

PEKING REVIEW

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Theatre, Sidelights and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

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ROUND THE WEEK

Anshan's New Projects

Anshan, one of China's major steel centres, continues to grow. It is currently engaged on sixteen projects which will further boost its steel output. It is opening up new mines, building new workshops, expanding or further modernizing existing facilities in mining, machine repairing, transport, power generation and other departments. When completed over the next two or three years, these will considerably increase Anshan's capacity in ore extracting, iron smelting, steel making and rolling, promising a still wider range of steel products of better quality and in greater quantity.

Anshan has already greatly increased its iron smelting, steel making and rolling capacity over the past few years, and this has demanded a corresponding rise in the capacity of other departments. Ever since last year, measures have been in hand to answer this demand. Old mines are being expanded and new ones opened up to increase the supply of ore. Four new work-faces are being developed. One is already producing ore. A rich ore deposit has been found under water on the bed of a nearby river. This spring the river will be diverted and a new mine built to get up the ore. This and the expansion of other mines will boost the supply of ore for expanded steel production of this northeast China industrial complex.

New transport, machine repairing and power generation projects are also going ahead vigorously. A new repair shop for electric locomotives and another for railway wagons begun last year are scheduled for completion this year. They will help keep Anshan's own transport system at top efficiency. Among the other projects are the building of a blower repair shop and the installation of new steam boilers.

Anshan workers are hard at it; they plan to complete all these projects and put them into commission ahead of schedule.

What's Good for Where

Recent agricultural scientific surveys made in south China have opened up exciting prospects for many areas there. A team of scientists from the

Academy of Sciences and south China research institutes and colleges, including specialists in such fields as tropical flora, climatology, geomorphology, pedology and other sciences, has just concluded a twelve-month tour of more than 70 counties in Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien. Their study of natural conditions in these areas, taken together with previous findings, shows that tropical plants such as coffee, citronella, oil palm, pepper and maguey (a type of hemp) can be grown over a considerable area in these counties.

Hitherto it was thought that only Hainan Island and the Chankiang area of Kwangtung's southern coast were suitable for these crops. The survey, however, shows that other areas further to the north offer promising prospects for them too. The coastal area of eastern Kwangtung Province, for example, lies along a higher latitude, but it has a mild climate, high humidity and abundant rainfall. It is protected from cold northerly winds by a range of mountains and seems to be quite suitable for these tropical plants. Maguey is expected to give a profitably high per *mu* yield here.

The southern part of Fukien is equally favoured. Here, too, mountains to the north form a natural screen against cold winds while warm sea breezes keep the temperature up. The coffee, maguey and other plants introduced here earlier are all doing well.

Formerly, coconuts were grown on Hainan Island only, but experiments have shown that they thrive also in Swatow, Haifeng, Tungkuan, Taishan and other places in Kwangtung. Last year, a coconut tree grown by students of a secondary school in Tungkuan yielded dozens of delicious and fleshy nuts.

N.P.C. Opening Postponed

The opening of the third session of the Second National People's Congress, originally scheduled for March 5, has been postponed. This was decided by the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. at its 50th meeting held recently. The Standing Committee also decided that people's deputies to



On the Construction Site

Sketch by Lu Chih-hsiang

the N.P.C. should arrive in the capital and register on March 19 and 20.

C.P.P.C.C. Opening Also Postponed. The Standing Committee of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, at its 24th meeting held in Peking, also decided to postpone the opening of the third session of the C.P.P.C.C.'s Third National Committee originally scheduled for March 5. It was decided that members of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee should register on March 19 and 20.

Many deputies to the N.P.C. and members of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. are still touring the country, making on-the-spot investigations of government work and meeting with broad sections of the people. At several meetings held recently in Peking by those who have already returned from these tours, many praised the working people in various places of the country for their achievements in overcoming difficulties caused by natural calamities and for the successes they have scored in industry, agriculture, education, culture and in other fields.

Taiwan Uprising Commemorated

The U.S. occupation of Taiwan was bitterly denounced at meetings in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Foochow and other cities sponsored by the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League and its branches to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the February 28 uprising in Taiwan against U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Speakers condemned the U.S. imperialists for enslaving the island and its people. They also condemned the "two Chinas" plot and declared that no power on earth can prevent the restoration of Taiwan to China.

Hsu Meng-shan, Secretary-General of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, at the meeting held in Peking declared: "The Chinese people will liberate Taiwan, which is China's territory; there is no doubt about that!" He exposed the various schemes cooked up by U.S. imperialism in its attempt to annex the island. "These plots will inevitably be smashed by the Chinese people," he declared. He called on all patriots in Taiwan to unite and wage a determined struggle against U.S. imperialism and contribute to the liberation of the island.

Among those who spoke at the meeting were Tien Fu-ta (of the Kaoshan nationality in Taiwan), deputy to the National People's Congress and council member of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League; Hsieh Nan-kuang, deputy to the National People's Congress; and Chen Ping-chi, chairman of the Peking branch of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

At the meeting held in Canton, Chiu Lin, chairman of the league's branch in that city, gave the facts on the way the U.S. invaders have intensified their plunder of Taiwan over the past twelve years. This has plunged the island's industry, agriculture and commerce into an unprecedented crisis. "Our Taiwan compatriots are living in misery under a brutal dictatorship," he said. "They are seething with hatred for the U.S. aggressor." The U.S. imperialists' plot to prolong their occupation of the island was doomed to fail, he declared.

Taiwan compatriots now living in Foochow in the coastal province of Fukien held a special commemorative meeting. They expressed their concern for the Taiwan people living under the iron heel of the U.S. invaders

and the puppet Chiang Kai-shek clique and demonstrated their determination to do their utmost to speed up socialist construction and work for the early liberation of Taiwan.

Chinese Buddhists In Conference

Chinese Buddhists gathered in Peking last month to review their religious and lay activities in the past few

years and to discuss their future tasks. The conference—the Third National Conference of the Chinese Buddhist Association—opened on February 12 and ended on the 27th. It was attended by more than 240 Buddhists from 12 nationalities and belonging to various sects of the religion.

The resolution adopted at the closing session of the conference called on Chinese Buddhists to strengthen friendly ties with Buddhists in all other lands and to work together with them in defence of a peaceful life for mankind and in opposition to the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The conference called for the training of more Buddhist scholars and further study and research into the valuable works of Buddhist literature and art.

Tribute was paid to the outgoing council of the association for its work in religious research and other fields. A new council was elected. Panchen Erdeni and the Venerable Ying Tzu of Shanghai, 90 years old and the oldest monk of Han nationality, were unanimously elected honorary presidents of the association, while the Venerable Shirob Jaltso was re-elected president.

A message of greetings to Chairman Mao Tse-tung was unanimously adopted amidst warm applause.

After the closing session, a religious ceremony was held at Peking's Yung-hokung Monastery, with Shirob Jaltso officiating. Sutras were chanted as incense was burnt and hundreds of oil lamps were lit. At the end of the ceremony, President Shirob Jaltso and the newly elected vice-presidents, preceded by a religious guard of honour, in solemn procession acknowledged the respects of the lamas, monks, nuns and lay followers gathered for the occasion.

U.S. Imperialism Must Get Out of South Viet Nam

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

AS part of its plan to extend the U.S. frontiers to all the continents of the world, the Kennedy Administration has chosen south Viet Nam as a testing ground for its "special warfare." The people of south Viet Nam have taken up that challenge and are showing up this U.S. aggression for the vain and shoddy adventurism that it is.

Warning to Those Playing With Fire

At a meeting of the citizens of Peking called on March 5 to demonstrate support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, accused the U.S. imperialists of having kindled the flames of war in south Viet Nam. He warned them: "It's most dangerous for you to play with fire in the southern part of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people will not forgive you, nor will the peace-loving people of Asia and the rest of the world."

The rally was attended by members and representatives of people's organizations in the Chinese capital and officials and members of the democratic parties. Vice-Premiers Li Fu-chun and Hsi Chung-hsun were present.

Paying tribute to the close unity and fraternal solidarity of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, Liu Chang-sheng declared that their two countries are "as close as lips are close to teeth." The two peoples share each other's sorrows and happiness, he said, they know that when the U.S. imperialists brandish their weapons in south Viet Nam, they are preparing to invade the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as a prelude to aggression against China. Recent U.S. activities in south Viet Nam have aroused the vigilance and anger of all the Vietnamese and Chinese people.

The U.S. imperialists' talk about forces from without being engaged in "subversive activities" against south Viet Nam is a big lie. The fact is that armed struggle has been forced on the people of south Viet Nam by the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem clique. The people of the southern part of Viet Nam are the victims of U.S. imperialist aggression and it is only natural that they rise against it. The people's armed forces of south Viet Nam have grown in the struggle because they have the love and support of the people. Over the past eight years, the people in the southern part of Viet Nam have had no peace, no independence and no sovereign rights because of constant U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression. The United States has sent aeroplanes, war materials, officers and men and set up a full-scale military command there. It is drawing in more and more of the forces of its satellite accomplices.

If, Liu Chang-sheng said, the U.S. imperialists imagine they can stamp out the anti-U.S. patriotic struggle of the people in the southern part of Viet Nam by their so-called

"special warfare," they are daydreaming. The Vietnamese people's struggle is an important part of the common struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and to safeguard peace. The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism, and every victory they win in the struggle, is a great contribution to the cause of world peace and an inspiration to the peoples of all lands fighting for national liberation. The peoples of the socialist camp, of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all other peace-loving peoples of the world are on the side of the Vietnamese people.

U.S. Forces Directly Engaged

Ngo Mau, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in Peking, addressing the meeting, cited a number of recent instances of armed aggression launched by the U.S. Government in the southern part of Viet Nam. The U.S. military assistance command in Saigon, he said, is in reality a war command of the Pentagon. It is complete with a general staff, a department of psychological warfare, a supply command and other organs serving the U.S. armed forces in south Viet Nam. It manipulates the "defence ministry" of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and directly commands Diem's troops. At the same time this command is co-ordinated with the headquarters of the U.S. forces



You seem to be an old hand in Viet Nam. How about teaching us some native talk?
No need for that. There's lots of us Americans here!

Cartoon by Cheng Wen-chung

in the Pacific so that U.S. troops and the troops of U.S. satellite countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific can be used to wage a war of aggression in the southern part of Viet Nam.

An army captain of the South Korean intelligence command, Kim Chong Pil by name, and five other men, acting on the instructions of their U.S. master, arrived in Saigon on February 13 to work under the intelligence command there headed by a U.S. major-general, he noted.

Australia, he added, has also lately dispatched two warships and about a hundred officers and men to south Viet Nam.

Ngo Mau told the meeting that U.S. imperialism has set up an outpost at Tourane as a preparatory measure for its air division stationed in the Philippines to take part in its aggressive war in south Viet Nam.

We must not, Ngo Mau said, ignore the fact that the operational plans of the U.S. armed forces in Laos have been closely integrated with the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique's operational plans in south Viet Nam, threatening ever more markedly the independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia. This kind of open military collusion has

made the situation in south Viet Nam still more complicated and most serious, Ngo Mau declared.

