parties, because they had taken part in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the democratic movement, had grown into political

forces representing the national bourgeoisie; as such they exercised a certain influence and had a say in the political life of the country. In order to isolate the Communist Party, U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang were trying their hardest to win them over, making certain political compromises with them, such as agreeing to allow them to participate in the political consultative conference and promising that they would participate in a coalition government, and so on. Under these circumstances, many among the national bourgeoisie cherished illusions, believing that the Kuomintang could not wipe out the Communist Party, but that neither could the Communist Party wipe out the Kuomintang and that China could not be saved unless bourgeois democracy was put into practice; they even nourished the illusion that they could win the support and help of U.S. imperialism. A number of such typical political figures among them hoped to stand between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party: hoping, on the one hand, by making use of the people's strength led by the Communist Party, to force the Kuomintang to compromise with the national bourgeoisie, let them have some share in the regime and practise a bit of democracy; and on the other hand, by making use of the Kuomintang, to contain the people's revolutionary forces so that their development would not go further than they would permit. Some of them even imagined that they could gain the position of the man dominating the balance by taking advantage of the situation with the Kuomintang and Communist Party engaged in a tug of war. There were people, for instance, who cherished the illusion to make both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party hand over their troops to them to command, to introduce the so-called "nationalization of troops" and "place the troops under civilian control." It was by such means that this section of the political representatives of the national bourgeoisie fancied they could achieve their aim of making China evolve gradually into a bourgeois republic and actually attempted to do so.

This middle road or third road not only represented the ideas of the national bourgeoisie in general but, under the conditions at that time, had quite a widespread influence among part of the urban petty bourgeoisie; it was even more prevalent among a part of the democratic parties.

### Dual Nature of the Middle Road Force and Its Bankruptcy

Under the specific historical conditions of the time, this middle road had a dual nature. Advocates of this line demanded peace and democracy and disapproved of the Kuomintang's policies of civil war and dictatorship — this was its positive aspect. But they also cherished great illusions about the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek and about U.S. imperialism in particular; they demanded that the Communist Party make compromises at the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the people and their fundamental positions in exchange for a grant of peace and democracy from the Kuomintang. They were afraid to oppose the counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war and they spread unprincipled, pacifist illusions among the masses of people. They tried to influence not only the urban petty bourgeoisie but also the peasants. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party, they said, rep-

\* Mao Tse-tung, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society."



**The September 18 Incident of 1931** On September 18, 1931, Shenyang (Mukden) was seized by the Japanese army stationed in China's northeast. Under Chiang Kai-shek's order of "absolute non-resistance," the Chinese army in Shenyang and elsewhere in China's northeast withdrew inside the Great Wall. The Japanese troops were thus able to occupy in rapid succession the provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang.

**The Old Political Consultative Conference** This was attended by representatives of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party of China and other political parties, and by personages without party affiliation and was held in Chungking from January 10 to 31, 1946. Here it is called the old political consultative conference to distinguish it from the present Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

**The Democratic League** The Democratic League was formed in 1941 under the name of the China Federation of Democratic Political Groups. It was reorganized under the name of the China Democratic League in 1944.

**The Huai-Hai Campaign** The Huai-Hai campaign was a campaign of decisive importance fought by the People's Liberation Army over a large territory centring on Hsuehchow. The campaign lasted 65 days, from November 6, 1948, to January 10, 1949. No less than 555,000 of the Kuomintang's crack forces were completely wiped out. As a result of the campaign, those parts of the eastern China and Central Plains areas north of the Yangtse River were almost entirely liberated. (For more details see *Peking Review*, No. 31, 1961, p. 8.)

**Yuan Shih-kai** Yuan Shih-kai was head of the clique of the Northern warlords

formed during the last years of the Ching Dynasty. When the Ching regime was overthrown by the Revolution of 1911, Yuan took advantage of the tendency to compromise on the part of the bourgeoisie then leading the revolution and jockeyed for the position of the President of the Republic with the support of the imperialists and on the strength of a counter-revolutionary army under his command. He formed the first government of Northern warlords representing the big landlord and big comprador classes. In 1915 he restored the imperial regime with himself on the throne. To seek the support of Japanese imperialism, he accepted its Twenty-one Demands, which aimed at the exclusive domination of China. An uprising in Yunnan Province in December touched off nationwide revolt. Yuan was forced to abolish the imperial government in March 1916 and died shortly afterwards.

represented two extremes and both constituted a minority, only the middle road could represent all the intermediate strata between the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the working class on the other, that is, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of the nation. This aspect of the middle road not only showed its great weakness but also its extremely reactionary nature. In the light of these circumstances, during the period of the old political consultative conference (see above), our Party, on the one hand, made active efforts to unite with and guide the various democratic parties and democrats from all walks of life, and, together with them, waged a struggle for peace and democracy and in the course of this struggle exposed the deceits of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek; on the other hand, our Party patiently and repeatedly reasoned with the advocates of the middle road line and criticized them for their proneness to compromise and their reactionary nature. By uniting with them and also struggling with them, the broad masses of people in areas under Kuomintang rule were educated and enabled to see through the deceitful mask of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, their so-called peace and democracy; at the same time, the majority of the democratic parties and democrats were won over, thus augmenting the strength of the left-wing among them and lessening the influence of the right-wing elements. This also shattered the attempt of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek to deceive the people, to win over the middle forces and to isolate the Communist Party. In fact it was U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who were isolated.

As the revolutionary situation unfolded and the strength of the revolution grew, the positive aspect of the middle road grew steadily less while its negative, reactionary aspect came more and more to the fore. In

the second half of 1947, the People's Liberation Army switched from the defensive to the offensive and at the same time there was an upsurge in the people's revolutionary movement in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "This is a turning point in history. It is the turning point from growth to extinction for Chiang Kai-shek's twenty-year counter-revolutionary rule. It is the turning point from growth to extinction for imperialist rule in China, now over a hundred years old."\* On the other hand, in October 1947 the reactionary Kuomintang government ordered the dissolution of the Democratic League (see above); at the same time, other democratic parties were also persecuted by the Kuomintang reactionaries, and were unable to engage in open activities in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. Should the democratic parties refuse to surrender to the Kuomintang reactionaries, they could only turn to the side of the people's revolution and cease to nourish the illusions of the so-called third road. At the same time, under our Party's influence, many big cities in the nation held public debates to criticize the middle road. All this helped to push forward and further the struggle being waged by the left-wing sections of the democratic parties. In January 1948, under pressure of the left-wingers, the Central Committee of the Democratic League held its third plenary session in Hong Kong; it was here too in Hong Kong that the democratic group of the Kuomintang established the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. One after another these and other democratic parties turned to the New Democracy and issued statements to announce their anti-U.S. and anti-Chiang Kai-shek stand. In May 1948 our Party put forward the slogan of convening a new political consultative conference and forming a democratic coalition government excluding the reactionaries. This won an immediate

\* "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Volume IV, p. 157.

response from the democratic parties and democrats of all walks of life. By that time, the middle road was completely bankrupt. Still a handful of right-wingers refused to give up and continued to hawk these goods, but these were now revealed as a hundred per cent reactionary trash used by U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in an attempt to block the progress of the revolution and preserve the counter-revolutionary forces.

What was the content of this trash? First, there was the scheme to create the "new Three Kingdoms." This expressed their vain hope of getting the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and the democratic parties to "divide the country into three parts" with each ruling in its own region, so as to prevent the continuous advance of the People's Liberation Army, preserve the remnant forces of the Kuomintang and seize the opportunity to pick up something for themselves. Secondly, there was the organization of opposition factions. With the Huai-Hai campaign (see p. 9), the Kuomintang lost its main strength and it was clear that a united country of the people would soon become a reality. Seeing that the victory of the Chinese revolution could not be prevented by purely military struggles, U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries gave more and more importance each day to the political struggle. That was to say: on the one hand, the Kuomintang government came forward to stage-manage its "peace" plot; on the other hand it made use of the right-wingers in certain democratic parties, who had connections with both the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, to organize opposition factions within the revolutionary camp, co-ordinate their activities with the U.S.-Chiang "peace" plot and thereby halt the revolution where it was, or, if it had to advance, moderate it to the maximum possible extent and prevent it from encroaching too much on the interests of U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. This explains why although the middle road had shown its utter bankruptcy, the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries in 1948 mobilized their sycophant politicians and literati, masked as so-called liberals, to play the "third road" tune once more. Our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply exposed this plot. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out at the time: "True, there are 'Kuomintang liberals' or non-Kuomintang 'liberals' who advise the Chinese people to accept the 'peace' offered by the United States and the Kuomintang, that is, to enshrine and worship the remnants of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism so that these treasures shall not become extinct on earth. But they are decidedly not workers, peasants or soldiers, nor are they the friends of workers, peasants and soldiers." "Since the enemy is cunningly using the method of 'peace' and the method of sneaking into the revolutionary camp to preserve and strengthen his position, whereas the fundamental interests of the people demand that all reactionary forces be destroyed thoroughly and that the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism be driven out of China, those who advise the people to take pity on the enemy and preserve the forces of reaction are not friends of the people, but friends of the enemy."\*

The middle road, in essence, was the old democracy, i.e., the road of the bourgeois republic, which had long

gone out of date and could not work. Its demise once again made clear to us the truth that if the national bourgeoisie and their political parties entertain illusions about persisting along this road, holding to it as an independent movement with their own class playing the leading role, then they will inevitably land themselves in the most unimportant state, becoming as they were, during their adherence to Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolution in 1927, the assistants of the counter-revolution of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and taking the colonial and semi-colonial road. This is why our criticism of the middle road and the struggle we waged against the old democracy of the national bourgeoisie were, in the final analysis, also struggles against the colonial and semi-colonial road of the big bourgeoisie. Our Party had to carry this struggle through to the end, so that we could help the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie free themselves from the old-democratic influences, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and also win over the national bourgeoisie itself, isolate the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and carry the revolution on to a thorough victory.

