

PEKING REVIEW

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November 15, 1960

DIALECTICS: THE ALGEBRA OF REVOLUTION

A study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's use of materialist dialectics to solve problems of the Chinese revolution during the Third Revolutionary Civil War (p. 6).

The Korean Question Can Be Settled Only by the Korean People Themselves

Renmin Ribao editorial exposes the fraudulent reports of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (p. 17).

Transport Aids the Farm Front

How transport workers play their part in the current aid-agriculture drive (p. 19).

Ancient Classical Chinese Paintings

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Six Collections of Excerpts from Lenin's Writings and Speeches

To commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and to extensively propagate Leninism, the Foreign Languages Press of China has recently published six collections of excerpts of Lenin's writings and speeches. The booklets are entitled:

1. **Lenin on Imperialism, the Eve of the Proletarian Social Revolution**
2. **Lenin on Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship**
3. **Lenin on the National Liberation Movement**
4. **Lenin on War and Peace**
5. **Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism**
6. **Lenin on the Revolutionary Proletarian Party of a New Type**

Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian socialist revolution. Under new historical conditions, Lenin not only restored the revolutionary content of Marxism which had been emasculated by the revisionists of the Second International, but further developed the revolutionary spirit of Marxism. By so doing, he carried Marxism forward into a new stage, pointing out to all the exploited classes and oppressed peoples the bright road that leads to true emancipation from capitalist-imperialist enslavement and freedom from poverty and that leads to socialism.

In this great, new epoch of today in which imperialism is rotting with each passing day, while for socialism things are getting better and better every day, in the resolute and sharp struggle to oppose imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and modern revisionism, all the great teachings of Marx and Lenin are still of fundamental importance as guides. Reading Lenin's works today, one finds them as correct, vivid and timely as if they had just been written. Leninism is eternal truth and will live for ever.

These six collections of excerpts from Lenin's works fully express the revolutionary spirit of Leninism, especially its hatred for imperialism and all reactionaries and its uncompromising, thoroughgoing militancy in the struggle against these enemies.

They teach people that they should fully understand the nature of imperialism and constantly maintain revolutionary vigilance; that they must entertain no illusions about imperialism but fight it to the end.

They also teach people that the fight against imperialism must be linked with the struggle against revisionism, otherwise it will be impossible for the cause of proletarian socialist revolution to progress.

Editions in Russian, English, French, Spanish, Japanese and

German translations are now available.

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ROUND THE WEEK

"Xiafang" Progress Sheet

Early this year, these columns reported how in implementing the Communist Party's policy of *xiafang*, some 7,800 cadres from Central Government departments went to the countryside for a spell of work at the grass-roots level. Now, at the close of the year's busy farming season, there is an accumulation of evidence indicating that, as in the two previous years since its inception, *xiafang* has proved to be a most effective means of training cadres devoted to the cause of socialism and of keeping alive and developing the Communist Party's tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses.

For *xiafang* cadres, most of whom are young, city-bred intellectuals, the year has been pregnant with meaningful days. In devoting their main energy to farm work while also participating in all other aspects of the commune life, they have identified themselves completely with the people's commune members. Gradually, as the days slipped by, they found that in working together with the commune members to wrest a harvest from nature, great changes had been wrought in themselves as people. They had cultivated a heightened class consciousness, a deepened sense of the collective and a profound regard for the significance and dignity of manual labour. As one cadre summed up his experience, "Having tasted the joys and hardships of labour, I have gained a real understanding of how material wealth is created by labour and of the fine qualities of the working people. I feel that physical labour has become a necessity for me. In fact, it has become part of my life."

By practising the "four shares"—eating, living, working and consulting with the commune members—the cadres have cemented flesh-and-blood ties in the countryside. Often, when the *xiafang* cadres were leaving for other areas they were given send-offs

at once hearty and tearful and punctuated by repeated requests to stay on.

Cadres acquired practical skills and wisdom from the peasants and for their part applied knowledge in helping commune members introduce many technical innovations to agriculture. They helped build small hydro-electric power stations and water conservancy projects. They joined in summing up and drawing conclusions from experience which would lead to increased farm yields. Some took part in establishing schools, amateur theatrical groups, health protection centres and in running community kitchens. But wherever and however they pass their *xiafang* days, they will always regard it as a school of life, a veritable "University of Labour."