China Backs Up the Vietnamese People

U.S. imperialism is, in fact, now engaged in open and direct aggression against the southern part of Viet Nam. This is a component part of U.S. plan to step up the suppression of the national-liberation movements of the people of all lands. It is, at the same time, a component part of worldwide U.S. aggressive war plans.

The Peking rally is another reflection of the resolute demand of the Chinese people. They say: The criminal hand of U.S. imperialism must be stayed! U.S. imperialism must get out of south Viet Nam! The 14 million south Vietnamese people must be allowed to settle their own affairs! U.S. imperialism must not interfere!

The Chinese people, vigilant against the schemes of U.S. imperialism, firmly support the Vietnamese people's just struggle. They are confident that the people in the southern part of Viet Nam will win the final victory no matter what difficulties they may face for the time being. The national aspirations of the Vietnamese people for the reunification of their motherland will surely be realized.

Japanese Survey

Ikeda's Boom Busts

by WU HSUEH-WEN

Harnessed to the reactionary and aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese economy is entangled in a mess of difficulties. The Ikeda cabinet, which only a few months ago was cock-a-hoop with grandiose plans, is facing tough times and things will get worse for it in future.

ONLY a few months ago the Ikeda government proclaimed its policy of "doubling the national income within ten years" and Japanese big and little business, riding a boom, was all smiles. Today from Kyushu in the south to Hokkaido in the north, workers and peasants and the people at large are complaining of soaring prices, growing unemployment and increasing hardships.

"Double the income? More like double the prices!" say consumers. Owners of small and medium-sized enterprises, who once pinned their hopes on Ikeda's promises, are bitterly disillusioned. Such firms depend heavily on the bigger enterprises for orders. Last year, according to official statistics, nearly 800 of them went bankrupt when many orders were cancelled as a result of restrictions put up on Japanese exports to the United States. Some of the bigger capitalists took advantage of the situation to buy up smaller concerns in difficulties and thus continue the expansion of their plant and equipment, but most have already sensed the nip in the economic weather caused by the disparity between Ikeda's inflated plans and the present state of the home and world markets. Right after a wild burst of expanding production facilities they now find themselves forced to cut back output. There is a feeling that "a crisis is right around the corner." Ikeda is no longer being extolled as a financial expert. One Japanese

cabinet minister complained recently: "Japan's economy under the Ikeda government is like a motor car that was coasting along at top speed and then suddenly stopped, throwing its passengers, killing and injuring them."

What are the ingredients of this situation?

* The Ikeda government failed to control Japan's huge adverse balance of international payments. That amounted to U.S. \$1,500 million in 1961. Japan's foreign exchange reserve, heavily propped with foreign loans, sank anyway to U.S. \$1,480 million. That is, Japan stands on the edge of a foreign exchange crisis. Every previous Japanese economic crisis has been preceded by a foreign exchange crisis and the current one too presages serious economic difficulties.

* Intoxicated with dreams of new imperialist expansion, the Japanese monopoly capitalist concerns went all out to increase their plant and equipment and "rationalize" their enterprises. Ikeda's "double the income" policy gave an extra push to this expansion. In 1961, Japan invested 3,700,000 million yen in plant and equipment as against 2,700,000 million yen in 1959 and 3,000,000 million yen in 1960. By the end of the year Japan found herself with two imbalances: an excess of industrial production capacity and an increasingly unfavourable balance of foreign trade. The economy was nudged nearer to the crisis point.

* The Ikeda government, which represents the interests of the monopoly capitalists, cannot lead the way out of these difficulties. At the Hakone conference held last November (*Peking Review*, No. 47, 1961), hoping to ease the extreme disequilibrium in Japanese-American trade, it begged Washington to relax its restrictions on Japanese exports



Wrath of the Japanese People

Woodcut by Chao Tsung-tsao

to the United States, but Washington was not co-operative at all. Ikeda then went on a tour of Southeast Asia himself to try and promote his policy of economic expansion in that area. But here he met fresh disappointments.

* What with the world capitalist market shrinking daily and competition between the capitalist countries getting ever sharper, Japan faces a bleak future in the export field. This year the Ikeda government hopes to see the country export at least U.S. \$4,700 million worth of goods. But Masamichi Yamagiwa, President of the Bank of Japan, putting it mildly, says that very strenuous efforts will be needed to reach that goal. The government also aims to keep the value of Japan's imports down to U.S. \$5,800 million. The more far-sighted of the Japanese economic circles, however, estimate that imports this year will probably exceed U.S. \$6,000 million, since, under U.S. pressure, 90 per cent of Japan's foreign trade and remittances will be "liberalized" during the course of the year.

The consensus of opinion is that in 1962 Japan's adverse balance of international payments will grow bigger because of the Ikeda government's servile attachment to U.S. policies. The Japanese economic situation will further deteriorate and fresh hardships will be heaped on the shoulders of the people.

Ikeda is faring no better in the conduct of his reactionary political policies. In 1961 he blatantly exposed his reactionary stand in home and foreign affairs. On the home front he tried to enact his "Basic Agricultural Law" which is designed to take the land away from 60 per cent of the peasants and also to push his "Anti-Political Violence Bill" through the Diet. In foreign affairs he has been trying to carry his talks with the south Korean

military dictatorship to some sort of favourable issue; he has been working hard to help Washington knock together the Northeast Asia military alliance with the United States, south Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek clique; he took the lead in obstructing the restoration to China of her rightful seat in the United Nations and was an active agent in the scheme to create "two Chinas." All these disreputable activities didn't do anything to increase his popularity among the Japanese masses. Nowadays nobody believes him when he speaks about "close feelings towards China." By the end of last year the claim that "Ikeda is better than Kishi" had disappeared from the Japanese bourgeois press.

Now with his gambling ace of "doubling the national income" trumped by events themselves and exposed for the sham it is and faced with growing dissatisfaction and opposition, Ikeda's idea men have been casting around for some cheap tricks. They have suggested that the government grant "loans to small and medium-sized enterprises," and lower the tax on drinks, cutting the price of beer from 150 to 100 yen a bottle. Regarding the Japan-south Korea talks and the so-called NEATO, they are thinking of getting around or dampening down public opposition and anger by avoiding the signing and ratification of a formal treaty and using a simple "exchange of notes." They are also trying to put about the idea that Ikeda's active participation in the "two Chinas" plot is actually a step forward compared with the policy followed hitherto of recognizing only the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan.

All this, however, is just window dressing. The Ikeda clique is busy planning the further fascization of Japan and suppression of the Japanese people's struggle for the liberation of their country from U.S. imperialist control and for democratic rights. While talking glibly about building a "democratic order" and "wiping out the root causes of the disruptive activities against the nation and society," Ikeda is actually planning to get new fascist bills through the Diet.

It is clear, however, that these attacks will not go unanswered. Last year the Japanese people launched several nationwide united mass actions; they staged huge demonstrations to get the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" annulled, remove the U.S. military bases in Japan and defend their right to live. Twice, in the spring and autumn, they thwarted the attempts of the Ikeda cabinet to rush the "Anti-Political Violence Bill" through the Diet. They gained a major victory in freeing the Matsukawa victims persecuted for a dozen years. Of special importance was the adoption of a new programme of historic significance by the Eighth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party which clearly defines U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital as the principal enemy of the Japanese people and charts the further advance of the mass struggle.

The Japanese people will certainly deal new and heavier blows to the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The Ikeda government's political intrigues and repressions will boomerang against it with even more devastating effect than its acts of economic adventurism.



By Fang Cheng

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

by **LI WEI-HAN**

Following is the third instalment of a translation of an article published in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), Nos. 3-4, 1962. The first and second instalments appeared in "Peking Review," Nos. 8 and 9 respectively. 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 the leader and its allies; develop the independent political strength of the working class and raise its allies to the level of the current revolutionary programme. Sub-heads and the boxed notes for reference are ours.—Ed.

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

The basic contradiction in semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China was the contradiction between imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the one hand and the Chinese people on the other. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism formed an entity and constituted the target against which the entire democratic revolution was directed; all of them had to be overthrown, not just any one or any part of them. At the same time, old China was dominated by the world's major imperialist powers. The Chinese people therefore faced two facts in their revolutionary struggle: 1) They had many enemies who were very powerful; it was impossible to overthrow all of them simultaneously, and they had to be crushed one by one. This fact constituted our enemies' strong point. 2) On the other hand, there was a conflict of interests among the various imperialists; each of them took under its wing a particular section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, creating its own sphere of influence and its own power group; they were beset with irreconcilable contradictions. This fact constituted our enemies' weak point. This latter circumstance often caused conflicts and rifts in the enemy camp—a fact which favoured the revolutionaries who could take advantage of these contradictions to defeat their enemies one by one. This same fact, under different historical conditions, also moved the contradictions between the Chinese people and their various enemies from one level to another; a certain contradiction would come to the fore and become the principal contradiction while others temporarily receded

to positions of secondary importance (the essential nature of the contradictions, of course, remained unchanged) so that one section of the enemies of the revolution became the principal enemy while others, for the time being, became non-principal enemies. This too favoured the revolutionaries so that they could take advantage of the contradictions among their enemies to concentrate their forces to fight first of all against the principal enemy at that particular time. With each change in the principal contradiction and the principal enemy, the alignment of forces of the revolution and counter-revolution also changed, entailing corresponding changes in revolutionary strategy and tactics. In this way the entire new-democratic revolution in China was divided into different historical periods.

Complicated Shifts Involving the Principal And Non-Principal Enemies of the New-Democratic Revolution in China

During the course of the new-democratic revolution in China the shifts involving principal and non-principal enemies were extremely complicated. During the First Revolutionary Civil War [1924-27.—Ed.], the Northern Warlords (see reference notes on p. 11) constituted the principal enemy of the Chinese revolution. The warlords were divided into two factions: one was supported by Britain and ruled mainly in the Yangtse valley; the other, backed by Japan, ruled mainly in northeast and north

China. In 1927, the imperialists, headed by Britain, split the Chinese revolutionary camp, used Chiang Kai-shek as their new tool, disrupted the revolution from within, and established a counter-revolutionary regime which then waged a bitter counter-revolutionary civil war for ten years. This created an extremely acute contradiction between the Chinese people and the Chiang Kai-shek regime. After the September 18 Incident (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 9) and especially after the North China Incident (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 10), the fact that Japanese imperialism had annexed northeast China and gone even further in its attempt to swallow up all the rest of China brought the contradiction between China and Japan to the fore and made it the principal contradiction, while Japanese imperialism and the pro-Japanese section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie became the principal enemies of the Chinese people. After the surrender of Japan, U.S. imperialism stepped into its shoes and, using the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary ruling clique as its tool, tried to turn all China into its colony. This made the Chiang Kai-shek regime and U.S. imperialism the principal enemies of the Chinese people. In the various periods mentioned above, all the imperialists and domestic reactionaries other than the principal enemies of the time were temporarily secondary enemies. These non-principal enemies developed in different ways as the revolutionary struggle developed. Some of them for a time remained neutral. During the War of Liberation [1946-49. — Ed.], for example, since the British and French imperialists were weakened by World War II and were powerless to act in the Orient, and since China had become U.S. imperialism's exclusive sphere of influence, Britain and France were, on the whole, neutral in the Chinese People's War of Liberation. Certain non-principal enemies became temporary allies. The most conspicuous examples were the pro-British and pro-U.S. section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, and British and U.S. imperialism during the War of Resistance Against Japan. Still other non-principal enemies, as a result of the blows of the revolution and the divisions caused by it, revolted and came over to the side of the revolution and became our long-term allies. This took place on a considerable scale during the later stages of the War of Liberation and involved mostly the local power factions which had contradictions with Chiang Kai-shek.