### **The Struggle Against the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Road of the Big Bourgeoisie**

The big bourgeoisie was a traitorous class and a ferocious enemy, so it naturally could not enjoy much prestige among the people. But it never ceased its tricks to deceive the people. Especially when the revolution surged up and it could no longer keep the situation under control as it had in the past, it would transform itself in the twinkling of an eye, make compromises with the revolutionaries and even infiltrate the revolutionary ranks, so as to make use of the wavering classes and people in the revolutionary ranks, undermine the revolution from within and seize its fruits. Therefore, the big bourgeoisie was also adept at usurping the leadership of the revolution. As far back as the period of the 1911 Revolution, the bourgeois constitutionalists, i.e., the upper section of the bourgeoisie, working hand in glove with the feudal tyrants and gentry and using the provincial bureaux of councillors as their bases, took advantage of the weakness of the revolutionaries, and, while the revolution was in mid-course, usurped its leadership; in this way, the revolution ended with the bourgeois constitutionalists and feudal landlord class in control of state power. It was on this basis that Yuan Shih-kai (see p.9) succeeded in fastening his grip on the country. During the great revolution of 1924-27, with Chiang Kai-shek as its tool and taking advantage of the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the dominance of Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunism (see p.11) in the Chinese Communist Party, the big bourgeoisie usurped the leadership in the War of the Northern Expedition and dragged China into a blind alley. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the big bourgeoisie represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique not only did its best to draw the national bourgeoisie to its side and deceive the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasants, but strove by every means to restrict the growth of the progressive forces and worked hard to reduce the ideological, political and organizational independence of the working class and the Communist Party, so as to seize the leadership in the War of Resistance preparatory to surrendering to Japan and splitting national unity. It was only because our Party, led by

\* "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, pp. 304, 305.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, adopted a correct line and policy, enormously expanded the progressive forces, won over the majority of the middle forces and waged blow-for-blow struggles against the diehards that the big bourgeoisie failed to realize these aims.

How is it that the big bourgeoisie more than once in history succeeded in usurping the revolutionary leadership and undermining the revolution? There are a number of reasons for this, but the following are the relatively important ones.

First, owing to the contradictions between the imperialist countries in their squabbles over China and the internal contradictions of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, certain cliques of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie have often appeared in certain periods to be revolutionary to a certain degree and have taken part to a certain extent in the struggle against a particular imperialist country or group of imperialist countries and another clique of domestic reactionaries. For example: during the period of the 1911 Revolution, the bourgeois constitutionalists took part in the movement to recover national rights and even joined the movement against the Ching government; after the 1911 Revolution certain big bourgeois elements in the south participated in the struggle waged by Sun Yat-sen against Yuan Shih-kai and the Northern warlords (see below) and, later, in the War of the Northern Expedition; the Chiang Kai-shek clique took part in the War of Resistance Against Japan, and so on. This made it possible for them to usurp the leadership and undermine the revolution from within.

Secondly, differentiation of the Chinese bourgeoisie into the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie was

not completed at one go; the boundary between them was not absolute and new differentiations often appeared. With political and economic progress and as a result of the actual revolutionary struggles waged by the masses of the people, this process of differentiation gradually became clear. The great May Fourth Movement exposed the comprador class of the regime of the Northern warlords; the differentiation among the bourgeois intellectuals was exposed after the May Fourth Movement, a section of them, represented by Hu Shih, threw themselves into the embrace of the big bourgeoisie; in the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925 (see below), the industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai were divided into the General Chamber of Commerce controlled by the big bourgeoisie and the street commercial federations representing the middle and petty bourgeoisie; the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang in 1927 was another still clearer process of differentiation. As far as the Kuomintang was concerned, this betrayal pushed into the background the democratic group which had inherited the revolutionary policy of Sun Yat-sen and made this political party, with its glorious revolutionary history, an instrument of the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs, the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. Therefore, the differentiation of the Chinese bourgeoisie into big bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie was a complex process. As it took place there were some persons who stood between these two sections of the bourgeoisie and shifted from one section to another; for a while, not knowing what they were really up to, the people could more easily be deceived by them.

Thirdly, the regime of the big bourgeoisie operated with two tactics: one was brutal suppression and the

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## FOR YOUR REFERENCE

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### **Chen Tu-hsiu's Right Opportunism**

Chen Tu-hsiu took part in founding the Chinese Communist Party and, thanks to his reputation as well as the Party's immaturity, became its secretary-general. In the last period of the revolution of 1924-27, the right opportunism in the Party as represented by him developed into capitulationism. In "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the capitulationists at that time "voluntarily gave up the Party's leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party's leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution." After this defeat in 1927, Chen Tu-hsiu and a handful of other capitulationists lost their faith in the future of the revolution, and turned liquidationist. He took the reactionary stand of the Trotskyites and formed with them a small faction to oppose the Party. Consequently he was expelled from the Party in November 1929. Chen Tu-hsiu died in 1942.

**Sun Yat-sen's Struggles Against Yuan Shih-kai and the Northern Warlords**  
In 1912, the Chinese Revolutionary

League was reorganized into the Kuomintang and compromised with the clique of the Northern warlords headed by Yuan Shih-kai. In 1913 Yuan's troops marched southward to suppress the revolutionary forces, and Dr. Sun's attempts at resistance were crushed. Realizing the mistake of the Kuomintang's policy of compromise, Dr. Sun formed in 1914 in Tokyo the Chinese Revolutionary Party, an organization separate from the Kuomintang. This new party, an anti-Yuan Shih-kai alliance of the political representatives of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, staged a minor insurrection in Shanghai in 1914. In 1915, when Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed himself emperor and Tsai Ngo and others started an expedition against Yuan, Dr. Sun took an active part in it.

**The May Thirtieth Movement** The May Thirtieth Movement was the country-wide anti-imperialist movement in protest against the massacre of the Chinese people by the British police in Shanghai on May 30, 1925. Earlier that

month, major strikes had broken out in Japanese-owned textile mills in Tsingtao and Shanghai, and the Japanese imperialists and the Northern warlords who were their running dogs proceeded to suppress them. On May 15 the Japanese textile mill-owners in Shanghai shot and killed the worker Ku Cheng-hung and wounded a dozen others. On May 28 eight workers were slaughtered by the reactionary government in Tsingtao. On May 30 more than 2,000 students in Shanghai agitated in the foreign concessions in support of the workers and for the recovery of the foreign concessions. They rallied more than 10,000 people before the British police headquarters, shouting such slogans as "Down with imperialism!" and "People of China, unite!" The British imperialist police opened fire, killing and wounding many students. This became known as the May Thirtieth Massacre. It immediately aroused countrywide indignation, and demonstrations and strikes of workers, students and shopkeepers were held everywhere, forming a tremendous anti-imperialist movement.

other, political deception. Chiang Kai-shek can be accounted a real master in these respects. He enlarged the reactionary armed forces on an unprecedented scale and during his 22 years of rule in China waged counter-revolutionary wars for more than ten years. At the same time, he was up to all sorts of political tricks, especially when the revolutionary forces of the people were strong or his own regime was in danger. Since 1927 Chiang Kai-shek has utterly betrayed what Sun Yat-sen stood for and the cause that Sun Yat-sen cherished; but superficially he has always made play with the banners of Sun Yat-sen and the Three People's Principles and passed himself off as Sun Yat-sen's successor. The September 18 Incident in 1931 roused the whole nation in a raging tide of hate against Japanese aggression and the traitorous policy of the Kuomintang; seeing this irresistible rage of the people Chiang Kai-shek declared that he had "stepped down"; but once the storm was over he stepped up again and once more suppressed the popular movements. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek, in order to maintain the one-party dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, superficially pretended to stand above the nation's class contradictions, spoke constantly about the "super-importance of the state and the nation," and rigged himself up as the "national leader"; in fact, however, he was passive in resisting Japan but energetic in opposing the Communist Party and the people. Once Japan surrendered, Chiang Kai-shek, acting under the instructions of U.S. imperialism, decided on and vigorously prepared to unleash a large-scale counter-revolutionary civil war; but he also sent three deceitful telegrams one after another, asking Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with a great show of "urgency," to go to Chungking for negotiations, and then together with us he attended the political consultative conference and reached certain agreements. In the second half of 1946, Chiang Kai-shek had in fact already unleashed his all-out civil war but at the same time he stage-managed the show of reorganizing the Kuomintang government, attempting to draw the middle forces to its side. When his rule was on the rocks after the Huai-Hai campaign, once again he staged the old trick of "stepping down" and holding "peace" talks. Before these tricks of Chiang Kai-shek's were thoroughly exposed, they really did deceive some people and particularly dazzled a great many members of the national bourgeoisie and a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie, so that they harboured illusions about him.