Finis to Feudalism in Tibet

Literally the entire district poured into Dzai Village for the occasion. Jubilant crowds, dressed in their best and playing traditional musical instruments, flocked to a rally in front of the local government office. Red banners and portraits of Chairman Mao were everywhere.

This was a festival of a special sort: emancipated Tibetan serfs were receiving land title deeds from the government giving legal confirmation to their ownership of the land they had taken over from the feudal lords. There were loud cheers and hand-clapping from the crowd as peasants, one after another, walked up to the rostrum to claim their land deeds. Choked with deep emotion, many spoke of the bitter past, of their gratitude to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and of making added efforts to bring about a still happier future.

Dzai Village, locale of this stirring scene, was one among many in the Tibetan region that witnessed this momentous ceremony in the past weeks.

Carried out in accordance with a recent directive from the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, it is the final step in abolishing once and for all the centuries-old feudal system of land ownership. In the course of the agrarian reform the land of the serf-owners and their agents who took part in the rebellion was confiscated while surplus land of those serf-owners and their agents who had not participated was bought out. A total of more than 2.8 million *ke* of land was distributed to 800,000 former landless serfs and slaves in the rural farming areas.

Taking Time by the Forelock

First reports of pre-schedule fulfilment of the year's targets have begun to come in from various parts of the country, though it is still a month and a half before the year's end. Constantly introducing bold innovations, many advanced workers, teams and even entire plants have pushed their way beyond the 1960 frontier.

From Sining, on the Chinghai Plateau, comes the good word that a team of young plasterers led by Chang Fu-teh is now working on its October 1961 schedule. Despite a general lack of experience in the team, Chang led his mates to pool their collective knowledge and each individual to do his best to fulfil the team's quota. Always aiming to emulate the best and uniting as one man, they had, by the end of September, fulfilled their quota for that period fourfold.

Li Ping-nan, one of the first drivers in the Tibet region to set a record for transporting 10,000 ton-kilometres per month driving his 4-ton lorry with trailers across the roof of the world, is now working on his 1962 schedule. He finished 1960's quota by the end of April, and 61's in September.

At the Tunghua Mining Administration, northeast China, as a result of widespread technical innovations, nine pits and workshops, 26 teams and dozens of auxiliary groups have crossed the 1960 finish line well ahead of schedule with 70 days to spare! Their example created much excitement among the miners at the Administration who immediately launched an



Red Courtyards — Workshops of an Urban People's Commune

Woodcut by Shen Yu-kuei, from the Second Workers' Sparetime Fine Art Exhibition

emulation drive called "enter 1961 now!"

Everywhere Is Industry

Seeing a trim "Panda" radio, you would hardly dream that it is largely the product of Nanking housewives. Yet it is. Though the final assembling and checking is left to Nanking's big state radio factory, 80 per cent of this popular radio's parts are manufactured in neighbourhood workshops and factories.

Nanking relied mostly on imported and Shanghai goods before liberation. Now, aside from its numerous state factories, it boasts thousands of such neighbourhood workshops — over 80 per cent staffed by housewives who only a year or so ago were completely without previous industrial experience. Some of these workshops, such as those which help manufacture the "Pandas," cluster like satellites around the big and medium-sized state factories; but for the most part they are relatively small operations producing every variety of consumer goods.

The secret of success for Nanking's neighbourhood factories lies first of all in self-reliance. The Dongfeng Machinery Plant, for example, started with three pairs of pliers and four files. Though at first it could only "process" a few simple products, its eyes were set firmly on bigger things from the start. Its workers acquired an old battered lathe. This required three months to repair, but they mastered more industrial skill in the process and by the time it was working were ready for "big business." Gradually increasing capital equipment and introducing improved techniques and with the help of neighbouring state plants, the workshop has now grown into a full-sized factory with over 400 workers and staff and is capable of handling drilling, milling, planing and a host of other jobs.

Nanking has gone a long way since its neighbourhood industries were first established in 1958. By the end of 1959, their total annual output value was five times that of the city's total industrial output value in the first year of its liberation. In the first half of this year, it was double what it was for the same period in 1959.