Deal the Principal Enemy Blows and Split Up and Win Over the Non-Principal Enemies

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "All Communists should note that the study of . . . the principal and non-principal contradictions and of the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction, is an important method by which a revolutionary political party determines correctly its strategic and tactical directives in political and military affairs."^{*} Only by correctly distinguishing between the principal and non-principal enemies can we correctly determine the direction in which the main blow of the revolution should be directed. The experience of revolution both in China and abroad proves that ". . . the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief

enemy. . . ."^{*} As for secondary enemies, we should adopt a dual revolutionary policy towards them: work hard to keep them neutral or even to make allies of them when possible while isolating their reactionary elements so as to concentrate our forces to fight against the principal enemy of the moment. During both the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, correctly solved the strategic and tactical problems of distinguishing between the principal and non-principal contradictions, taking advantage of the contradictions among the enemies of the revolution and concentrating our forces on fighting the principal enemies of the moment.

When Japanese imperialism set out to swallow up all China and the contradiction between China and Japan rose to become the principal contradiction, our Party transformed the worker-peasant-petty bourgeois united front (the national bourgeoisie had withdrawn from it in 1927) of the Second Revolutionary Civil War [1927-37. — Ed.] into a broad National Anti-Japanese United Front which even included the pro-British and pro-U.S. sections of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, and linked it with the international anti-fascist front which included the British and U.S. imperialists, so as to fight against the principal enemy of that time — Japanese imperialism and the pro-Japanese section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie.

During the War of Liberation it was the contradiction between the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries and the Chinese people which became the principal contradiction. At that time, our Party, carrying out the general policy of the people's democratic united front, united with the broad masses of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and worked to win over the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and other patriotic elements on a nationwide scale. By implementing the policy of dealing in a discriminating way with the military and administrative personnel of the Kuomintang — a policy which laid down that "the chief criminals shall be punished without fail, those who are accomplices under duress shall go unpunished and those who perform deeds of merit shall be rewarded" — and the policy of instituting land reform in the Liberated Areas step by step and in a discriminating way, our Party worked to encourage certain patriotic members of the upper strata of the Kuomintang military and administrative personnel to revolt and come over to our side or at least remain neutral. In addition, our Party also adopted the policy of keeping the British and French imperialists neutral. This resulted in an unprecedented growth of the revolutionary forces and the isolation and disintegration of the enemy, thereby enabling us rapidly to overthrow the principal enemy — the U.S.-Chiang reactionary regime. Thus, although the Chinese revolution had many and powerful enemies, only a section of them fought us directly in each period. We were thus able to achieve the aim of defeating them one by one.

What kind of a situation would have arisen if we had not distinguished between the principal and non-principal contradictions and had not directed our main blow at the principal enemy of the moment? We have had experience

^{*} Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 45.

^{*} *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 15.

of this, and bitter experience too; this was the adventurist policy of aiming to overthrow every one carried out by the "Left" opportunists during the Second Revolutionary Civil War. The Wang Ming line in that period (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 10) in particular not only failed to distinguish between the principal and non-principal enemies, it even went so far as to take the middle-of-the-road forces represented by the national bourgeoisie as "the most dangerous enemy" and directed its main blow at these forces with the result that it actually helped the enemy and isolated itself. Right up to the time when the Party turned the worker-peasant-petty bourgeois united front into the National Anti-Japanese United Front, some comrades who supported the Wang Ming line still had not woken up to their mistake. Comrade Mao Tse-tung cogently criticized the "closed door" thinking of these comrades. He pointed out that they were unable to make use of the united front as a means of organizing and rallying millions upon millions of people and all potential friendly forces of the revolution to march forward and strike at our main objective—Japanese imperialism and its jackals, the Chinese traitors and that they were unable to apply their tactics against the main objective, but on the contrary set themselves diverse objectives with the result that their bullets hit their lesser enemies or even their allies rather than the principal enemy. He said, this means that they were unable to pick out the right target and were wasting their ammunition. Thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, they were unable to force the enemy into an isolated corner, draw over from the enemy's camp all those who have joined it under compulsion, and attract from the enemy's battlefield all those who were hostile to us yesterday but might become friendly today and thus they were actually helping the enemy, holding back and isolating the revolution, causing it to dwindle and decline and even leading it to defeat.*

In the following paragraphs we shall deal specially with the struggles we waged against the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and our main experiences in this regard when we co-operated with it in resisting Japan during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The pro-British and pro-U.S. section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique was the principal section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie in China and the most ferocious enemy of the Chinese people at home. The fact that Japanese imperialism was out to swallow up all China caused this section of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie to retire temporarily to the position of a secondary enemy; furthermore, it was pressured and persuaded by our Party and people throughout the country to take part in the resistance to Japan and so became the diehard right-wing of the national united front. The Chiang Kai-shek clique held national political power in China and had armed forces several millions strong; it represented the interests of British and U.S. imperialism in China, and particularly those of U.S. imperialism, and was backed by its masters. The winning over of this clique at that time played a decisive role in stopping the civil war and bringing about the resistance to Japan; it also played an important role in winning Britain and the United States over to a joint

fight against Japanese imperialism. History has proved that all arguments against allying ourselves with Chiang Kai-shek for resistance to Japan and against a peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident at that time (see the second instalment of this article, *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 13) were wrong. Nevertheless, the Chiang Kai-shek clique joined the National Anti-Japanese United Front with the aim of controlling the War of Resistance, holding the people in check, and weakening and even exterminating the Communist Party, so as to maintain the rule in China of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and their masters, the rule of U.S. imperialism in particular. It was for this reason that they adopted a policy of passively resisting Japan while actively fighting the Communist Party and the people. The Communist Party was the organizer and leader of the National Anti-Japanese United Front; it also had a certain number of revolutionary armed forces and the people's political power. By relying on these revolutionary armed forces and the people's political power, the Party mobilized and organized the people to wage a genuine people's war in the enemy's rear, and this became the mainstay of the entire War of Resistance Against Japan. It was this that made it possible to keep the National Anti-Japanese United Front and the War of Resistance Against Japan going till final victory. But at the beginning of the War of Resistance, the revolutionary armed forces and people's political power led by the Party were still very small and they were looked down upon by some people not only outside but also within the Party; these people thought that we should mainly rely on the Kuomintang in resisting Japan. Thus there were two classes, two parties and two armed forces, one pitted sharply against the other. The one was resolute in resisting Japan, insisted on unity, and relied on the people to wage a people's war; it was small and without outside support. The other was passive in resisting Japan, worked to split unity, was opposed to the people and restricted the people in waging the war of resistance; it was big and aided from outside. All the middle strata and parties had their attention riveted on these two classes, political parties and armed forces, and closely watched the struggle between their opposing characteristics listed above. Never before had the struggle for leadership between the working class and the Communist Party on the one hand and the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang on the other been so sharp and clearly defined. To which side did victory go? Only if victory should go to the working class and the Communist Party could the War of Resistance Against Japan be guided to final victory and the revolution kept going after that victory until the tasks of the new-democratic revolution should be thoroughly fulfilled. This, in fact, was precisely the way history developed. But victory was won only after eight years of most serious and complex struggles. Our Party gained rich experience in these struggles. The basic and most important of these were in the following:

The Principle of Independence Within the United Front — A Principle Which Aims at Both Unity And Independence

First, it gained experience in upholding its independence within the united front, so that there was both unity and independence.

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism."

Northern Warlords During the last years of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), Yuan Shih-kai (see *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 9), Viceroy of Chihli Province (where the imperial capital was) and Superintendent of Trade for Northern Ports, trained up a new army known as the "Northern Army." To enhance his personal power and influence, Yuan later reorganized and expanded this army into the "Central Army." The high-ranking officers in this army were known as the Northern Warlords. After Yuan's downfall, the Northern Warlords gradually split up into three major cliques: the Chihli clique headed by Feng Kuo-chang (after Feng's death, Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu became the heads of this clique); the Anhwei clique headed by Tuan Chi-jui; and the Fengtien clique headed by Chang Tso-lin. At that time, the imperialists were looking for agents in China; the Northern Warlords, in their turn, wanted support and protection from the imperialists in order to maintain and extend their influence. In this way the Chihli clique of the Northern Warlords became the agents of Britain and the United States and the Anhwei and Fengtien cliques became the tools of Japan. These cliques were

constantly fighting each other. Several wars were fought before the Northern Expedition was launched; they included the war between the Chihli and Anhwei cliques fought in July 1920, and the first and second wars between the Chihli and Fengtien cliques that took place in April 1922 and September 1924 respectively. The outcome of these wars reflected the rise and fall of the influences of the various imperialist powers in China. It was to overthrow these feudal warlords and their imperialist backers that the National Revolutionary Army started its famous Northern Expedition. With the victorious advance of the National Revolutionary Army, the imperialists had to seek a more effective agent. This they found in the person of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek turned traitor to the revolution and established a counter-revolutionary regime, thereby replacing the Northern Warlords as the principal enemy of the Chinese revolution.

The Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese Communist Party, in accordance with an agreement with the Kuomintang for co-operation in resisting Japan, reor-

ganized the Chinese Red Army, which had reached the northwest after its historic Long March, into the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army, and reorganized the Red Army guerrillas, which remained operating in the revolutionary base areas in the south after the main force embarked on the Long March, into the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. These armies were under the command of the central government in Nanking (which was later moved to Chungking). But at the same time the Communist Party maintained its absolute leadership of these two armies and their base areas.

The Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army grew greatly during the war of resistance. After the fall of Wuhan in 1938, and especially after 1941, they resisted and pinned down the enemy's main forces. By 1943, they resisted and pinned down 64 per cent of the Japanese invading forces and 95 per cent of the puppet troops, and liberated from Japanese occupation areas with a total population of over 100 million. After Japan's surrender, the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army were renamed the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In order to establish the National Anti-Japanese United Front, stop the civil war and get resistance to Japan going, our Party, having peacefully settled the Sian Incident, took the initiative in approaching the Kuomintang, demanding that it give up its policies of civil war, dictatorship and non-resistance to foreign aggression, that it recognize the legitimate status of the various other parties, wage the war of resistance and institute democracy. Under these conditions, our Party would guarantee to cease the policy of overthrowing the Kuomintang by force, cease confiscating the land of the landlords and change over to a policy of reducing land rents and interests on loans, change the name of the people's political power under the leadership of the Party into the government of the special region in a unified country and rename the Chinese Red Army the National Revolutionary Army. Our Party also proposed that the Three People's Principles proclaimed by the Kuomintang at its First National Congress in 1924 be made the common programme of the two parties for co-operation in resisting Japan. On the other hand, our Party steadfastly upheld the principle of independence within the united front. Even in the early days of the war of resistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward and repeatedly explained this principle and pointed out that implementation and steadfast maintenance of this principle constituted the key link in guiding the War of Resistance Against Japan to victory. He wrote:

"In order to keep up the armed resistance and win final victory, to turn partial resistance into total resistance,

we must uphold the line of the National Anti-Japanese United Front and extend and strengthen this united front. . . . But at the same time, in all our united front work we must closely adhere to the principle of independence. Our united front with the Kuomintang and other parties is a united front based on the implementation of a definite programme. Apart from this basis there could be no united front, and co-operation would become an unprincipled action and an example of capitulationism. Thus to explain, to implement and to uphold the principle of independence in the united front is the key to victory in the national anti-Japanese revolutionary war."