In playing its political tricks the big bourgeoisie could also count on the support of imperialism. In its aggression against China, imperialism was also accustomed to adopt the two means of armed attack and political trickery. British and U.S. imperialism were old hands in the art of political juggling. British imperialism was not only the first to open China's door with armed force, but in 1927 adopted the method of splitting the revolutionary front to instigate Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal. U.S. imperialism, in particular, gave great importance to cultural and ideological aggression; it established many schools, hospitals and missions in China and attracted many Chinese students to study in the United States. Even politically, U.S. imperialism was adept in describing aggression as friendship. In order to acquire the same rights to invade China as were enjoyed by the old im-

perialist countries, it was late-coming U.S. imperialism that put forward the policy of the "Open Door" and "equal opportunities" and generously spouted such phrases as "respect for China's administrative and territorial integrity." During World War II, in order to deal with Japan and also to foster its running dog Chiang Kai-shek so as to monopolize China after the war, it handed out some money to the Kuomintang government, widely publicizing it and describing it as a favour "to support China's War of Resistance." These U.S. imperialist activities and propaganda were not without effect. It instilled pro-American sentiments and a worship of America and a fear of America into a section of the Chinese people, and particularly into many intellectuals. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and for a time after the surrender of Japan, this U.S. imperialist influence reached its climax in China. It was precisely by means of this influence that following the surrender of Japan, U.S. imperialism conducted its so-called mediation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party with the intention of deceiving the Chinese people, softening up the Chinese Communist Party and helping Chiang Kai-shek dominate the whole country without having to wage a war. This trick did not deceive the Chinese Communist Party, though it did deceive a lot of the middle-of-the-road elements.

Fourthly, the tricks played by the imperialists and the Chinese big bourgeoisie still had a certain social basis among the Chinese people, that is, in the main, the national bourgeoisie and other middle forces. They had their contradictions with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, but on the other hand they also had connections with them and depended on them. It was precisely these people who harboured many illusions about the Kuomintang reactionaries and the British and U.S. imperialists. Generally speaking, the national bourgeoisie was fairly enthusiastic in its participation in the movement against Japanese imperialism and the War of Resistance Against Japan, but many of them entertained strong pro-American ideas, sentiments of worship and fear of America. The majority of the national bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary dictatorship, but many people did not want to give up their illusions about him, still less did they want to completely overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang regime. As to the thorough reform of the land system, these people disapproved of it still more because they were closely connected with the feudal land system. That is why in 1949 Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" that the influence of domestic and foreign reactionaries upon the Chinese people "is still very strong, will survive for a long time and cannot be quickly destroyed."\*

The above-mentioned points made it clear that in order to establish and consolidate its leadership and particularly to win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements, the working class not only needs to wage a resolute struggle against the old-democratic road of the national bourgeoisie, but must wage a resolute struggle against the colonial and semi-colonial road of the big

\* *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 418.

bourgeoisie as well and thoroughly expose and eliminate its reactionary influence.

Fundamentally speaking, it was impossible for the working class to exercise leadership over the big bourgeoisie because they were the enemy of the revolution. Even under those particular historical conditions when the big bourgeoisie temporarily took part in the united front (such as the participation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the National Anti-Japanese United Front), there still existed sharp conflicts between them and the working

class. At that time it was only when the working class and the Communist Party adopted a correct policy and waged a resolute struggle, that the big bourgeoisie could be isolated and forced to a certain extent to restrain themselves. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party forced Chiang Kai-shek to remain in the anti-Japanese united front until the surrender of Japan; this was one example. In this sense, it can also be said to have been a kind of leadership.

(To be continued.)

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# Disarmament Talks And Political Blackmail

by OBSERVER

*Following is a slightly abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" commentary of February 19 entitled "The U.S. Uses the Disarmament Talks to Carry On Political Blackmail." Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

ON February 10, N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., in connection with the 18-nation disarmament committee which will soon meet in Geneva, wrote letters to the government heads of the United States, Britain and other countries proposing an 18-nation heads of government meeting on the disarmament question. This effort on the part of the Soviet Government to relax international tension has won extensive support from world public opinion but it has been quickly rejected by Kennedy and Macmillan.

Peace-loving people are deeply interested in universal disarmament and it is an important objective in the current struggle in defence of world peace. If the governments of the Western powers sincerely desire peace, they should accept the Soviet proposal.

## Preposterous U.S. Demand

From the "reasons" advanced by Kennedy in his rejection of the Soviet proposal, it is obvious that the United States is playing dirty tricks over the disarmament question. In his reply to Khrushchov, Kennedy said: "Much clarifying work will have to be done in the early stages of negotiation before it is possible for heads of government to review the situation." He also said that "there still exist substantial differences" between the two sides. In this regard, he mentioned the Soviet refusal to "controlling arms." At his press conference of February 14, Kennedy spoke more plainly, saying that he would be willing to attend such a meeting only when the disarmament talks in Geneva could provide for "effective inspection." This means that Kennedy has raised a pre-

condition for progress in the disarmament talks and for the convening of a heads of government conference, that is, that the Soviet Union must first agree to let the so-called control organization set up a network of control on Soviet territory for the purpose of collecting military intelligence. Obviously, this demand of the United States and other Western powers is utterly preposterous. Their unreasonable demand to substitute control without disarmament for controlled disarmament is precisely the stumbling block that prevents any substantial progress in the long-drawn-out disarmament talks. Can this be construed otherwise than as an indication that the United States is using the disarmament talks to carry on political blackmail?

The U.S. propaganda machine has been claiming that the Kennedy government wants to "test" the "sincerity" of the socialist countries. It has raised a clamour that the socialist countries should "ease" the Berlin crisis and make "concessions" on Southeast Asian problems, but everybody knows that it is precisely U.S. imperialism itself which has created the Berlin crisis, intensified intervention in south Viet Nam and Laos, and created tension everywhere.

## Obstacles to Universal Disarmament

While engaging in political blackmail on the disarmament question, Kennedy is at the same time vigorously stepping up the arms drive and preparing for war. The U.S. Government has announced that between last September and February 9<sup>th</sup> this year, it had conducted 13 underground nuclear explosions. On February 8 it made another announcement that it was going to carry out a series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere at Christmas Island in the Pacific. Meanwhile, the U.S. Government's proposal for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, before the meeting of the 18-nation disarmament committee is, of course, designed to cover up its intensified nuclear tests.

On February 17, Kennedy again told the departments of the interior, agriculture and other departments in his administration to make plans for a state of preparedness "with respect to all conditions of national emergency, including attack upon the United States," and to control the production and distribution of grain, power and materials. This is a part of his all-out preparations for war. On the same day, his Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara made a bellicose speech in which he declared that the United States would continue to develop guided missiles, strengthen conventional forces and enlarge its special forces in preparation for both large-scale nuclear war and limited wars. This shows clearly that the obstacle to universal disarmament lies entirely in the imperialist policies of the arms drive and war preparations. To realize universal disarmament it is necessary to expose thoroughly and wage a sharp and blow-for-blow struggle against the Kennedy Administration's scheme to use the disarmament talks for political blackmail and against its stepped-up moves for war.

### **The Chinese Government's Stand**

The Chinese Government and people have always maintained that the struggle for universal disarmament

is of great significance to the easing of international tension and the safeguarding of world peace. We have consistently favoured universal disarmament, supported the Soviet Union's positive proposals and measures for disarmament, and made tireless efforts to promote universal disarmament. We have learnt from real life that the struggle for universal disarmament is a protracted and arduous struggle. Only by ceaselessly reinforcing the strength of the socialist camp, strengthening the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutionary movements in all countries, uniting with all peace-loving countries the world over, resolutely opposing the aggressive acts and war preparations of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States, and isolating the forces of war—only then, will they be compelled to sit down to serious negotiations. We believe that only in this way will the struggle for universal disarmament achieve positive results beneficial to the peoples of all the world.

Together with all other countries of the socialist camp and the peace-loving forces of the world, the Chinese people will unswervingly struggle for universal disarmament and a ban on nuclear weapons, against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and for the defence of world peace.

## **China Protests Against India's Air Intrusion**

ON February 18, the text of a protest note handed by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Indian Embassy in China on January 24 was made public in Peking. The note concerns an intrusion into China's territorial air by an Indian airplane, which engaged in deliberately provocative activities over a Chinese frontier post in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The Chinese Government has not yet received a reply from the Indian Government to this note. The text of the Chinese note reads as follows:

"On January 14, 1962, at 12:15 hours, an Indian airplane bearing the marking of "BK 505" flying from the direction of the Indian post at Dauletbeg Oldi intruded into the air space over the Chinese post at 35°19'N, 78°12'E in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, and made repeated reconnaissance circlings at an altitude as low as about 200 metres from the ground for about 15 minutes and dropped scores of stuffed gunnies and wooden cases on the Chinese post. In its note of November 30, 1961 the Chinese Government already made an explicit reply to the Indian Government that China had a post at the above-mentioned place. It is obviously a deliberate encroachment on the Chinese territorial air and territory and a provocation that the Indian Government should have now gone so far as to send its aircraft to intrude into the air space over the said place for reconnaissance and air-dropping. The Chinese Government

hereby lodges a serious protest with the Indian Government against this and demands that the Indian Government take effective measures at once to ensure against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

"In its previous notes, the Chinese Government has already cited more than once large amounts of facts of repeated encroachments on China's territorial air and reconnaissance and provocative activities carried out by Indian aircraft. The Indian Government, however, has always tried its hardest to deny and quibble about it. But this time the Indian air-dropping of a large quantity of material into Chinese territory has once again thoroughly refuted the denials and quibbles of the Indian side and testified to the conclusive truth of the Chinese Government's charges. The Chinese Government must also point out emphatically that the Indian side is certainly mistaken if it thinks it can benefit by unscrupulous provocations against Chinese posts.