Meteorology: The Mass Way

"In the old days we looked on old man weather with awe; in our co-op days we considered it an enemy; now in our people's commune we study it: one day we'll harness it." This homely comment from a commune member in Inner Mongolia reflects the changing outlook of the region's peasants and herdsmen towards nature. Within a decade or so mass superstition about the weather has given way to mass study of meteorology.

Situated as it is on a plateau, with frequent dry spells or cold waves, correct weather forecasting has a vital bearing on Inner Mongolia's farming and animal husbandry. This is why

during 1958's big leap forward the region began to train its own meteorological workers on a large scale. Many farmers and herdsmen were given special short-term courses but even greater numbers were encouraged to make weather observation and forecasting a sideline.

Today, almost every banner (county) in the region has a well-equipped meteorological centre and 80,000 commune members have become competent part-time weathermen. The supplementary information they provide approaches a standard of over 90 per cent accuracy.

In some pastoral people's communes, meteorology-conscious members have devised a system of weather observation making it possible to plan grazing, wool shearing, inoculations and many other pastoral jobs on the basis of meteorological forecastings. Taking note of predictions of a prolonged dry spell confirmed by his own observations, team leader Wang Chi-wen of the Chahar League advised his men to plough under 200 *mu* of oats which were not doing too well and replant the fields with drought-resistant millet. Consequently, his team ended up with a higher yield of grain than last year despite less favourable weather conditions.

Aid Agriculture Pace-Setter

The Chinese people are determined to get rid of the "poverty and blankness" of the rural areas—not hereafter, but within a decade or two. This is a goal that has gripped the imagination of the nation. At such a time the noble example of hundreds and thousands of flesh-and-blood activists has been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration to popular strivings. Hsing Yen-tse, a 20-year-old Communist Youth League member and head of a shock team in a Hopei Province people's commune is such a one. All over China young people are talking about how she and her team, following the Party's lead, helped to raise the production brigade of her district from poor to well-to-do in a mere two years.

Yen-tse's home village, Szechia-chuang, has the misfortune to lie on a

low alluvial stretch of plain on the shores of Pohai Bay. Last autumn, on the eve of the harvest, a sudden deluge from the Chi River washed away the lion's share of the brigade's crop. It was a double calamity because the same thing had happened the previous year and so reserves were low. At the hurried consultation called to discuss the serious situation, it wasn't surprising that many were in a pessimistic mood. With two disasters in a row and not much adult labour power in the brigade, talk of working for a bumper harvest next year sounded a bit hollow. Some of the village lads even put forward the idea of going into town and taking jobs in industry. The Party secretary had a hard job getting the long view accepted: that the brigade must make a determined effort right there on the farm front to increase production and catch up with the high-yield, well-to-do brigades of the commune.

It was at this crucial moment that young Hsing Yen-tse spoke up. "I want to stay here. This is where we've got to build socialism!" It came as a surprise to some because she was not long out of primary school. Only her grandad was on the farm. Her father, mother and brothers were working in Tientsin, her father a vice-director of a factory. Yen-tse's resolute decision to stay and work in the commune helped swing the meeting behind the Party secretary.

Winter closed in; everything hinged on the winter fishing. In these parts, the villagers go out onto the river, crack a hole in the ice, lower nets and, if all goes well, haul out the fish. This could be sufficient not only to keep the brigade through the winter but give it a good start for next year's farm production. But the brigade had only eight able-bodied men to do this work. Yen-tse persuaded seven of her chums to join her in asking permission to start a women's fishing team.

This set the long tongues wagging: "Never heard of a women's fishing team before!" The fishing was indeed a tough test for the girls. But they mastered the job and even found time to take up an extra side-line: making blinds in the evenings from the reeds that grew plentifully in the surrounding marshes.

With spring came the Party's call to raise a bumper crop. For Szechia-chuang it was an ambitious project because the brigade had only three draught animals and was short of manpower. But Yen-tse led her team into the task like a legendary Mu Kuei-ling.