" . . . we should neither break up the united front nor bind ourselves hand and foot. . . . Our policy is for independence within the united front, a policy the aim of which is both unity and independence."

This policy of independence defined a democratic principle governing relations within the united front; it provided a potent instrument for developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating the diehard forces; it was, therefore, also a potent instrument in the struggle for proletarian leadership.

* Mao Tse-tung, *The Situation of the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan and Our Tasks*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 12.

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Question of Independence Within the United Front*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 6-7.

In the united front with other parties, the working-class party must, under all circumstances, strictly maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence. It was of special importance to stress this principle of independence in the united front with the Kuomintang. This was because the Kuomintang diehards never showed the slightest willingness to relinquish their dictatorial rule; even in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the diehards demanded that everyone should be united under them and submit to them and they refused to allow the other classes and parties to have any independence or democratic rights whatsoever. The Kuomintang's attitude in the united front was one of maintaining absolute and exclusive authority, demanding absolute obedience and never allowing democratic consultation. Under such circumstances, it was only by upholding our independence in the united front that we could resist the dictatorial rule of the diehards, break through their control and restrictions, arouse the people and carry the war of resistance to victory. The stand of "doing everything through the united front" upheld by those people represented by Comrade Wang Ming at that time was tantamount to doing everything through the Kuomintang, having everything okayed by the diehards and doing nothing without their approval. This was a form of capitulationism which would have bound us hand and foot and let the enemy butcher us at will. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely and justly criticized and overcame this erroneous capitulationist way of thinking and implemented the policy of independence in a thoroughgoing way; it was only then that consolidation and development of the anti-Japanese united front was assured.

In the united front, the democratic parties representing the middle-of-the-road forces had even less status and say in face of the diehards. The Party's policy of maintaining its independence in the united front and working for both unity and independence also stood for the interests of the middle-of-the-road forces and the democratic parties. It led them to struggle against the diehards for democratic rights and a legitimate status, it helped them by means of these struggles to assert their right to exist and to grow, and it steadily enhanced their political understanding and confidence. It must be recognized that under the circumstances of that time without the Communist Party's policy of independence and its assistance and support, it would have been very difficult indeed for these democratic parties to mature and develop.

The primary aim of upholding the principle of independence in the anti-Japanese united front was to develop the progressive forces. In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, the Party, guided by this policy, exploited every possibility of developing the progressive forces, and influencing and winning over the broad masses of the people, including the urban petty bourgeoisie and revolutionary intellectuals. In the enemy's rear, the Party, upholding the basic principle of the national united front, broke through the restrictions imposed by the diehards, worked beyond the scope specified by the Kuomintang, and, without relying on the Kuomintang's appointments or pay, independently launched and led the people's War of Resistance Against Japan, expanded the people's anti-Japanese armed forces and the anti-Japanese democratic base areas, extensively organized mass organizations and

stepped up Party building in earnest. During the War of Resistance Against Japan in the enemy's rear and in the democratic anti-Japanese base areas, Party building, the people's armed forces led by the Party and the people's democratic united front led by the Party and based on the worker-peasant alliance — the three magic weapons and chief instruments in the hands of the Chinese people — grew and gained strength as never before to the point where they were capable of stopping the Japanese invaders' strategic offensive and could take on the task of resisting and pinning down the main forces of Japanese and puppet troops.

Under the historical conditions of that time, our aim in upholding the principle of independence was, generally speaking, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "First, it is to maintain the ground that we have already gained. This ground is the starting point of our strategy, and its loss would mean the end of everything. But our chief purpose is to expand the ground gained, to attain the positive aim of mobilizing millions upon millions of the people to join the National Anti-Japanese United Front and overthrow Japanese imperialism."* It was precisely due to the fact that we firmly upheld this principle that we were able to maintain the independence of the Party and the working class, develop the Party and the progressive forces on an unprecedented scale, win over the middle-of-the-road forces and the democratic parties to a considerable extent, and by and large isolate the diehards and greatly expand our positions.

It can thus be seen that it was only by maintaining independence as well as unity that the working class could isolate and defeat the big bourgeoisie in its struggle with the latter for leadership.

Unity, Struggle, Unity Through Struggle

Secondly, our Party gained experience in the policy of unity, struggle, unity through struggle.

Unity, struggle, starting from a desire for unity, resolving contradictions through struggle, and continuing to march forward in unity on a new basis — such is the general principle and general policy of our Party in leading the united front and handling relations within the united front. Because of the peculiarities of the situation, the unity with and struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang which represented the big landlords and big bourgeoisie within the National Anti-Japanese United Front had its own specific features. What were these peculiarities? They were these: although the Chiang Kai-shek clique was compelled to take part in the war of resistance, it only did so in a passive way while plotting to effect a compromise and capitulate; although it was forced to recognize the united front, it did not give up its dictatorial and anti-communist, anti-popular policy, and it was ready to force a split at any time. As a matter of fact, the main force of Kuomintang troops was not used in resisting Japan, instead, it was used to blockade and tie down the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army (see p. 11); whenever there was an opportunity, it would provoke an armed anti-communist struggle; furthermore,

* Mao Tse-tung, *The Situation of the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan and Our Tasks*, pp. 12-13.

it secretly worked hand in glove with the Japanese invaders and plotted to use the latter to wipe out the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. That is to say, the united front with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was a co-operation which carried with it many antagonistic features. This was due to the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. We had to wage just, blow-for-blow struggles against its schemes for capitulation and splitting unity and its anti-communist and anti-popular policies. It was only by waging such struggles that we were able to put pressure on it so that it did not dare openly to capitulate and split unity; so that co-operation for waging the war of resistance could be promoted. Only by so doing was it possible to combat the Chiang Kai-shek clique's reactionary policies, reduce the scope of its anti-communist and anti-popular activities, facilitate the growth of the progressive forces and the winning over of the middle-of-the-road forces. Blow-for-blow struggle and unity through struggle—this was the dual revolutionary policy of unity with and struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek diehards. Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave clear explanations and instructions concerning this dual revolutionary policy. He wrote that there must be:

"A dual revolutionary policy towards the anti-communist diehards of uniting with them in so far as they are still willing to resist Japan and of isolating them in so far as they are determined to oppose communism. In their resistance to Japan the diehards have also a dual character; we adopt a policy of uniting with them in so far as they are still willing to resist Japan and a policy of struggling against them and isolating them in so far as they vacillate, as for instance in their secret dealings with the Japanese invaders and their failure to take a positive stand against Wang Ching-wei and other collaborators. In their anti-communism they also reveal their dual character and we too should have a dual policy: in so far as they are still unwilling to bring about a final break-up of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, we adopt a policy of uniting with them and, in so far as they try to ride roughshod over us and launch military attacks on our Party and the people, we fight them and isolate them."*

"With good reason, with advantage and with restraint" is the basic principle governing our struggle against the diehards. The three elements of "with good reason, with advantage and with restraint" are inseparable and all are indispensable, but "with good reason" comes first. In any struggle, once we have good reason on our side, we shall be able to gain the initiative politically, win the sympathy and support of the broad masses of the people, put our opponent into a politically passive position and thoroughly isolate him. Our Party is the most progressive party and best capable of representing the interests and will of the overwhelming majority of the nation. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we put forward the most progressive and complete line and programme under the historical conditions of that time; we laid down political, military, economic and cultural policies, both general and specific, that suited the conditions of that time, and carried out this line and programme and these policies in the War of Resistance Against Japan

in the enemy's rear and in the anti-Japanese base areas, setting a brilliant example for the nation and standing in sharp contrast politically with the diehards, demonstrating that reason was entirely on our side. By "with good reason" we mean we must have good reason on our side in every specific struggle. In addition to having good reason, we must also have the advantage, i.e., we only wage struggles when the situation is favourable and when we are sure to succeed. But we should not carry on the struggle indefinitely, for our policy is to achieve unity through struggle, so there has to be restraint and we have to stop before things go too far; and, when the struggle comes to an end, we have to take the initiative to unite with our opponent. The principle of "with good reason, with advantage and with restraint," when applied to our dealings with the diehards' military attacks, became the "principle of self-defence, victory and truce"; and "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack." In case of a diehard military attack, we must annihilate them resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely. But we must not fight any battle which we are not sure of winning, neither must we go too far in the struggle.

In that struggle against the diehards waged with good reason, with advantage and with restraint, it was an important tactic to "make use of contradictions, win over the many, isolate the few and crush our opponents one by one." The Kuomintang was a political grouping of diverse elements; although the diehards were in control, not all its members were diehards. In addition to the diehards, there were also many middle-of-the-roads and some progressives. This made it possible for us to make use of contradictions among them, to win over the many and isolate the few. Even among the diehards, there were also many factions with diverse interests; their attitudes and actions were not identical at different moments under different conditions. This made it possible for us to make use of contradictions among them and crush our opponents one by one; instead of dealing blows simultaneously at many diehards in each struggle, we picked out the most reactionary of the lot and concentrated our forces on hitting him.

In our struggles against the diehards, we had to pay attention to winning over the middle-of-the-roads. We waged these struggles against the diehards by relying on the progressive forces and for the purpose of protecting the growth of these progressive forces. But at the same time we had to work to win over the middle-of-the-roads. Since these elements were constantly oppressed by the diehards, there were contradictions between them and our struggle against the diehards at the same time protected the interests of the middle-of-the-roads. In struggling against the diehards, we adopted a dual revolutionary policy and the principle of "with good reason, with advantage and with restraint." This helped the middle-of-the-roads to realize that we had good reason on our side and that we had done our best so that they could not but sympathize with us. It was therefore possible to win over the middle-of-the-roads. But these elements were constantly vacillating, and there were different forces among them; we had to pay attention to persuading and educating them not only before, but in the course of, and after each struggle, and, when necessary, criticize their errors in a suitable way. Only by so doing

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Policy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 3-4.

could we keep some of them neutral, others sympathetic with us and persuade still others to take part in the struggle on our side, and isolate the right-wingers among them. It was in this manner that our Party worked incessantly to win over and educate the middle-of-the-roaders.

Uphold Co-operation and at the Same Time Be Prepared to Deal With Sudden Incidents and Oppose Counter-Revolutionary War With Revolutionary War

Thirdly, our Party gained experience in firmly upholding the co-operation between itself and the Kuomintang, at the same time being prepared to deal with sudden incidents and oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war.