"In the consistent spirit of valuing Sino-Indian friendship, the Chinese Government is willing, given true assurance against the recurrence of such intrusions from the Indian Government, to consider letting the Indian side take back the material illegally air-dropped into Chinese territory. The procedures for the taking-back can be arranged through diplomatic channels. The Chinese Government requests an early reply from the Indian Government."

# BONN INTO AFRICA

by LI YUEH

**F**OSTERED by the United States, the West German monopoly capitalists have made a rapid recovery and swiftly increased their economic strength since the end of World War II. They are now speeding up their expansion in the economically underdeveloped areas. In recent years particularly, West Germany has used its growing economic strength to intensify its penetration of Africa as the old colonial powers there like Britain and France are weakening under the impact of the African national-liberation movement.

## Fast Late-Comer

In the postwar years, the penetration of West German monopoly capital into Africa came later than in Latin America and Asia; it was lagging far behind Britain and France, it could not even keep pace with the United States. But it should be noted that now West Germany, relying on its greater economic and technical strength and other favourable factors, has moved ahead fast to catch up with these other colonial powers, and is using every opportunity for vigorous expansion in Africa. In recent years, it has made rapid progress in both its export of commodities and capital. In 1960, its exports to Africa amounted to 2,533 million West German marks, an increase of about 72 per cent compared with 1959; and for the first time in its trade with Africa in the postwar period, it ran up an export surplus of 77.6 million marks. In the first half of 1961, the total value of its trade with Africa increased by another 14 per cent compared with the same span in the previous year and reached 2,444 million marks. In 1960, the share of West German commodities on the African market amounted to 8.3 per cent, as against prewar 6.7 per cent contributed by the whole of Germany.

There has also been a very rapid increase in West German exports of capital to Africa. According to figures released by the Bonn Economics Department, from 1956 to November 1960, West Germany, in accordance with bilateral and multilateral agreements, provided the African countries with so-called "development aid" (mainly loans), amounting to 5,651.75 million marks, which is approximately 11 times greater than the sum of 514 million marks provided from 1950 to 1955. Recent West German press reports say that in 1961, the amount of "capital aid" provided by Bonn to foreign countries was around 1,600 million marks, and that this year and next, this sum will be increased gradually to 2,000 million and 2,500 million marks respectively. At the same time, the "aid" funds provided by Bonn through international agencies amounted to 838 million marks in 1961. This makes it clear that the loans provided by West Germany under its "development aid" programme in 1961 showed a rapid increase as compared with the annual average over the previous five years. It is estimated that at least one-quarter of the "aid" provided by West Germany to the underdeveloped countries under bilateral and multilateral

agreements has gone to the African countries. These figures show how fast West German loans to the African countries have increased. The West German press also reported that by October 1, 1961, West Germany had promised to grant "capital aid" to 29 countries, involving a total of 5,480 million marks under 34 projects. Among these, 13 were African countries, involving a total of 1,241 million marks under 16 projects.

Direct private West German investments in Africa from 1951 to the first quarter of 1957 totalled 89.4 million marks. By June 30, 1961, such investments totalled 198.2 million marks. That is to say, the figure for the past four years was greater than that for the six previous years.

## Bonn's Ways and Means

In penetrating Africa, West Germany's first step was to focus its efforts on those African countries which had earlier achieved political independence. It paid particular attention to those countries with greater market potentialities and closer historical ties with Germany. Its next step is to make a vigorous pretence of friendship with the newly independent countries to expand its sphere of operations. South Africa is an important objective under this plan of action. What with the traditional German economic influence in the country and its own fairly developed economy, South Africa takes first place in West Germany's trade with Africa and its direct private investments there. The share of West German goods on the South African market has surpassed that of prewar Germany by a third. It is true that direct private West German investments in South Africa amount only to 78.3 million marks. But if to this is added the capital of the native capitalists of German descent then the total is 300 million marks.

Bonn is also doing all it can to establish a position in the newly independent African countries. To date, it has concluded trade, economic and technical "co-operation" agreements with nine or so such African countries including Togo and Kamerun and has begun to take part in the iron mining industries in Mauritania and Nigeria. West Germany has already overtaken the other capitalist powers in the foreign trade of some African countries.

West German monopoly capital is resorting to a variety of tricks in its attempts to squeeze the old colonialists out of Africa and install itself on that continent. First it grants loans to the economically underdeveloped countries, and especially export credits so as to expand its exports of commodities and capital and its political influence. Then it encourages direct private investments in a big way. For this purpose, the Bonn government has provided various kinds of guarantees for its own nationals; at the same time it seeks to conclude so-called

"agreements to protect investments" and "agreements to protect private properties overseas" with the countries which have accepted its investments. These agreements usually contain articles restraining such countries from carrying out nationalization or getting them to undertake to "compensate" investors when nationalization is put into operation, in an attempt to guard against the "political risks" involved. The Bonn government's boast about attaching no political conditions to its "aid" to the underdeveloped countries is, of course, sheer nonsense.

Another means of West German expansion in Africa is to use so-called "technical assistance," and "cultural co-operation" as well as political and diplomatic manoeuvres to open the way for economic expansion. In 1956 it provided the underdeveloped countries with 50 million marks for "technical aid." The total amount of such "technical aid" from 1956 to 1960 totalled 300 million marks. But in 1961 alone, the amount granted under this head was 270 million marks; 40 per cent of this, that is, over 100 million marks, was granted to the African countries.

West Germany has also been active in the political and diplomatic fields. In the last few years it has sent a stream of high-level government or parliamentary delegations to Africa. In October 1959 the Bonn Foreign Ministry called its diplomatic envoys to the African countries to a meeting in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa convened especially to examine their activities on the African continent. In October 1960, a pompous 12-day "African Week" was held in Bonn and other West German cities. Not long ago, the West German President Heinrich Lübke, accompanied by a group of experts, was out on a busy trip to a number of African countries. At the same time quite a number of organizations have been set up in West Germany whose special purpose is to engage in activities in Africa. The biggest among them is the German-African Association with the Speaker of the Bundestag Eugen Gerstenmaier as its President. The members of its policy-making body are either representatives of the monopoly groups or high-ranking government officials. Big export businesses in West Germany also have their own organizations such as the African Association, the Overseas Interests Association, and others. Although the West German Government consistently supports the old colonial powers in suppressing the national-liberation movement in Africa, it takes advantage of the fact that it has no colonies to spread all sorts of phoney propaganda about its being "non-colonialist" and even "anti-colonialist," and pretends to be "friendly" to the African peoples. It has also put pressure on the African countries to prevent them from establishing diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.

### Inter-Imperialist Conflicts

Its infiltration into Africa has entangled West Germany in a most complicated manner with other imperialist countries; it colludes with them while conflicting with them. Take the Bonn-Paris axis for instance. France finds it necessary to lean on West German economic strength to maintain its colonial rule in Africa while West Germany takes advantage of this to infiltrate into French Africa. West Germany supports France's

colonial war in Algeria so as to get in return the right to exploit the Sahara oilfields. West Germany has contributed 840 million marks to the "Overseas Investment Fund" of the "Common Market" countries as a kind of "financial aid" to France to help it maintain her rule in Africa. France gets this money spent mainly in the construction of railways, harbour facilities, power plants, and so on instead of in productive enterprises that can steadily bring in large profits. This is how she tries to restrict West German investments there. But West Germany has, nevertheless, used this as a means of penetrating into French Africa. This reflects the contradictions between the two countries. These contradictions are similarly reflected in the relations between the African countries which were former French colonies and the "Common Market." With a view to protecting its special interests in Africa, France wants these countries to maintain indirect contacts with the "Common Market" through Paris. West Germany, on its part, wants these countries to become direct participants in the "Common Market" so that it can force its way into these regions more directly.

There is a head-on clash of interests between West Germany and Britain in Africa. In South Africa, for instance, West Germany is actively making use of the contradictions between Pretoria and London to edge British influence out of South Africa. Some British capital there has already fallen into the hands of West German capital. Britain is, of course, fighting obstinately to resist this infiltration of West German influence. A Bonn government communique once complained that a very large part of West German imports from Africa has to be trans-shipped via London; West Germany hopes to break through such restrictions.