It was no easy job. It meant planting some 430 *mu* of land to spring wheat and reclaiming as much more wasteland. For the brigade with its depleted reserves timely planting of the spring wheat was also vital because it meant grain for the summer, but if too much time were taken up with the planting there would not be enough time left to reclaim and sow the new land. So the Party put out the call: plant the wheat more than a week early. This set the conservative-minded protesting again. "Why waste seed," they said, "we've never heard of planting when the ground is still frozen!" Yen-tse thought otherwise. Backing up the Party leadership, her team set the pace.

The ground was hard-frozen and the plough only able to scratch its surface. But her team persevered. They found that warmed by the sun, the shallow furrow they ploughed in the morning had turned soft in the afternoon and a second or third going over did the job. The wheat was planted on time and the new land reclaimed on schedule. It was by such tireless, stubborn effort and initiative that the whole brigade was encouraged to raise and reap a bumper harvest and became well-to-do.

Success has brought additional draught animals and water pumps but even more precious than these mechanical aids is the new confidence in the possibility of fighting and besting nature that now inspires the whole brigade. Hearing the news, many of the villagers who had gone to the cities have come back with a new faith in farming. One has become vice-leader of Yen-tse's team. Yen-tse's example, her faith in the Party, her selfless devotion to the commune and grit in the face of difficulties has inspired people throughout the country. The press is full of articles and letters written by young people expressing their determination to emulate the spirit of Yen-tse and her team.

Dialectics Is the Algebra of Revolution

by TENG LI-CHUN and WU CHIANG

Following is the full text of an article published in the November 1 issue of "Hongqi" (Red Flag), fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. — Ed.

I. The "Sharpest Weapon"

DIALLECTICS is the "algebra of revolution." This is the famous remark made by the Russian revolutionary democrat Herzen. This remark was highly praised by Lenin in his appraisal of Herzen.

Marx and Engels held that materialist dialectics "is in its essence critical and revolutionary,"* and that it is "our best working tool and our sharpest weapon."** Lenin said: "The thing that interested Marx and Engels most of all . . . was the application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy, from its foundations up — to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class."*** Applying materialist dialectics, Marx, Engels and Lenin penetratingly exposed and analysed the contradictions of the capitalist system and imperialist system, and on the basis of this analysis, correctly formulated the strategy and tactics of the proletarian party in waging the revolutionary struggle and carrying the revolution to victory. Lenin derided the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International for their ignorance of dialectics, and spoke of "their substitution of eclecticism and sophistry for dialectics,"† and of their "replacing 'artful' (and revolutionary) dialectics by 'simple' (and tranquil) 'evolution.'"†† They feared to expose contradictions and did not dare to make any revolutionary analysis of the process of social development; their every

*Karl Marx, "From the Afterword to the Second German Edition of the First Volume of *Capital*," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 457.

**Frederick Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, p. 64.

***"The Marx-Engels Correspondence," V.I. Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, Third English Edition Revised and Enlarged, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 83.

†"The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, p. 141.

††"Marxism and Revisionism," V. I. Lenin, *Against Revisionism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 115.

action and deed showed them up as chicken-hearted reformists, afraid of straying a single step away from the bourgeoisie and all the more fearful of breaking with the bourgeoisie; they invariably sacrificed the fundamental interests of the proletariat for the sake of immediate interests.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest representative and leader of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists. He applies Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics in making a profound analysis of the various kinds of contradictions in modern Chinese society and correctly solving the various kinds of questions in the Chinese revolution and at the same time, he has further developed Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics on the basis of the rich experience of Chinese revolutionary practice.

The period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War was a period in which a decisive battle was waged between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution in China. The Chinese people, under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, through more than three years of revolutionary war, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism throughout the country and won the great victory in the people's great revolution. The fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* is the crystallization of the experience of this great victory. The writings contained in this volume, like Comrade Mao Tse-tung's other writings, are brilliant with the revolutionary radiance of materialist dialectics and combat various erroneous tendencies which deviate from materialist dialectics. By integrating a strict scientific spirit with a high degree of revolutionary spirit, integrating immense, sky-rocketing energy with a skilful art of struggle and further integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in accordance with the requirements of revolutionary dialectics, in other words, with the requirement of the "algebra of revolution," Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down a complete set of lines and policies for this period, most perfectly developed the theory of China's democratic revolution and further developed the theory of the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

II. Exposing and Solving Contradictions

Lenin used to say that the law of contradictions in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the essence and core of dialectics. While studying the problems of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has from beginning to end adhered to this fun-

damental viewpoint of Lenin. He has always proceeded from observation and analysis of the various kinds of contradictions in modern Chinese society to discovering ways and means of resolving these contradictions. In his observation and analysis of contradictions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, like all other great Marxist-Leninists, pays attention not only to understanding and studying the universality of contradiction but especially to understanding and studying the particularity of contradiction in each thing at different stages of development.