The basic policy of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was to launch a civil war and wipe out the Communist Party. Its enforced co-operation with the Communist Party was only a temporary scheme of expedience. Its basic policy of launching a civil war and wiping out the Communist Party has never changed. This was the expression of Chiang Kai-shek's philosophy of "dealing with changes by constancy." Our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung discerned this unchangeable basic policy of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang; while doing everything in their power to struggle to uphold the war of resistance and unity in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, they always instructed the entire Party and the entire army to heighten their vigilance and be prepared to deal with any incident which might take place suddenly at any moment. After Japan's surrender, while doing everything in their power in the struggle for peace and democracy, they again repeatedly instructed the entire Party and the entire army to heighten their vigilance and

be prepared to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary civil war with a war of self-defence. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that we must be prepared at any time to deal with the worst possible eventuality in the development of the situation. To prepare for the worst did not mean that we gave up hope for the better. No, it was precisely a condition for gaining the best possible alternative and turning it into a reality. Only by preparing for the worst could we ensure that we would not be helpless and panic-stricken in face of a sudden incident. Both during the War of Resistance Against Japan and for a certain period after Japan's surrender, our military policy was one of self-defence and at the same time one of resolution, that is, one of determination that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack," and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely annihilate those enemies who dared to attack us. It was precisely because the entire Party and the entire army, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, were fully prepared and armed with a resolute military policy, that we were able to beat back the three large-scale anti-communist campaigns launched by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang in 1940, 1941 and 1943 respectively during the War of Resistance Against Japan (see reference notes on "armed friction," *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 13), halt its scheme to bring about a total split, and carry the war of resistance steadfastly to final victory; and this was why, after the Chiang Kai-shek clique dared to bring about that total split and launch its nationwide civil war in 1946, we were able to wage the War of Liberation victoriously and carry the great historic tasks of the new-democratic revolution to final completion.

(To be continued.)

New Harbour

Xingang—Important North China Port

by LIN HSIANG-CHIU

XINGANG, the New Harbour at Tangku, is the first big man-made harbour built in China after liberation. Nestled in Pohai Bay in the estuary of the Haiho River, it is the maritime gateway of Tientsin and the whole vast north China hinterland. Tangku was long an important commercial port, but, in the past, due to its heavily silted, shallow anchorage, big ships could not pull into the wharves. They had to lie at anchor far off land and discharge their cargoes into lighters and barges to be ferried ashore. Today, 10,000 and 15,000 tonners can berth, several at a time, alongside Xingang's newly built piers to take on and discharge cargo.

Through the entrance between the protecting arms of the breakwaters extending some dozen kilometres out from the shores of the estuary, ships, tugs, barges and sampans enter or leave the port. The expanse of the green enclosure of the harbour makes a beautiful sight on a fine day. The dock area itself bustles with activity. Battery trucks and other vehicles painted green or yellow shuttle busily between piers and warehouses. The heart-

rending scene of dockers struggling under crushing loads of gunny bags or sacks or crates so typical of any pre-liberation Chinese port is no more. Wharf machinery—overhead cranes, runways, conveyors and hoists—designed and built largely by the dockers themselves during the technical innovations movement are skilfully marshalled and co-ordinated for each cargo so that they work as a smooth flowing unit in loading or unloading ships. Towering coal loaders handle the loading of coal completely mechanically. Labour efficiency has shot up more than eightfold in the decade since the opening of the New Harbour in 1952.

Victim of Imperialist Aggression

Like other Chinese ports, Tangku harbour in Pohai Bay witnessed more than one act of imperialist aggression against China. This is the nearest point on the sea from Peking, and it is the natural outlet for north China's sea trade. This is why the imperialists made haste to get their hands on it. For almost a century before liberation,

they held this key communication centre, the "gateway of north China," in their hands. It was here that north China's coastal defences were first breached in 1858 by the joint Anglo-French fleet in the Second Opium War. It was here too that the first shell exploded in 1900 when the eight imperialist powers began their march on Peking in their joint invasion of China. The resulting "Protocol of 1900" forced on China by the imperialists provided for the demolition of the Taku forts situated opposite Tangku across the Haiho River and the stationing of foreign troops in Tangku. Under such circumstances, Japanese troops landed here without much ado in 1937 as they launched their all-out invasion of China.

It was to plunder north China's rich resources of iron ore, coal and food grains that the Japanese imperialists started building the new Tangku harbour even before they got a firm foothold in north China. Beginning in 1939, they forced thousands of Chinese labourers to build the harbour at bayonet point. But their appetite surpassed their reach: six years later, in 1945, they were forced to surrender. They had succeeded only in erecting a single pier at Tangku and this could accommodate only 3,000-ton ships. During the following three years the Kuo-mintang bureaucrats who took over the place revived talk of building a new harbour. What actually happened, however, was that they pocketed the money extorted from the people in the name of harbour-building and dismantled and sold off whatever equipment and installations they could lay their hands on. Due to sheer negligence, the approach channels were silted up and the Japanese-built pier fell into disrepair.

Building the New Harbour

The building of the New Harbour really began in early 1949 following the liberation of Tientsin and Tangku — when the Chinese people finally ended a century of national humiliation and regained control of this important gateway of north China. Rehabilitation got under way when the Haiho River began to thaw. Full-scale construction of the harbour began in 1951, more than a year before New China launched its First Five-Year Plan.

To build a harbour with wharf installations accommodating 10,000-ton ships is no easy task. The building of the New Harbour at Tangku was further handicapped by the shallowness of the basin and shifting, sandy nature of the sea-bed and shores. Dredging of the mouth of the Haiho, a river which carries down large amounts of silt, presented formidable difficulties.

The builders removed millions of cubic metres of silt from the fairway; built two breakwaters far out into the bay; rebuilt and enlarged the pier, increasing the number of berths; constructed power-operated ship locks, warehouses, a new railway and a highway, and installed navigational aids. The whole gigantic artificial harbour, built exclusively by Chinese personnel with Chinese-made material and equipment, was completed in 13 months. The rebuilt pier now accommodates five 10,000-ton ships at a time and the capacity of the dockyard for ship repairs and maintenance has been correspondingly expanded. Later, still bigger and better equipped piers were built.

One of the new piers built in 1959 is a monument to the big leap. This is a deep-water pier extending far into the bay, so its construction involved much greater

difficulties than the older piers. By drawing on their previous experience and pooling their wisdom and know-how, the cadres, technical staff and rank-and-file builders performed the maritime engineering feat of completing the main body of the pier in approximately a month and a half. This pier now accommodates big ships of up to 15,000 tons displacement. Huge portal type cranes working on it handle the heaviest cargoes with ease, transferring them direct to waiting lorries. The completion of this new pier greatly expanded the port capacity, and ships no longer have to wait for berths out at sea.

Busy Port

Ever since the day it was commissioned, the New Harbour has played a big role in China's socialist construction. In the past, much of north China's trade had to be done through southern ports, raising transport costs. Since the opening of Xingang, however, ships flying the flags of 28 states and bringing cargoes from more than 40 countries have docked here. Huge quantities of industrial, agricultural and handicraft products from the vast north and northwest China hinterland have been exported through it. Within a decade, the volume of import-export freight handled by this harbour has risen eightfold.

Linked by a special line with the major railway trunk lines that converge on Tientsin and by the Haiho River with five inland waterways on the Hopei plain, New Harbour is not only a major port for international trade, but also an important *entrepot* for domestic trade. In conjunction with the inland port city of Tientsin, it forms a big port region, handling a growing volume of commerce.

KEEP ABREAST OF EVENTS IN CHINA

with

PEKING REVIEW

Informative articles, features, columns on current political, economic and cultural developments in China

Theoretical articles on China's democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction

Texts of major statements



Radios, Rats and Running Dogs

IF the U.S. "psychological warfare experts" are to be believed, the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime in south Viet Nam is tottering because it hasn't enough radios to give away or enough of the right people to give them to.

"Americans in Saigon believe that the radio is the most effective propaganda weapon," writes long-time *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart, in a recent article. "The U.S. aid mission has requested Washington's approval for financing 20,000 sets to be assembled in Viet Nam. . . . The aim is to have at least 500,000 radios in south Viet Nam by 1965."

The article reports that "2,000 (American) radios have been brought in for distribution in selected towns. These include 295 community sets with public address loud-speakers"—the kind that can be controlled by puppet officials. But—and here comes the hitch—though they began arriving in 1960, many of these radios have not been handed out because "Diem is insisting that each be controlled by persons unquestionably loyal to him. He is said to be afraid that people will listen to the other side." So, the article admits, "despite considerable improvement in its information and propaganda services, the south Vietnamese government is still losing its fight with the Communists for the minds of the civilian population."

As the same American paper has oft reported, Washington has already sent the Diem regime printing presses and paper, U.S. "psychological warfare experts" to guide propaganda work and \$1,500,000 for a seven-station radio network. This is not to mention the \$2 billion spent over the last five years to provide Diem with tanks, warplanes and naval vessels to kill innocent people, chemicals to kill plants and trees along roads that might conceal guerrillas, police dogs, some 5,000 U.S. generals and soldiers, and other cold-war paraphernalia. But still things go wrong. Misused U.S. chemicals have killed off cats by the hundreds and unmolested rats as big as rabbits are ravaging grain and vegetables. The patriotic guerrilla forces are waxing stronger and re-equipping themselves with U.S. arms captured from the puppet troops. And only last week, U.S.-trained south

Vietnamese pilots, flying U.S. planes carrying U.S. bombs, were sent out on a mission against the patriots but turned round instead and bombed Diem's palace in Saigon.

The U.S. "psychological warfare" boys are racking their brains trying to answer why. Any Vietnamese could tell them: it is because the American interlopers and their running dogs are cordially hated by every Vietnamese patriot. More U.S. radios will only expose them more thoroughly and faster.