In the Congo, West Germany, in collusion with such countries as France and Belgium, gets such important Congo raw materials as uranium and oil by investing in Belgian and French companies. After the Congo achieved independence, Bonn actively supported Belgium's armed invasion of the country and in the past year has given all kinds of assistance to the Tshombe clique, the henchmen of the Belgian capitalists. Since the United States has gained the upper hand in the Congo by edging out British, French and Belgian influences there through the United Nations, Bonn has sat on the fence. Not long ago when the "U.N. forces" clashed with the Tshombe clique, certain newspapers run by West German monopoly capital expressed opposition to the armed action of the "U.N. forces" and suggested that the two sides come to terms with each other. This shows that for the sake of its own expansion in Africa, West German monopoly capital, while colluding with the old colonialists, also wants to side with the United States, and thus throw out the old colonialists with the hands of the United States so as to share the exploitation of colonial interests in Africa with it. West Germany is having to cudgel its brains how to handle its increasingly complicated relations and contradictions with these various countries. In future, with the United States and West Germany steadily intensifying their expansion in Africa and with the old colonialists such as Britain and France fighting desperately to maintain their own influence there, the inter-imperialist struggle will inevitably become fiercer than ever.



# SIDELIGHTS

**Spring Tours From Shanghai.** Batches of smiling, suntanned tourists are returning to work after spending their Spring Festival holiday visiting famous resorts and places of interest in subtropical Kwangtung and Kwangsi where spring is already well advanced. Others are coming back from the lovely West Lake of Hangchow, a resort famous the world over. These tours were arranged by the Shanghai Tourist Bureau. It has been their busiest season since they started operating in that big leap forward year of 1958. In a little over four years this tourist agency has organized 800 tours for some 40,000 people. Each season the scope and variety of its tours have been expanded.

Holiday excursions may last from a few days to a month and one trip, almost equivalent to a continental tour, covers nearly 8,000 kilometres and takes in 11 provinces.

And who are the people who go on these tours? Teachers, students, workers from mines, factories and offices, and an increasing number of peasants from people's communes.

**Spring Weddings.** Some thousands of newly-weds in Peking, this ancient city of predominantly young people, are entering their fourth week of wedded bliss. Nearly 2,500 couples were married over the Spring Festival making it a doubly happy occasion. This figure is only for the four districts of Peking proper, but it is an all-time high. And what better time for young people in love to start a life together than on a beautiful spring day when the whole country is stirring into new life.

**Catching Geese.** Let other hunters tramp the hills with guns and dogs but peasants around Hunghu Lake are catching large numbers of wild geese without firing a shot. Neither do they use traps or decoys. Their success depends on quiet cunning.

Geese, cautious birds that they are, post sentinels around each flock before retiring for the night and it is these very geese guards that the peasants make use of when replenishing their larders with southern-fed wild fowl.

The hunters first locate a flock settling down for the night and when it is really dark, stealthily close in on it. After a few steps the hunters flash on a light for an instant. The watchdog geese immediately sound the alarm and all the birds wake up. But they can hear no sign of danger. The hunters wait till the flock goes to sleep again, then creep closer. Again they show a light and as quickly switch it off, waiting once more for the geese to get back to sleep. This operation is repeated until the flock is thoroughly fed up with the guards for giving false alarms. Exasperated they peck them into silence even while the hunters are closing in for the kill. This is the way these commune members bag plump migrating geese.

**Winter Schools.** Spare-time winter schools, where tens of thousands of young and middle-aged farmers may continue lessons where they left off late last spring, are still in full swing over the southeastern part of Shansi Province. This area, the size of Belgium, covers 14 counties. At these schools, the peasant-students brush up on the three R's, study government rural policies and farming techniques and listen to talks on the current situation at home and abroad. Recreational activities include the staging of plays and operas.

Schools of this kind are not new to this gully-cut loessland around the Taihang Mountains. This was one of the Eighth Route Army's bases in the war against Japanese aggression. It was then that the Communist Party first organized study classes for the army and the people of this area. These developed into schools which have been kept up and improved since liberation. In all, more than 700,000 peasants have learnt to read and write and 30,000 skilled farm workers have been trained by these schools. There are 5,500 such schools this year, manned by 18,000 teachers recruited from local government

offices, from among ex-servicemen and the better-educated villagers.

**National Costumes.** It used to take a Miao girl nearly six months of weaving and painstaking work with wood blocks and dyes to make one of those lovely skirts that are a feature of the Miao national costume. Now, she, or any member of the 20 and more national minorities in subtropical Yunnan Province, can walk into a local store there and take her pick of cloth or dresses in attractive Miao, Yi, Li and other national minority designs. This has been made possible by modern cotton mills and skilled textile designers.

Tai Jen-li of the Yi nationality, is one such talented designer. This 28-year-old artist-technician heads a unique textile dyeing and printing factory specializing in printed cloth in a range of 250 attractive traditional and new designs for Yunnan's national minorities. A child labourer in a public bath-house before the People's Government came to power, he was given the chance to learn the textile printing and dyeing trade in Shanghai after liberation. He returned to Yunnan in 1956 to set up the present factory.

Reactionary rulers of China in the old days did their utmost to suppress the individual cultures of Yunnan's minorities. One expression of these minority peoples' new-found freedom and prosperity after the reactionaries were driven away was a renewed interest in their colourful national dress. Unfortunately manufactured cloth with the patterns and designs they wanted was not available. But the Party knew the people loved their traditional dresses. This is why Tai Jen-li and others with government help came to set up this factory.

Since then the young designer and several co-workers have visited villages all over the province making a thorough study of colours and designs of clothing of all the peoples of Yunnan. Now textiles with the desired patterns are produced in quantity. New motifs and colour combinations based on traditional folk weaves and designs coming from the factory are also proving to be extremely popular.



Papercut by Chu Feng

# SKATING

## **Encouraging Results**

China's speed skaters, both men and women, had a fair measure of success in the world championships this year. Her two 20-year-olds, Wang Chin-yu and Lo Chih-huan, acquitted themselves well to gain 5th and 6th places in the men's 4-event total with 190.433 and 191.310 points respectively. Wang Chin-yu, China's national champion, also received the special prize for "the best skater of the Asian countries" awarded by the Soviet newspaper *Trud*, and his excellent time of 2 min. 16.6 sec. in the 1,500 metres earned him a bronze souvenir medal from the Soviet Speed Skating Federation.

Lo Chih-huan, China's best sprinter on ice, showed that he has come on fast. He edged out European champion Robert Merkulov (Soviet Union), former world champion Knut Johannesen (Norway), Andre Koupryanoff (France) and other stars to reach the top six.

The men's competitions in Moscow were among the most keenly contested in the championships' 70-year history. There was a record number of top skaters from 20 countries competing, including such notables as the defending world champion Henk Van der Grift of the Netherlands, the 1960 champion Boris Stenin, the reigning European champion Robert Merkulov and Olympic champion Viktor Kosichkin—all of the Soviet Union, and France's Andre Koupryanoff.

Racing in bad weather, Kosichkin won the championship back for his country with one of the best marks of the season—188.340 points. Van der Grift came 2nd with 189.143 points followed by Ivar Nilsson of Sweden at 3rd place with 189.316 points and Boris Stenin 4th with 189.915 points.

At Imatra, Finland, where the women's championships were held, China's Liu Feng-jung retained her 4th place after three ace Soviet skaters. Her 4-event total of 208.650 points was 1.117 points better than her mark last year. This is a significant improvement over her 1961 world championship result when she was almost 4 points behind 3rd place winner Lidia Skoblikova of the Soviet Union. This year less than a point separated her from Albina Tuzova, who only recently improved the world's all-round record for women. In her fine performance at Imatra, Liu Feng-jung broke four

Chinese national records. Another Chinese skater Yang Yun-hsiang came 15th with 217.433 points, a repeat of her success in 1958 but with a better points total.

As was expected, the first three places in the women's 4-event total were again won by the Soviet Union with Inga Voronina 1st with 204.683 points, Lidia Skoblikova 2nd with 206.183 points and Albina Tuzova 3rd with 208.334 points.

## ART

### **A Tour in Tibet—From An Artist's Diary**

Last July, the Union of Chinese Artists arranged for the three of us, the painters Tung Hsi-wen, Shao Ping-kun and myself to go on an art tour to make paintings of Tibet. When we left, Peking was sweltering in summer heat; when we returned skating was in full swing on the Shi Cha Hai and other rinks. Friends greeted us with eager questions about Tibet and our work, and they always asked, "You must be tired with all that travel? Was it terribly cold up there?" At that time of year it was of course bitterly cold when we travelled through the Tangla and Kunlun Mountain passes five to six thousand metres above sea-level, but Tibet is a vast territory and has different climates in different places. In places like Lingtze and Yatung it can well be said that spring reigns all the year round. Summers there are never too hot and the winters are usually mild. Their mountains and hills are seas of eternal green whose beauty is enhanced by their stately pines and flowers of many kinds. From a distance, I once saw a huge tree, its trunk so thick that three persons' arms could barely meet around it. I took it for an old willow but when we approached it, it turned out to be a peach tree. In Lhasa, the sun shone every day, fully living up to its name of "City of Sunshine." I found the Lhasa winter much milder than Peking's. I did a painting of Lhasa's Dragon King Pool. The leaves had all fallen from the trees but so dense were the twigs and branches that there was no sense of winter's chill and desolation. Spring was right there in the womb of winter. It was this hidden sense of spring which I sought to give pictorial expression to. It may be due to adequate rainfall at night coupled with fine sunshine in the daytime, or

for some other reason, but Lhasa's cabbages and turnips are exceptionally large. An ordinary cabbage weighs 10 to 15 kilogrammes while a big one weighs as much as 30. One day as our party of four, including an interpreter, was returning, a bit thirsty, from a painting excursion, a truck loaded with fresh vegetables roared past. A big turnip dropped from it on the highway. We ate our fill, but could only manage to finish off less than half, and took the rest back home for another meal.