MODERN China is the focal point of many contradictions in the East. Over a long period, the contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism and the contradiction between the masses of people and feudalism constituted the basic contradiction in modern Chinese society. Comrade Mao Tse-tung studied the particularity of this contradiction and the method for solving it and clearly pointed out that China's democratic revolution following the October Revolution and the May Fourth Movement was no longer the old democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie but the new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the same time studied the particularity of this basic contradiction and the method for solving it at different stages of development of the entire period of the new-democratic revolution, and pointed out that the new-democratic revolution in China went through different stages of development—the revolutionary civil war from 1924 to 1927, the war of agrarian revolution from 1927 to 1937 and the War of Resistance Against Japan after 1937. He pointed out that during the long process of the new-democratic revolution, although the nature of the aforesaid basic contradiction had not changed, yet it took the form of a gradually growing acuteness at different stages of development. Moreover, among the many major and minor contradictions determined and influenced by this basic contradiction, some became acute, others were temporarily or partially resolved, or lessened, and still others emerged, and so the process was marked by stages.

After the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese revolution entered another new stage. Comrade Mao Tse-tung profoundly exposed and analysed the new characteristics of the basic contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism and between the masses of people and feudalism at this new stage. He said:

If one looks at the situation as a whole, the stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan has ended; the new situation and task is internal struggle. Chiang Kai-shek talks about "building the country," and from now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country? To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people, led by the proletariat, or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie? This will be a very complicated struggle.*

*"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan."

Starting from this general appraisal, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the contradiction between the Chinese people and Japanese imperialism and its lackey Wang Ching-wei had turned into the contradiction between the Chinese people and U.S. imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek. After the Second World War, U.S. imperialism organized an imperialist and anti-democratic camp to oppose all the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union, vainly attempting to turn China into a colony of U.S. imperialism and make this an important part of its aggressive plans for enslaving the world. From the point of view of U.S. imperialism, by seizing China it could not only dominate Asia but also concentrate its strength to attack Europe. In order to realize its frantic plan in this regard, U.S. imperialism provided the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries with money and guns, and instigated them to plot and carry out a countrywide civil war in an attempt to eliminate the Chinese people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party. At this time, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries supplanted Wang Ching-wei, the lackey of Japanese imperialism, and became the lackey of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against China. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, this reactionary clique adopted a policy of passive resistance to Japanese aggression and active opposition to communism, thus preserving and expanding its military strength. After the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, it took over all the equipment of the one million-strong Japanese invading army in China, reorganized all the puppet troops and received enormous military and financial assistance from U.S. imperialism. As a result, its military machine had swollen to a degree unprecedented in history. This reactionary clique was the political representative of China's big landlord and big bourgeois classes; its economic foundation was feudal, comprador, state monopoly capitalism, in other words, bureaucrat-capitalism. In the 20 years when the four big families of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung and the Chen brothers were in power, they amassed enormous fortunes and on top of this they took over all the assets from the enemy and the bogus regime after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan. This bureaucrat-capitalist monopoly clique worked hand in glove with U.S. monopoly capital in controlling the economic arteries of the whole country, seriously hindering development of the social productive forces of China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung succinctly pointed out: at the present stage, "the enemies to be overthrown in this revolution can only be, and must be, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The concentrated expression of all these enemies is the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang."*

STANDING opposed to these enemies, the revolutionary forces at this stage were the masses of the people led by the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "By the masses of the people are meant all those who are oppressed, harmed or fettered by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, namely, the workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, businessmen and other patriots, as