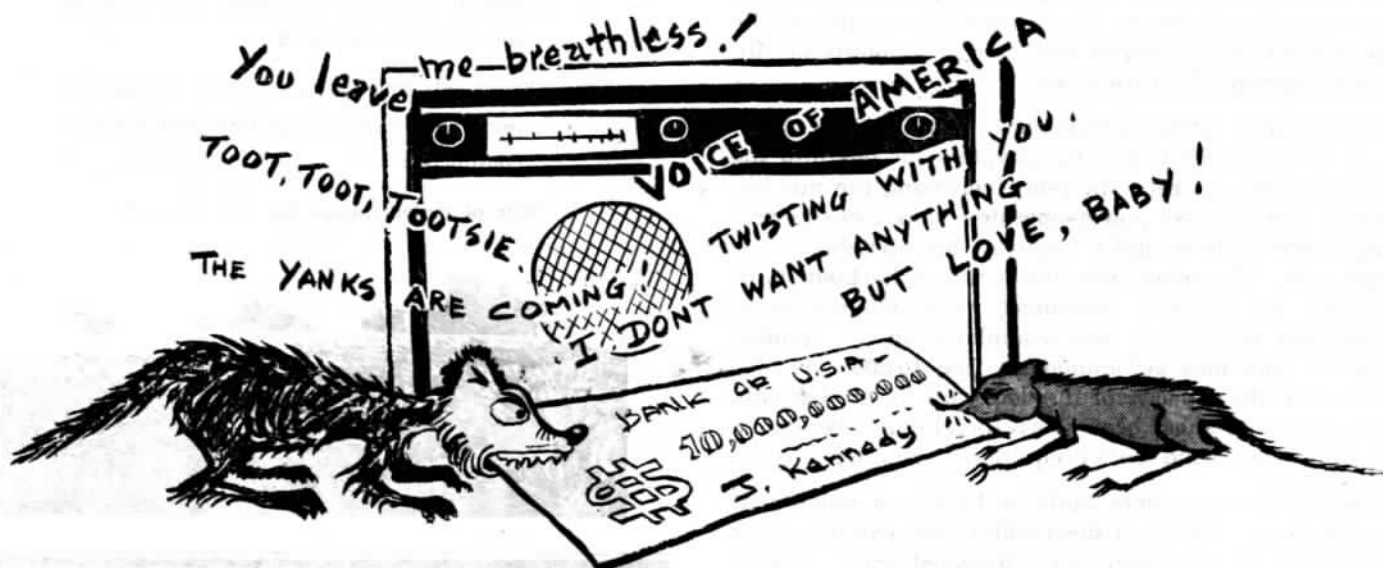
Lies Have Short Legs

IN his November interview with *Izvestia's* editor A. Adzhubei, Kennedy used his theory of "free choice" in an attempt to justify U.S. aggression against Cuba. The U.S. has a dispute with Cuba, he said, because Cuba doesn't have what he called "free and honest elections"; on the other hand, it has no objection to the Jagan government of British Guiana "because the choice was made by an honest election." So, declared this advocate of "freedom of choice": "if the people of any country choose to follow a communist system in a free election, after a fair opportunity for a number of views to be presented, the United States would accept that."

That was three months ago. Now the world can see how Washington "accepts" the duly elected government of British Guiana. In the latter part of February, anti-government disturbances suddenly broke out in Georgetown, Guiana's capital. London lost no time in landing troops there to "restore law and order" and the British governor was soon talking about postponing Guiana's independence for several years.

This sort of imperialist plot is, by now, so familiar that it no longer surprises and it is no surprise either to learn that the Americans are behind it. Speaking at a press conference, Premier Cheddi Jagan of Guiana flatly charged the U.S. with financing opposition groups for anti-government activities. He cited a Washington report that \$45,000 had been given to persons and organizations in Guiana for anti-government activities—these included assassinating ministers, destroying Georgetown and overthrowing the government.

When he gives his next interview about "free choice" Kennedy should remember: lies have short legs.



SIDELIGHTS

On Women

MOTHER

Triplets Growing Up Fine. Three long-legged little girls in blue trousers and coats with bright red Pioneer scarves, faces flushed from outdoor exercise, burst into the room. Mrs. Hsien Kuei-sheng introduced them proudly.

"I remember that day as clearly as if it were yesterday," she said. "It was January 28, 1950. I gave birth to triplets! When my husband came to see us at the hospital that day, his face showed his happiness and relief that we were all well, but I knew that he must be worried as I was. We already had six other children in the family to raise on my husband's wages of 100 yuan a month as a tram conductor, and the fate of our last baby was still a fresh wound. The lovable little chap was stricken with scarlet fever. That was during the Japanese occupation. My husband was out of work and we couldn't pay for his treatment. The hospital threw him out and there was nothing we could do to save him. Well, that was past and done with, but here were fresh worries. . . .

"Our fears were groundless. The triplets caused quite a stir! Everybody rallied round. The local government, the women's federation, the trade union. . . . Things were swiftly arranged. We were given free care at the hospital and received endless gifts of food and clothing. We were able to send the triplets to the nursery of the nearby China Welfare Institute for free care till they were two; after that we were able to pay half their fees. We watched them growing up healthy and strong there until they were seven, then they came home to live and went to primary school.

"Meanwhile our life was improving all the time. I too got a job and we moved into large airy quarters with modern facilities. As the elder children grew up, they began to contribute to the family income.

"Our triplets are growing up healthy in body and mind. All get top marks

at school and all are active in the Young Pioneers. In their spare time, they are model plane builders. They are a wonderful help around the house to me too."

CADRE

Caring for a Big Family. "I'm the mother of six children and I'm a government official as well," says Chang Lin-yi. She is a deputy district head of Peking's big eastern Tsaoyang District with a population of 750,000. Tallish, with a neat perm and a warm smile, she is on the young side of 40 and speaks with a ringing voice.

Chang Lin-yi's work at the district people's council deals mainly with trade affairs. This is important work which is closely bound up with the district's industrial and agricultural development and the many-faceted life of its people. It includes seeing to it that the 20 rural people's communes on the city's outskirts under her charge get the agricultural machinery they need and that the communes' produce finds suitable markets. Her department sees to it that the people in its district are amply supplied with daily necessities and foodstuffs. If a certain block needs a new store to cope with increasing needs, it is arranged through her department. In short, her work touches on the life and welfare of every single household in the district.

Complicated as their work is, Chang Lin-yi and her colleagues discharge their duties well because they always rely on the people in carrying out government policies. She and the members of her department are frequent visitors to the homes of the people, the commune members and

factory workers to ask their opinions on all sorts of matters. With the telephone constantly ringing and people dropping in and out, her office is always a busy place. People come to them with many, many suggestions for improvement in work, each of which is scrupulously attended to.

That the district people's council has been able to fulfil its functions with tolerable credit, she says, is largely due to such help from the enthusiastic and public-spirited citizens of the district and the guidance of the Party.

District head Chang herself was elected to her post in 1958. Young though she still is, she has already devoted 25 years to the revolution. She is a native of Shansi Province. When still only a 15-year-old high school student in Taiyuan in 1937 she saw how the reactionary Kuomintang offered no resistance to the Japanese invaders then overrunning north and northeast China, and, fired with hatred for the aggressor, she left home and joined the resistance movement. In 1938, she joined the Communist Party. Later she went to Yen-an, the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party and the centre of resistance to Japanese aggression, and there she studied and then worked in the Liberated Areas.

Chang Lin-yi is a fine Communist and much respected in her present post. Her life at home is a happy one. Her husband works at Tsinghua University. Five of her children go to school and one is at a nursery; they are growing up hale and sturdy.

ACTRESS

Still Learning at 50. As a pretty motion picture star of the 30s, Fan



Hsueh-peng is a well-known name to many of the older generation. And she is no stranger to today's movie fans either. She has appeared in eight new films since liberation.

One of the things about which she feels deeply is, as she puts it, that although she's been an actress for 30 years, it is only now that she is "really learning how to act. . . ."

"I was 18 when I first appeared on the screen," she said. "I was considered good looking then and was popular. But at 30, my youthful prettiness waned, my career seemed ended. What was my surprise then when, just after liberation, the state motion picture studio sent someone to ask me if I would be willing to act in films again. I told them quite frankly that I was over 40 and thought that was that. 'Not at all,' the comrade assured me. 'Why, 40's just the age when a person's art reaches maturity. Your years of experience on the screen will be valuable to our socialist motion picture industry.' I thought his words over. So, for the Communist Party, what counted was not only youth and beauty, but art. But then, what was art?"

In her new work, she learnt what art really meant. She studied political theory, theories on art, on acting, on how to analyse the theme of a play, and the characters. For her role as a woman of the Miao nationality in the film *The Tinkling Mule Train Comes Through the Valley*, she went to Yunnan to live among the Miao women there and steeped herself in their life, thoughts and emotions. All this she linked up with the new theories she had learnt, and for the first time really felt inspired in her role.

This was a far cry from acting in the old days. "I was like a dummy in the hands of the director with no thought of my own then," she recalled. "Once they even wanted me to strip in front of the camera. I refused, and someone else took my place in that scene, but the letters I later received from indignant movie-goers filled me with lasting shame. That was what 'art' called for in those days!"

In her roles today, whether she plays a housewife, a commune mem-

ber, or a revolutionary, she strives to make each a creation of socialist art.

Like her colleagues Wang Han-lun, Huang Nai-shuang, Hsuan Ching-lin and others, Fan Hsueh-peng is one of the many older cinema artists who are leading a full and busy life in the Chinese motion picture world today.

MILL HAND

"I Love My Job." 29-year-old Wu Ai-ying is a fine and steady worker of the Peking No. 1 Textile Mill. She likes her job and gives her reasons:

"When I started work here in 1954, to me it was something grand. You see there weren't many factory jobs going for women in pre-liberation Peking. So I couldn't believe a person like me, with no education, could take on an industrial job. I thought my lot was to stay by the kitchen stove and mind the children. So when I found myself turning out yarn for cloth that looks so good, earning good wages, learning reading and writing, taking part in the social activities of our mill — well, becoming an active participant in our country's life instead of being just an ignorant housewife, you see — I'm happy and proud of our new life. I love my job and try to put all I have into it.

"Fourteen of us work together in my group at the mill. We get along fine, helping each other whenever we can. When Chang Shu-ching saw how slow I was at connecting broken threads, she quickly showed me how to do it better. I noticed that Tsai Shu-chen was slow, so I showed her. In this way we all advance and improve our output. Every

day we have a ten-minute meeting before or after work to discuss problems around the job and we have built a fine team spirit.

"It is mostly women who work at our mill. Our trade union has a women's representative in each workshop, and special consideration is given to our special needs. Every six months we attend the plant's clinic for a health check-up and, of course, we have free medical care and all the other benefits of labour insurance, including 56 days for child-birth.

"As for my home life, I have three children, either in primary school or in the mill's kindergarten. My husband is also a textile worker. We live in comfortable rooms with gas and central heating; rents are very low. We spend our spare time studying, attending social functions, seeing shows or at the parks. There's so much to learn, so much to do that I wish there were more hours each day. . . ."



CHINA AND THE WORLD

In the Socialist World

G.D.R. Army Day. Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent greetings to Colonel-General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister of National Defence of the German Democratic Republic, on the 6th anniversary of the founding of the National People's Army of the G.D.R.

His message expressed confidence that the fraternal, militant friendship between the peoples and armies of China and the G.D.R., based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will be consolidated and further developed in the common struggle against the policies of aggression and war of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc and in defence of world peace.

On March 1, at a reception given by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Kautzsch, military attache of the G.D.R. Embassy in Peking, General Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for reviving and fostering West German militarism. He reaffirmed China's resolute support for the heroic struggle of the German people against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism.

An executive plan for cultural cooperation in 1962 between China and Poland was signed in Warsaw on February 28. Under the plan, Chinese artists and cinema workers will visit Poland while Poland will send dramatists and musicians to China. Exhibitions will also be exchanged.

With the exchange of the instruments of ratification, the Sino-Mongolian treaty of commerce, which was signed in Ulan Bator on April 26 last year, came into force on March 2.

An exhibition of graphic art held in Hanoi recently showed more than 80 works by 24 young Chinese artists. It was exceptional in that it showed

the reclamation of China's northern wasteland through pictures made by artists who are themselves taking part in this work. One of them present at the opening ceremony described the activities of the young Chinese in the region both as pioneers and artists.