Our Tibetan compatriots are extremely fond of festivities. The National Day Festival and the traditional Tibetan Ongkor Festival are the occasion for horse races and archery contests; the Zhoton Festival, that celebrates hopes of a bumper harvest, is a time for dancing and stage performances. Soon after we arrived in Lhasa, we found ourselves right in the midst of the latter festival. Everyone was in high spirits and thousands of people made their way to the city's beauty spot, the Norbu Lingka Park. Carrying my sketching easel and other painting paraphernalia I soon found myself among jubilant crowds. It was a fascinating spectacle. Many light tents had been set up in the woods around the Norbu Lingka. Resting beside them were brand-new bicycles or horses gaily decked with rosettes of red cloth. In the shade of these tents, people were singing, playing instruments or leisurely enjoying their buttered tea. Others danced in the open air. The white columns of smoke that rose from the temporary kitchens blended picturesquely into the scene. I was greatly excited by these attractive sights and spent two days in the woods there busily painting. In my eagerness to record as much of this scene as possible, I moved about from place to place. My warm-hearted Tibetan compatriots were always on hand to help me, by carrying my knapsack, cotton-padded jacket or stool. They were clearly delighted by my enthusiasm and by the pictures I had made.

Many were the landscapes that our Tibetan friends suggested that we go to see and paint: Snow-covered mountains, virgin forests, pasture grounds, lakes and rivers. Pursuing these spectacular natural beauties, our party travelled by many treacherous paths and glaciers; sometimes we walked long distances with our painting outfits on our backs. But this was richly rewarding toil. When I actually made a

stop and began to think out the composition of my pictures, I more than once sensed that what made the lakes look so beautiful and the snow-capped mountains so magnificent was above all the huge shocks of *qingke* barley that dotted the lakeside, the fat cattle that grazed on the luxuriant grassland and the gay singing of the shepherds and shepherdesses. I was deeply moved

at the sight of these freed serfs and slaves, their powerful arms moving in unison as they gathered in their crops, other teams already moving in behind them for the autumn ploughing. Their womenfolk were happily occupied too at the threshing floors on sunny days and at their spinning wheels when it rained. While out painting, we always took along our lunch boxes. But there was never any lack of hospitable hosts and hostesses who insisted that we try their tasty buttered cakes and wine home-brewed from their highland barley. People everywhere were ever ready to welcome guests from faraway Peking. On our trips to remote areas, we always lodged at depots of the People's Liberation Army units which, with great naturalness, the local communities had turned into their own clubhouses as well as health clinics. People came to the depots to look at pictorial magazines, see film showings as well as to get treatment for their illnesses. As I looked at them receiving the best care the P.L.A. could pro-



75-Year-Old Dabadondrub



Trashilunpo Monastery

vide, I was often reminded of an exhibition I saw in Lhasa. In the section there devoted to the rebel noble Thrichang, there was a big basket of "pills" which had been made with the excrement of this scoundrel himself. These had been found at his manor. He used to supply this "efficacious medicine" to the sick. And in return for his "kindness," they were obliged to present him with several yaks sometimes for just one "pill."

In Gyangtze, we were all attracted by the gorgeous locally made carpets, the clean-swept streets, the coalblack yaks and colourful market places. The pagoda of its Palchud Monastery, built in a singular style all its own, was, of course, quite a sight. But what impressed me most was the remains of a stronghold which the local community had used in their fight to defend their homes from the British aggressors. After going over the historical records of this heroic city, I went to interview 75-year-old Dabadondrub, the last survivor of this war. He was dark-complexioned, strongly built and spoke in a deep voice. His father and brothers all took part in this campaign. I listened with reverence to his war stories and in this same frame of mind I painted a portrait of him with the fort in the background. I was not satisfied with it, however. I wished I had been a better painter, able to project an understanding of his inner feelings more fully now that he has lived to see his native place change from a land of beggars to a land of happiness.

We visited many monasteries: the Jokhan Monastery, the Potala Palace, the Draipung and Trashilunpo Monasteries and others. It was an exceptionally fine day when I went to paint my picture of the Trashilunpo Monastery. Viewed through rows of towering poplars in a neighbouring garden,

the monastery was a splendid sight with its many white walls against a clear blue sky, its doors and windows with their intricate woodwork, and dark red roofs with dazzling golden decorations. Later I paid a visit to the monastery precincts. There, I saw hoary-headed lamas seated side by side with young ones about six or seven years of age, chanting scriptures or sipping their favourite buttered tea together. Tea is served in those lamaseries eight times a day in huge copper teapots by lamas wrapped, with the exception of their arms, which are uncovered, in dark red *pulu* (a typical Tibetan woollen fabric). The kettles for boiling the tea in these monasteries are sometimes as big as a room. I had the experience of climbing up stairs to take a look at the inside of one such kettle. It was a remarkable sight to see the dark-coloured tea boiling within.

I spent an unforgettable night at Rau. The whole day I had painted and after supper, a fur coat draped loosely over my shoulders, I joined my colleagues in a stroll outside the village. There was dim moonlight but following the songs of some youngsters, we soon found ourselves at the lakeside in the midst of a large group of schoolchildren singing and dancing with their teacher. Seeing us, they immediately struck up *Socialism Is Good* as an expression of their welcome. Our party lasted nearly an hour. The night was exceedingly beautiful. The snowy mountains made silvery reflections in the lake. It was a bit chilly too but as I pressed the children's hands good-bye I found that their singing and dancing had made them comfortably warm. Several months later when we passed through the snowy mountains on our way back, I still seemed to hear the songs of those youngsters in the beauty of the night.

— WU KUAN-CHUNG

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **Sino-Soviet Treaty Anniversary Celebrated**

The Chinese people widely celebrated the 12th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. Besides activities in Peking which we reported last week, meetings were held in Shanghai, Canton, Harbin, Urumchi and Lushun-Talien. There were exhibitions of photographs showing the great achievements of the Soviet Union, special showings of Soviet films and other activities in many provincial capitals and big cities.

At a reception given by the Soviet Embassy in Peking on February 14, Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed that in the present international situation, to safeguard and strengthen the unity of China and the Soviet Union, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and the unity of the people throughout the world has special significance. "The Chinese people will continue to spare no effort to strengthen this unity," Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared.

In Moscow, on the same day, Chang Teh-chun, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy, gave a reception to celebrate the anniversary. A.A. Gromyko, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs and other Soviet officials attended the reception.

## **Nepal's Democratic Day**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings, dated February 16, to King Mahendra of Nepal on the 11th anniversary of the Democratic Day of the Kingdom of Nepal which was celebrated on February 18. The message wished His Majesty further successes in leading the Nepalese people in the cause of safeguarding national independence, defending state sovereignty and building the country and greeted the growing friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi in a speech at the reception given by the Nepalese Ambassador Kaisher Bahadur in Peking, said that under the leadership of His Majesty King Mahendra, the Nepalese Government has made tremendous efforts to safeguard national independence and build its country, and has obtained positive results. Persevering in an independent and sovereign policy of peace and neutrality, the Nepalese Government is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. Although certain forces hostile to the Nepalese national interests have engaged in repeated obstruction and sabotage, the Vice-Premier pointed out, we believe that the Nepalese Government will continue to score new successes and the Nepalese people will advance along the road of independent development.

Referring to the friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples, the Vice-Premier said that the friendly visit of His Majesty King Mahendra and his Queen to China last year, a visit of historic significance, had further deepened the mutual understanding and confidence between the two peoples. The signing of the Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty that came in the wake of the Sino-Nepalese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and the signing of the agreement by the two countries on the construction of a highway show that the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries have entered a new stage, he stressed.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi reiterated the Chinese Government's consistent stand that "all nations, big and small, should treat each other as equals and respect and support each other on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." Only in this way, he said, could countries really co-operate amicably and live together in peace.

The Chinese Government respects and supports the Nepalese Government's independent and sovereign policy of peace and neutrality, and sincerely hopes that Nepal will grow into a prosperous and strong country, said the Vice-Premier.

## **Afro-Asian Solidarity**

The Second Congress of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, attended by more than 200 leading writers from 45 Asian and African countries, held in Cairo from February 12 to 15.

China's delegation was led by Mao Tun, Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Union, and Hsia Yen, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. On the eve of the opening of the conference, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the conference.

During the conference, Mao Tun made a speech under the title "The Glorious Future of Afro-Asian Literature in a Tempestuous Age." He expressed the wish that Asian and African writers may produce ever more magnificent works than they have before.

Mao Tun described the continents of Asia and Africa as the oldest sources of human civilization, the cradles of world culture. The stormy and thunderous struggles of the Asian and African peoples for independence, freedom and democratic rights, he said, provide Afro-Asian writers with a profound source of material for literary works, inspiring them in their creative efforts. Many outstanding authors and poets have written prose and poetry which have stirred the hearts and heightened the morale of the people.

"At present," Mao Tun said, "the writers of Asia and Africa are on the threshold of a great era of cultural renaissance. It is their glorious task in this new era to create a new culture with national characteristics."

The imperialists and colonialists, he continued, have always abhorred literary works which truly reflect the life, struggles, ideals and hopes of the Asian and African peoples. They have left no stone unturned in their attempts to wreck conditions conducive to the production of such works.