"Japan-S. Korea Talks" Condemned

Seven Chinese people's organizations including the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China-Korea Friendship Association, and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, have issued a joint statement strongly condemning the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries which are being implemented through the current Japan-south Korea talks. They pledge full support for the statement issued by the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front of Korea on February 15 and the just struggles waged by the peoples of Korea and Japan against the talks and U.S. imperialist aggression.

The statement points out that by hastening the Japan-south Korea talks, U.S. imperialism has further revealed its plot to use Japanese militarism and Japanese monopoly capital to maintain the tottering U.S. colonial rule in south Korea, to obstruct the peaceful reunification of Korea, and to turn Japan into an obedient tool of aggression through the formation of a Northeast Asian military alliance.

Briefs

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, in a message of greetings to King Hassan II on the occasion of Morocco's National Day wished His Majesty and the Moroccan people greater successes in the struggle against colonialism, in defence of their national independence and in national construction. They expressed the hope that friendship between the Chinese and Moroccan peoples will grow day by day.

In a message of greetings sent on March 1 to William Gopallawa, Governor-General of Ceylon, congratulating him on his assumption of office, Chairman Liu Shao-chi wished the Ceylonese people new successes in safeguarding their national independence and in building their country.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent congratulations to Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, President of the Republic of Finland, on his re-election as president.

The Sino-Burmese Boundary Protocol came into force on February 22. It was signed in October last year in Peking.

The Chinese opera *Third Sister Liu* performed by Japanese artists opened in Tokyo on February 15. It has been very well received. By February 24, it had been seen by more than 20,000 people. After a run of ten shows in Tokyo, it will give 30 performances in Osaka and then return to Tokyo for a further 11 performances.

Recent visitors to China include Hans Maassen, a writer from the German Democratic Republic; the Japanese writers Masao Matsumoto, Shigeo Sato and Udai Fujishima; an 8-member delegation from the Japanese Music Council of the Working People; the Turkish artist Mehmed Nejad Devrim, and Madame Aysha Ali Sultan, general secretary of the national federation of democratic women of Zanzibar.

More U.S. Military Intrusions

On February 19, between 07:34 and 09:20 hours, four U.S. warships intruded into China's territorial waters northeast of the Tamkon Islands, Kwangtung Province. On the same day, between 09:29 and 12:30 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters, east of Peishuang and north of Tungyin, Fukien Province.

On February 24, between 13:18 and 13:45 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing and Shih Islands of the Hsisha Group, Kwangtung Province.

A U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing and Shih Islands of the Hsisha Group at 06:28 hours and 06:36 hours on March 5. On the same day, between 13:59 and 14:10 hours, a U.S. military aircraft intruded into China's territorial airspace over waters south of Pinghai, Kwangtung Province.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued the 187th, 188th and 189th serious warnings against these U.S. military provocations.

LITERATURE

Asian, African Writing in China

Classical literary works as well as modern works of distinction from Asian and African countries are sure of a ready popularity in present-day China. More than 380 such titles from over 30 Asian and African countries have come off the presses of the People's Literature Publishing House in Peking and other major literary publishing houses since liberation.

Modern Japanese literature was introduced to Chinese readers many years ago, but it was only after liberation that works by well-known Japanese authors have been translated and published according to a systematic plan designed to make Japanese literature comprehensively known in China. The People's Literature Publishing House has already published the selected works of Natsume Soseki, Futabatei Shimei, Higuchi Ichiyo, Ishikawa Takuboku and of the contemporary writers Kobayashi Takiji, Miyamoto Yuriko and Tokunaga Sunao.

Rabindranath Tagore was the first modern Indian poet to be introduced to China. To mark the 100th anniversary of his birth, the People's Literature Publishing House last year published a 10-volume edition of his *Selected Works*. These included his most important works in poetry, fiction and drama.

The Indonesian writer Abdoel Moeis's novel *Surapati*, about the heroic struggle of the Indonesian people in the late 17th century, will soon be on sale. Other Indonesian works which are well liked by Chinese readers include his other novel *Salah Asuhan*, published earlier, and the historical novel *Tambera* by Utuy Tatang Sontani, a story of Dutch colonialism and its crimes in Indonesia.

Among the translated works of well-known writers of other Asian countries which have gained a wide popularity in China are: *The Tei-dong River* by Han Sel Ya of Korea, *The Earth* by another Korean writer Li Gi Eun and the Korean classical novel *The Story of Chuan Shian*; *Prison Diary* by Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, poems by To Huu and the Vietnamese classic *Kim Van Kieu*; *The Three*

Mountains by D. Nachugdorgi, *Aurora* by Rinchin and poems by C. Damdin-surin, all from the People's Republic of Mongolia; the Pakistani writer Ahmad Nagim Kasmi's short stories; the Burmese writer U Htin Fatt's *Nga Ba* and the Ceylonese writer Martin Wickramasinghe's short stories.

The Arabian poet Sharaf al-din Muhammad al Busiri's *Qusidat al-Burda* and the famous *Thousand and One Nights* were translated into Chinese as long as 60 years ago. Now the former has been reprinted and the latter retranslated. Other Arabian works published by the People's Literature Publishing House include *Kalila and Dimna*, an ancient fable, *Gulistan* by the 13th century poet Sadi, and poems by Jalalud-Din Rumi and Rudagi. Since liberation, many modern Arabian works have been introduced into China. Among them are: *Streams of Days* by Taha Hussein of the United Arab Republic, short stories by Sadiq Hidayat of Iran, *Priests of the Temple* by George Hanna of Lebanon, *Poems in Exile* by Abd al-Wahhad al-Bayati of Iraq, and poems by Tunisian and Jordanian poets.

From the other African countries, we have translations of such fine contemporary works as *The Grand House* and *Conflagration* by the Algerian writer Mohammed Dib, *Africa, We Do Not Know You!* by the Kamerun writer Benjamin Matip, and *The Old Negro and the Medal* by Ferdinand Oyono, *O Land, My Beautiful People* by the Senegalese writer Sembene Ousmane, *Mine Boy* and *Thunder Path* by the South African writer Peter Abrahams, and two books of poetry, *Contemporary African Poems* and *Victory to the Algerians*.

THEATRE

A Successful Hongkong Tour

—Excerpts From an Actor's Notes

Invited to Hongkong last year, our Shanghai Youth Peking Opera Troupe opened its tour on December 21 to a full and warmly appreciative theatre. We gave altogether 39 performances in 29 days and each was a similar, heart-warming success.

As a Peking and kunqu opera actor who had spent quite a few years in Hongkong, this visit was naturally of special interest for me. I was especially

moved by the enthusiasm with which our Hongkong compatriots welcomed our young company. Our train steamed slowly into a station filled with a cheering crowd, waving bouquets and clapping warmly. The firm clasp of old friends caught our hands as it drew to a stop. We received a welcome warm beyond words from thousands more who had waited, some for several hours, outside the station.

We sensed even more keenly this friendly concern on the part of our Hongkong compatriots when we came to plan our programmes, and went carefully through our repertoire together seeking to suit the programme to the taste of local theatregoers. *The White Snake* is an old mythological story widely popular among the Chinese people everywhere. At our dress rehearsal our Hongkong friends were highly appreciative of this piece with its combination of lyricism and tragedy, excellent singing, dancing and acrobatics, and suggested that we stage it for the opening performance, keeping the other full-length opera *Women Generals of the Yang Family* for a later date. We readily agreed and later events proved how sound was their judgment. This friendly, deep concern and warm encouragement gave us fresh confidence and spurred us to do better and still better so as not to disappoint their expectations.

Our premiere was an overwhelming success. Bouquets of flowers poured in on us. Tickets were sold out way ahead. Yet the queue outside the box office grew longer with every passing day. After performances, many came backstage to see us. They praised our art and in their praise we sensed keenly how happily proud they are of their motherland and the tremendous progress she has made in the arts and other spheres.

The Hongkong tour of the Shanghai Shaohsing Opera Company (see *Peking Review*, No. 7, 1961), so some of my old friends told me, gave them first-hand evidence of the rapid advance of local operatic styles in China. The film version of *Women Generals of the Yang Family* as performed by the Fourth Troupe of the China Peking Opera Theatre, which they had seen, gave them a chance to see too how the old art of Peking opera has gained a new life and how rapidly a fine new generation of young actors and actresses is coming to the fore. They said they had considered these changes



Yu Chen-fei as Liu Meng-mei in a film version of the "Peony Pavilion" produced in 1960, co-starring Mei Lan-fang and Yu Chen-fei

miraculous, but after seeing the performances of our young company, their conviction was confirmed that these were not isolated miracles but that local operatic forms do indeed flourish in every part of the country like a hundred flowers in full bloom.

Old friends were naturally interested in the few appearances on the stage I myself made. They had the kindness to compliment me on the freshness of my performances after seven years of absence from the Hongkong stage. Quite a few recalled the stupid and malicious rumours spread by the reactionaries that veteran actors and actresses were deliberately "neglected" in New China. Many old actors and actresses, our mutual friends, were asked after. I told them how 76-year-old Kai Chiao-tien had created a big stir in the theatrical world in Peking when he was invited to the capital some time ago to pass on his artistry and experience. Shortly afterwards his name was again much in the news—this time, in connection with a grand celebration arranged by the Ministry of Culture to mark the 65th anniversary of his life on the stage. I also told them about the grand celebrations arranged for the 60th anniversary of the stage career of another Peking opera master, Chou Hsin-fang. My Hongkong friends were, of course, delighted with such good news. One said with a sigh: "In the old society, old actors or actresses were worth no more than a *cao* (a blade of grass); only in the new society are they treasured as *bao* (jewels)."

That remark evoked a whole train of thoughts. At a banquet given by some businessmen and industrialists in honour of our company, an old friend asked me, after clinking cups, to say something about this return visit of mine to Hongkong. I was a little tipsy perhaps and for this reason might have been a bit too outspoken. However, I said what I really felt. I told them: After these seven years away, I seemed to be back in

another world. When last I was here, to keep going, I sometimes had to ask people to buy tickets for my own performances. Friends were always quite willing to help but not infrequently I was cold-shouldered as if I were asking a favour. Things are quite different now. If I help someone to get a ticket, he feels it a favour I am doing him. You can well imagine how I feel.

But, of course, this is just a matter of personal feelings. What delighted and inspired me was to see the success of this bright and up-and-coming generation of actors in whose training I have played a part. My happiest moment in Hongkong, I should say, was to listen to the thunderous applause greeting the performances of Tsai Cheng-jen, Fei Cheng-nien and others. Many talked to me about my students and, as I listened to their praises, one sentiment stood out above all others: It is to the Chinese Communist Party that we owe our thanks. It is the Party which has saved our beloved art of *kunqu* from dying out, which reinstils in me a youthful spirit and a desire to do more and better now that I'm well over sixty. It is also the Party that has educated such a fine new generation, ever ready to learn. For all these reasons, I am more than ever eager to improve my art and pass on all I know to the young people. I feel privileged to join them in working for an ever greater future for the theatre in my country.

—YU CHEN-FEI*

* Yu Chen-fei, President of the Shanghai School of Operatic Arts, is an art director of the Shanghai Youth Peking Opera Troupe.