Mao Tun pointed out that today, the new colonialists represented by U.S. imperialism are even more rabid in their attempts to stamp out true national cultures, the scope of their activities is unprecedented in history. "Dollar civilization" is directed to undermining the best of local national cultures in those regions which are under their control or influence. Through its political puppets and other agents, U.S. imperialism exports an enormous quantity of pernicious, crime-inciting literature and films, weird music, grotesque painting and other works. Its aim is to poison the colonial peoples' minds and eliminate their national cultures, to make peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies forget their own

traditions, cultures and history and to turn them into obedient subjects to be exploited by U.S. monopoly capital.

Pointing out that U.S. imperialism's cultural aggression is part of its overall policy of aggression, Mao Tun said that "in order to undermine the independence and freedom of the peoples of the world, U.S. imperialism must also undermine their national cultures, because only by so doing, could it achieve its aim of world domination politically and economically. Thus the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism and colonialism are not only indispensable means to achieve national independence and freedom, but also a necessary prerequisite for restoring and developing national cultures. The Chinese writers and the Chinese people always wholeheartedly and steadfastly support these just and glorious struggles."

"We do fervently love peace," Mao Tun declared, "however, the peace we are fighting for is a kind of peace which we can enjoy as our own masters, not a kind of peace in which we live as slaves. We Chinese people, together with the other peoples of Asia and Africa, have initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and have spared no effort to realize these principles. But it should also be made clear that there is a difference between unconditional peaceful coexistence and principled peaceful coexistence. What we mean by principled peaceful coexistence is the kind of peaceful coexistence based on the aforesaid Five Principles, i.e., mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The heroic struggles against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence, democracy and freedom which the peoples of Asia and Africa are waging today, are precisely creating the necessary conditions for such principled peaceful coexistence."

"Historical experience teaches us that sacrifice of national independence and freedom will never bring peace. On the contrary, it will only bring humiliation and enslavement," he continued. Pointing out that there can be no peaceful coexistence between sheep and wolves, he quoted the old

oriental proverb which says that a wolf will want to ravage the flocks even when it is breathing its last. But the wolf before us today — imperialism, old and new colonialism — is not even breathing its last, though it has become weaker under the blows of the people's revolutionary struggle, Mao Tun said. "The sacred task of Asian and African writers is to use our pens and by strengthening the people's revolutionary struggle, to protect the fruits of victory of the Afro-Asian peoples and to safeguard world peace. This will ensure the enrichment of the life of our peoples and the flowering of our culture," he said.

### Sino-Cuban Ties

Sponsored by the Cuba-China Friendship Association and the Committee in Defence of Revolution of Havana Province, a school for revolutionary instruction named after the Chinese martyr Huang Tao-pai was inaugurated in Havana on February 14.

Huang Tao-pai lost his life when, 32 years ago, he fought shoulder to shoulder with the Cuban people against Cuban and foreign reactionaries during the tyrannical rule of Machado.

An exhibition of Chinese children's art was opened in Havana on February 17 at the Cuban Young Pioneers' Palace. A huge picture, showing Chairman Mao Tse-tung with a group of children, was hung at the entrance of the palace. The Cuban Young Pioneers and other children were keenly interested in the paintings of the Chinese children reflecting their happy life and gay spirits and their solidarity with Cuba.

### Cultural News

After a 2-day talk between the delegations of China and Rumania, a 1962 executive plan of the Cultural Co-operation Agreement was signed on February 17 in Bucharest.

An 8-day Chinese film festival has recently been held in Osaka by the Council of the Osaka Branch of the Japan-China Friendship Association. Eight films were shown to audiences totalling more than 12,800 people. The council simultaneously launched a movement for restoration of diplomat-

ic relations between China and Japan.

The Japanese film the *Matsukawa Case* has been warmly received by the Chinese people. It is based on the political frame-up in 1949 by U.S.-Japanese reaction against patriotic, democratic forces in Japan.

Noted novelist Pa Chin saluted the film as "a truthful portrayal of a heroic fight and an honest work of art."

*Dazhong Dianying* (Popular Cinema), in its January issue, devoted whole pages to stills from the film and letters from people who had seen it.

Chinese historians Liu Ta-nien and Pai Shou-yi attended the 12th Pakistan History Conference which closed in Dacca on February 4. During their stay in Pakistan, they spent a week touring in Lahore and Peshawar. At the conference, they gave lectures on historical research in China and spoke on the life of Chinese Moslems. They much appreciated their many meetings with Pakistani scholars and historians.

### Briefs

A donation of 60,000 yuans' worth of medical equipment and medicine was presented recently to the people of Bizerta, a gift from Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking. The gifts were offered in response to an appeal made last October by the Chairman and Municipal Council of Bizerta, for support for the Tunisian people's struggle against French aggression.

The last phase of work on the Royal Cambodian National Radio Station, a gift to Cambodia from Premier Chou En-lai, has been completed. The Chinese experts working on this undertaking were decorated by Chau Seng, Cambodian Minister for Information.

The Chief of the Burmese Delegation to the Joint Sino-Burmese Boundary Committee and Vice-Chief of General Staff of the Burmese National Defence Forces Brigadier-General Aung Gyi has presented a rare species of antelope to China.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## ***Iraq Fights Foreign Monopolies***

Recent Iraqi government measures concerning oil, and import and export controls directed against foreign monopolies are "just actions aimed at liquidating the vestiges of colonialism and safeguarding national sovereignty," says Commentator in *Renmin Ribao* (February 16).

The measures concerning oil, continues Commentator, are of particular importance to Iraq. Iraq is a leading oil-producing country in the Middle East but the overwhelming part of its oil resources are in the hands of the British, U.S. and French capital-controlled Iraq Petroleum Company and its two subsidiaries, the Mosul Petroleum Company and the Basra Petroleum Company. After the old Iraqi regime was overthrown in 1958, the new government began negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company in August of the same year. But because of the truculent and unreasonable attitude adopted by the Western monopolies the negotiations were fruitless. Last December the Iraqi Government promulgated its first oil law providing for the recovery of the unexploited concessions from the foreign oil companies and limiting the concessions operated by the Iraq Petroleum Company and its subsidiaries to a total of 1,937.75 square kilometres.

These measures are supported by the Iraqi people and public opinion in Asia and Africa, says Commentator. After the Iraqi people overthrew the Nuri Said's reactionary regime, the imperialists could no longer use their old methods to enslave the Iraqi people, but they are still trying, by hook or by crook, to maintain their colonial exploitation in Iraq. They are seeking to use the Iraq Petroleum Company and other monopolies to keep their hold on the country's economy and prevent it from developing an independent national economy. Thus, the present measures of the Iraqi Government will not only facilitate the growth of Iraq's national economy but will help safeguard its sovereignty, says Commentator.

But the imperialists will not lightly give up their positions. They are now exerting pressure on Iraq to prevent it from enforcing its oil law against foreign monopolies. At the end of last December, on the pretext of "increased tension" in the Middle East, Britain dispatched large numbers of warships and troops to threaten that region.

"The Chinese people," concludes Commentator, "and the peoples of Iraq and other Arab countries have always supported each other in their struggle against imperialism, and for the safeguarding of their independence and sovereignty. We rejoice at every achievement of the Iraqi people in upholding their sovereignty and national independence. We believe that so long as they are united and heighten their vigilance, all imperialist plots are doomed to failure."

## ***Anti-Fascist Struggle in France***

Anti-fascist demonstrations and strikes have recently spread over much of France. The French people are resolutely opposed to the fascist menace, are demanding an end to the colonial war in Algeria and protesting against the de Gaulle government's connivance at the fascist terrorists and its colonial policy in Algeria. This shows how strongly the French people feel about

the fascist activities raging in the country, says an article in *Renmin Ribao*, February 16.

Since mid-January, says the article, the "Secret Army Organization" (O.A.S.), an organization of the French fascist terrorists, has become ever more insolent. Bomb explosions and murders occurred almost every day in Paris and other major French cities. These criminal activities are mainly spear-headed against the French progressives.

These fascist outrages, the article points out, reflect the sharpening contradictions within the French ruling group resulting from their defeat in the colonial war in Algeria and the increasing instability of the de Gaulle regime.

The de Gaulle government's present Algerian policy represents the interests of the big French industrialists and financial monopoly groups. Their main concern is how to continue their plunder of the oil, gas and other mineral resources in the Sahara. They are well aware that the continuation of their desperate colonial war can only lead to the liquidation of their interests and the end of French colonial domination in Algeria. That is why they are willing to negotiate some sort of agreement with the Algerian people provided they can maintain their actual control of the Sahara's resources, maintain French military bases in Algeria and retain a special position for the French colonialists.

But this policy is opposed by the big French estate owners in Algeria. This

## THE PASSING SHOW

### **Prop of the Economy**

It's no wonder that Uncle Sam isn't exactly rarin' to go when it comes to disarmament. The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a panel set up by the Kennedy Administration to study problems of disarmament, reports that "serious trouble, in event of disarmament, will be unavoidable for individuals, companies and communities whose livelihood now depends on defense" [defence being the Washington euphemism for "war industry"].

The U.S. arms drive, continues this report, "now absorbs nearly a tenth of the total output of goods and services, and employs about a tenth of the labour force, including the armed forces. . . . Ninety-five per cent of employment in aircraft and missiles depends on defense. That also goes for 60 per cent of employment in ship-building, and 40 per cent in radio and communications equipment. These industries clearly will have serious problems of adjustment if defense spending is cut back."



group is mainly interested in the plunder of Algeria's agricultural resources. To them, supra-economic exploitation can be maintained only by military occupation and downright colonial domination. For this reason they are dead against de Gaulle's policy in Algeria. In 1960 and 1961, they engineered two armed revolts against de Gaulle. After the defeat of their revolts, they set up the "O.A.S.," in an attempt to force the de Gaulle government to give greater consideration to their interests.

The de Gaulle government, the article says, has all along taken a "lenient" attitude to the criminal activities of the "O.A.S." This is because the French army and police and even members of parliament have connections with this fascist organization. But what is more important is that the contradictions between the de Gaulle government and the "O.A.S." are by no means irreconcilable. Many important members of the "O.A.S." are de Gaulle's henchmen. That is why, even when the fascist terrorists were ar-

rested they were either given light sentences or released immediately. On the contrary, the de Gaulle government, on the pretext of dealing with the "O.A.S.," has taken a series of repressive measures directed against the French people. The massacre of the anti-fascist demonstrators on February 8 by the French gendarmes and police aroused the bitter wrath of the French people. Hence the demonstrations and strikes against the de Gaulle government's pampering of the fascist terrorists and its repression of the anti-fascist demonstrators.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

### HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

#### PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE RIVERSIDE PAVILION** A play by the great Yuan Dynasty playwright Kuan Han-ching, about a beautiful woman who outwits the powerful Lord Yang in his scheme to dispose of her husband and possess her. Peking Opera Company of Peking.

▲ **HSIEH YAO-HUAN** Adapted from Tien Han's new historical play. Hsieh Yao-huan is a talented woman official under Queen Wu Tse Tien, China's first woman ruler who reigned during the early Tang Dynasty. She is entranced by Wu Tse Tien to inspect a peasants' uprising in the Talho area. She loses her life in her fight against the corrupt officials who rule roughshod over the poor and oppressed. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **HUNG YANG VALLEY** A Sung Dynasty story. Meng Huai-yuan, a young warrior, is conscripted into the Liao army to fight the Sung forces. After learning from his mother that he is the lost son of the Sung General Meng Liang, he plans to return to the Sung side. Later, he and his father defeat the Liao invaders. The Experimental Peking Opera Troupe of Peking.

#### SHAOSHING OPERA

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** A historical opera about the Han-Tibetan marriage between Princess Wen Cheng and the Tibetan king Sron-tsan Gampo in the Tang Dynasty. Despite the plots of traitors, this happy union strengthens the fraternal ties between the two nationalities. Produced by the visiting Tientsin ShaosHING Opera Troupe.

#### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **THE COURTESAN'S JEWEL BOX** The lovely courtesan Tu Shih-niang gives her love to Li Chia and leaves with him to become his wife. On the way a merchant offers to buy her and avaricious Li Chia, ashamed of his courtesan bride, agrees. Learning the truth, Tu Shih-niang, heart-broken, before the eyes of her worthless lover, throws the valuable jewels from her jewel box—which he has not known about—into the river, then drowns herself. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

#### KUNQU OPERA

▲ **A KINGDOM AS THE STAKE** A story of the Warring States Period. King Wei of Chu plots to subdue the State of Chi by defeating its king and queen in a game of chess with the State of Chi as the stake. But when the clever Queen of Chi wins the game, King Wei becomes enraged and Chu starts a real fight. The queen, aware of

his treacherous plan, is well prepared and defeats Chu. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

#### MODERN OPERA

▲ **MADAME BUTTERFLY** Puccini's famous opera. In Chinese. Central Opera and Dance Drama Theatre.

#### CONCERTS

"Eugene Onegin" Concert  
A performance of arias, duets and choruses from the famous opera *Eugene Onegin*. Sponsored by the Central Opera and Dance Drama Theatre. Feb. 24 & 25 at Tianqiao Theatre.

The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra presents a violin concerto concert. Feb. 24 at Peking Concert Hall. Programme includes:

Lalo: Symphonie Espagnole  
Sibelius: Violin Concerto in D Minor  
Violin Concerto (*Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai*)  
Violinist: Lin Ke-han  
Conductor: Lin Ke-chang

#### MODERN DRAMA

▲ **KOU CHIEN REBUILDS THE COUNTRY** A historical play written collectively by Tsao Yu, Mei Chien and Yu Shih-chih. The State of Yueh in the Warring States Period is defeated by the State of Wu. After three years' captivity, Kou Chien, King of Yueh, returns home. Mindful of the humiliations and suffering he and his people have endured, he encourages them to work hard to strengthen their country. Many years later, he turns the tables on Wu. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THREE DOLLARS; A TROOP OF MONKEYS; DEATH OF A FAMOUS ACTOR** Three short plays about the old society by Ting Hsi-lin, Sung Chih-ti, Tien Han respectively. *Three Dollars*: about a mistress and her servant; *A Troop of Monkeys*: a satire on KMT "parliamentarism"; *Death of a Famous Actor*: on an actor's life. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **YO YUN** A historical play. Yo Yun, son of the patriotic General Yo Fei of the Sung Dynasty, is brought up to be a brave warrior and helps his father to defeat the Kin invaders. But he too falls victim to the schemes of the traitor Chin Kuei. China Children's Theatre.

#### FILMS

▲ **CLARION OF THE CHIANG MINORITY PEOPLE** Story of a revolutionary martyr who helps the Chiang minority people to organize against the KMT forces in the 1930s. Her heroic deed inspires the Chiangs to

persist in the struggle until final victory. Changchun Studio.

▲ **MONKEY SUBDUES THE WHITE BONE GHOST** A colour film version of the *shaouju* opera. An episode from *Pilgrimage to the West*. The Monkey Sun Wu-kung defeats the crafty schemes of the demon who seeks to devour his master. Tienma Studio.

▲ **SPRING THUNDER** A colour film version of the modern opera of the same title. Peking Studio.

▲ **THE FIRST MANNED SPACE FLIGHT** A Soviet documentary in colour. The thrilling account of how Soviet pilot Gagarin orbited the Earth for the first time in human history.

▲ **THE SONG OF THE EAGLE** A Soviet-Albanian joint production. It tells the heroic struggle of the Albanian people against the fascists during World War II.

#### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till March 5. At the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.

▲ **"WELCOME SPRING" EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS** showing more than 100 paintings in the traditional style by Peking artists. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Feb. 25. At Beihai Park.

▲ **At Artists' Union Gallery:**  
\* **EXHIBITION OF OIL PAINTING BY THE LATE SZUTU CHIAO** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till Feb. 25.

(Above exhibitions closed on Mondays)

▲ **At Palace Museum:**  
\* **EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS BY SHEN CHOU AND CHEN HUNG-SHOU, TWO GREAT MASTERS OF THE MING DYNASTY** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m. till early March.

\* **EXHIBITION OF CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY THROUGH THE AGES** Daily, 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.





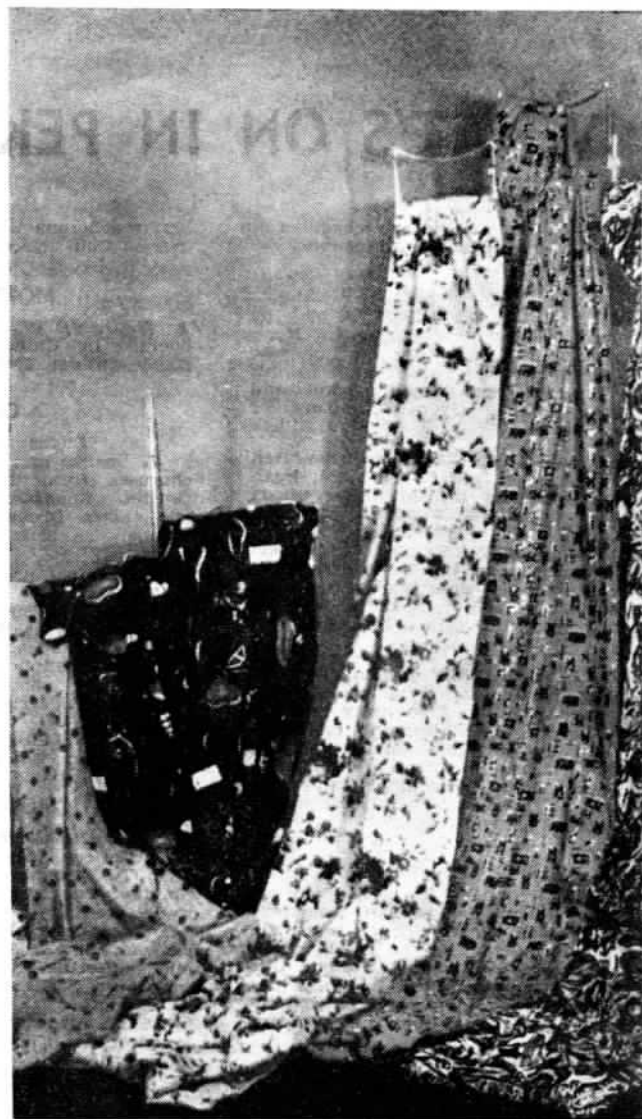
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