SHORT NOTES

Dramatization of a Dramatic Change

The rebirth of China's smallest nationality, the Hochehs, is the theme of a new play now being staged in Harbin. It was written by a Hocheh playwright.

The Hochehs live in the fertile plain in China's northeast watered by the Heilungkiang, Ussuri and Sungari Rivers. At the time of liberation, numbering just 300 souls, they led a primitive life of hunting and fishing and were on the verge of extinction.

Liberation enabled them to leap into the era of socialism. The People's Government gave them land and money and taught them farming. They have added grain to their diet of fish and meat. They have free primary schools and health centres. The population has more than doubled.

The new play, in their own national idiom, reflects these dramatic changes.

A 2,000-Year-Old Tale-Telling Brick

Aesop's fable of the *Fox and the Crow*, that telling warning against love of flattery, is well known in China. Although there is no documentary evidence as to when this mid-sixth century B.C. Greek fable was first introduced into this country, there is no question but that this tale of the vain crow who drops the meat in its beak when the crafty fox encourages it to sing has long been widely popular here.

Now a recent archaeological find in Chengchow, Honan Province, suggests that this story was well known here as early as some 2,000 years ago. The picture reproduced below from a rubbing was found on a hollow brick in a tomb dating back to the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), a time when there was a lively trade between China and the western world over the Old Silk Road.



CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Uganda Advances to Independence

Greeting the establishment of "internal self-government" in Uganda on March 1 and its further advance to a status of national independence on October 9, Commentator in *Renmin Ribao* (March 3) expresses the Chinese people's congratulations to the people of Uganda on the initial victory they have won.

Commentator recalls how the British imperialists, following their invasion of Uganda in the eighties of the last century, plundered the country's resources and enslaved its people. Most of Uganda's coffee, cotton and copper production have been under colonialist control. While the British monopoly capitalists profited hugely, the people of Uganda lived in misery. The brutal tyranny of the British colonialist rule has naturally provoked resistance.

The people of Uganda, says Commentator, fought long and hard to win their national independence. In recent years, with the national-independence movements sweeping across the whole of Africa, their struggle against imperialism and colonialism has gathered momentum. The peasants have struggled to seize land and the workers fought back with strike action. It was these co-ordinated struggles which have finally compelled the British colonialists to agree to Uganda's "internal self-government" as a first step towards independence.

The Chinese people have a deep sympathy for the just struggle of the people of Uganda against imperialism as they have for struggles for independence of all oppressed nations in Africa. The fact that the peoples of China and Uganda are waging a common struggle against imperialism and colonialism will certainly help promote the growth of their friendship and co-operation, concludes Commentator.

London's Grip on Commonwealth Slips

The three pillars on which Britain's economic control over the Commonwealth countries rests are crumbling, declares an article in *Da Gong Bao*, giving the facts about the disintegration of the British Empire.

The "imperial preference" system under which British exports to the Commonwealth countries enjoy preferential treatment now cover only half the range of goods which they once did in 1937. The preferential rates have dropped to 5 or 6 per cent. In the old days, under the protection of the preferential system the markets of the British Commonwealth countries were monopolized by Britain. But, in recent years, radical changes have taken place. The Commonwealth countries have developed their own industries, and have gradually established multilateral trade relations with other countries in order to

develop their own economies. At the same time, with the shrinking of the capitalist world market, and the sharpening competition among the capitalist countries, Britain is being further edged out of the Commonwealth markets. In the six years from 1954 to 1960, Britain's share in the Commonwealth countries' imports of industrial goods fell by over 14 per cent. The fall continued in 1961.



Look, we are putting more pressure on him!
Cartoon by Ko Chao-chuan

At the same time, the proportion of the trade in the Commonwealth markets taken over by the U.S., the Common Market countries and Japan has increased rapidly. By tying its loans to such conditions as forcing recipient countries to buy its goods, the U.S. has gradually wrested from Britain the dominant position in the Commonwealth markets. In 1955, U.S. exports to India were only one half of Britain's, but in 1960, the two were almost equal. From 1954 to 1960, the U.S. share in Australia's industrial imports increased 8.6 per cent.

The next prop of Britain's control over the Commonwealth countries is its investments of capital, but with the steady worsening of its economic position, it can now only provide over £200 million annually for this purpose. This has given the U.S. the opportunity to force its way into the Commonwealth countries. In 1958, the U.S. invested five times as much capital as Britain in Canadian industries. At the present time, U.S. investments in India are roughly four times

THE PASSING SHOW

Twisted

The latest U.S. export and contribution to art is the new dance craze — the Twist. England is twisting. Rita Franks there, twisting non-stop for 32 hours plus in a coffee bar called Whiskey-a-go-go, currently holds the world record for twisting after other contestants limped off, grew rigid with cramp or were carried off on stretchers. In Venlo, Holland, a 77-year-old grandfather collapsed after twisting and suffering a spinal lesion. In San Francisco, the latest twist to the Twist is doing it with a highball glass balanced on one's head. A few others downed inside are said to help.



as big as the British. The Kennedy Administration, moreover, is now using a whole arsenal of unscrupulous methods to break into Britain's spheres of influence in Africa. The Common Market countries, particularly West Germany, are also speeding up exports of capital to the British Commonwealth countries. The scramble for the British Commonwealth markets is a major factor in British-West German and British-U.S. contradictions.

As another prop of British domination of the Commonwealth economies

the sterling area has also been shaken to its foundations. It is on the countries of the British Empire that Britain has relied for the maintenance of its balance of international payments. The payment of its debts to non-sterling areas is made out of the balances earned by the other countries in the sterling area. This means that the gold and dollar resources of the colonial and Commonwealth countries are used by London to cover its own gold and dollar deficits. But in the past few years, for the purpose of financing their own economic construction, the newly independent countries have

withdrawn their sterling balances. The sterling area's gold and dollar reserves are steadily dropping. The fall in the prices of primary products from year to year has also produced an unfavourable balance of international payments in those Commonwealth countries mainly depending on exports of these products and has greatly affected their sterling resources. That is why, whenever the capitalist money market is in trouble, the exchange rate of sterling falls, accompanied by an outflow of gold and dollars from London. The pound sterling has become a very unstable currency.

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

▲ **AT THE PORT OF CHUUCHIANG** A Yuan general, rejecting the advice of his faithful retainer, Chang Ting-pien, falls into an enemy trap at the Port of Chuuchiang. On the verge of defeat he is rescued by Chang. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **BREAKING THE SIEGE** An episode from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. It tells how the well-loved General Kuan Yu of the Kingdom of Shu meets his tragic end at Maicheng. Produced by the visiting Wuhan Peking Opera Troupe.

▲ **FIGHT ON THE MELON PATCH** A Five Dynasties comedy. A young oil vendor who appropriates a melon not only becomes good friends with the melon's owner after a fight but also his son-in-law. On the same programme **HUNG NIANG**, about the vivacious slave-maid in *The West Chamber*, the classical Yuan play. Hsun Hui-sheng Peking Opera Troupe.

▲ **SHE SAI-HUA** Tsui Lung and Yang Chieh fight for the hand of beautiful She Sai-hua. The lady, however, has already given her heart to the latter, but it is only after many exciting adventures that the two are wed. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **MEI FEI** A story about Mei Fei who was a favourite concubine of the Emperor Ming of the Tang Dynasty. After he marries the famous beauty, Yang Kuei Fei, she finds herself no longer the emperor's favourite. Lonely and miserable, she dies a tragic death in the chaos of An Lu-shan's revolt. Peking Opera Company of Peking.

SHAOHSING OPERA

▲ **THE PEARL PAGODA** A traditional comic opera. A scholar is thrown out of his aunt's house because he is poor. Later he returns as a wandering Taoist priest. When his aunt again abuses him, he reveals himself in his true capacity as a high official, gives her a thorough scolding and claims the hand of his sweetheart, his now mortified aunt's daughter. Produced by the visiting Tientsin Shaohsing Opera Troupe.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **HUNG HSIA** The moving tale of a Kiangsi peasant girl. She gives her life to save her fellow villagers by leading attacking Kuomintang troops to a place of return. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

▲ **A THORN HAIRPIN** A rich girl accepts a thorn hairpin as a pledge of betrothal to a poor scholar she loves. Their marriage is broken up by a scandal-monger, but truth

triumphs and they are finally reunited. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **WU SHUANG** Beautiful Wu Shuang pledges herself to a playmate of her school-days. The emperor abducts her. She is taken to the palace, but escapes with the help of a potion which gives her the appearance of death for a short period. The scheme works; unlike Juliet, she marries her true love. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

MODERN OPERA

▲ **THE HEAVENLY MAID AND THE MORTAL** Adapted from an old fairy tale. It tells of the romance between a celestial princess and a brave young peasant. The Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

DANCE-DRAMA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** Based on a Chinese fairy tale. How a brave warrior, son of the Nymph of Mt. Huashan, defeats his intolerant uncle in combat and sets his mother free. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

CONCERTS

A concert of vocal solos—soprano, tenor and bass—by the Central Conservatory of Music. March 10 at Peking Concert Hall.

Soloists: Liu Ping-yi, Li Kuang-lun, Li Shuang-chiang, Shen Fei-yi.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** (in the Tibetan language) About the marriage of the Tang Princess Wen Cheng with the Tibetan King Sron-tsan Gampo. Produced by the Tibetan class of the Shanghai Institute of Dramatic Arts.

▲ **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.

▲ **THE MISER** The comedy by the great French dramatist Moliere. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **IN THE NAME OF REVOLUTION** A famous Soviet play by M. Shatrov produced by the China Children's Theatre. It shows Lenin's care and concern for the young generation in the hard days of 1918.

▲ **YO YUN** 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.

▲ **THE PEKING MAN** One of the plays written by the well-known contemporary playwright, Tsao Yu. It depicts the decline of a feudal family in Peking in the 1930s. Produced by the Central Broadcasting and Television Modern Drama Troupe.

FILMS

▲ **THIRD SISTER LIU** A colour film version based on a popular local opera of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Clever and brave, the beautiful peasant girl Third Sister Liu uses songs to denounce and harry the grasping landlords. Changchun and Nanning Studios.

▲ **STORY OF A WOMAN** A Korean feature film. The story of a Korean woman who wholeheartedly carries on the anti-Japanese struggle after her husband is martyred. Later she becomes a staunch revolutionary.

▲ **THE GIRL FROM KIEV** A Soviet colour film in two parts. The life, work and love of a Soviet girl.

▲ **HEIDI** A Swiss film based on the novel of the same title. Heidi, an orphan girl, is kidnapped and put to work as a servant-maid in an alien land. She longs for her homeland and her aged grandfather. Finally, she returns.

▲ **SALT OF THE EARTH** A U.S. feature film based on a heroic strike by U.S. zinc miners for democracy, freedom and the right to live.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF SKETCHES FROM TIBET** Over a hundred sketches by the artists Tung Hsi-wen, Shao Ching-kun, Wu Kuan-chung and others. Daily, March 11-25, 9:00 a.m.-4:30 p.m. At Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ART FROM KWANGTUNG** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till March 19. At Summer Palace.



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