*"Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

clearly referred to in the Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army of October 1947. 'Intellectuals' in the manifesto refers to all intellectuals who are persecuted and fettered. 'Businessmen' refers to that part of the national bourgeoisie which is persecuted and fettered, that is, the middle and petty bourgeoisie. 'Other patriots' refers primarily to the enlightened gentry. The Chinese revolution at the present stage is a revolution in which all these forces unite to form a united front against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, with the working people as the main force.** As a result of hard tempering in the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the revolutionary forces led by the Chinese proletariat and its political party — the Chinese Communist Party — had grown considerably by the time that war ended. The liberated areas had a population of more than 100 million, the People's Liberation Army had more than one million men and the people's militia numbered more than two million. The proposal put forward by the Chinese Communist Party for independence, peace and democracy exerted an ever-increasing influence throughout the country, and the voices of the people in the Kuomintang-controlled areas against selling out the country, against civil war and dictatorship rang out louder and louder. At the same time, internationally, our struggle had the support of the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the support of the broad masses of the people of various countries.

In accordance with this analysis of the characteristics of the two sides to the contradiction and this analysis of the characteristics of the enemies and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Because U.S. imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, the successors to Japanese imperialism and its lackey Wang Ching-wei, have adopted the policies of turning China into a U.S. colony, starting civil war in China and strengthening their fascist dictatorship, they have declared themselves the enemy of the entire Chinese people, driven different sections of the people throughout the country to the brink of starvation and death, and thus compelled them to unite in a life-and-death struggle against the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government and speedily carry forward this struggle. There is no other way out for the people."** That is to say, the contradictions that had to be solved by the new-democratic revolution in China since the May Fourth Movement had become unprecedentedly acute and entered the stage in which a general solution had to be found. The struggle between the Chinese people's revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces had reached the stage of final decisive battle. Under these circumstances, daring or not daring to thoroughly expose and solve this contradiction became an extremely important question facing the Chinese Communist Party.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, most thoroughly exposed this contradiction before the people throughout the country and most

*"The Problem of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry."

**"The Chiang Kai-shek Government Is Besieged by the Whole People."

resolutely led them to wage the revolutionary struggle to solve this contradiction. In exposing and solving this contradiction whether at the time when the enemy held military superiority and we were in an inferior position or when we held military superiority and the enemy was in an inferior position, Comrade Mao Tse-tung equally demonstrated to the full his revolutionary thoroughness and revolutionary firmness.

When the enemy held superiority, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for instance, in his article "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan," sharply exposed, in the light of historical experience, the utterly cruel and utterly vicious reactionary nature of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and put forward our "blow-for-blow" revolutionary policy to counter the reactionary policy of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

He said: "Chiang Kai-shek persists in wresting every bit of power and every bit of profit from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land. We act after his fashion." He also said: "The rights won by the people must never be lightly given up, but must be defended by fighting. We don't want civil war. However, if Chiang Kai-shek insists on forcing civil war on the Chinese people, there is nothing else we can do but take up arms and fight him in self-defence to protect the lives and property, the rights and well-being of the people of the liberated areas."*

WHEN we held superiority, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for instance, in his article "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," sharply exposed the schemes of the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries to preserve the remnant forces of the Kuomintang regime, win a breathing space and then stage a come-back to wipe out the revolutionary forces; and he put forward the policy of carrying the revolution through to the end to counter these schemes.

He said: "The policy of the U.S. Government has changed from simply backing the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary war to conducting two types of struggle, first, to organize the remnants of the Kuomintang's armed forces and the so-called local forces to continue resisting the P.L.A. south of the Yangtse River and in the faraway border provinces; and, second, to organize an opposition faction within the revolutionary camp which will strive to halt the revolution where it is or, if it does advance, will ensure that it takes on a mild character and will not impair the interests of the imperialists and their stooges too much." He also said: "The question now facing the Chinese people, all democratic parties and all people's organizations is: Should we carry the revolution through to the end, or should we abandon it half way? If we want to carry the revolution through to the end, we should use revolutionary methods to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, unreservedly and completely; we must persist unswervingly in eradicating imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must, on a countrywide scale, overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and set up a republic

*"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan."

of people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body.**

Lenin said that the task of Marxist materialist dialectics is "to disclose all the forms of antagonism and exploitation in modern society, to trace their evolution, demonstrate their transient character, the inevitability of their transformation into a different form, and thus help the proletariat as quickly and easily as possible to put an end to all exploitation."*** Following this principle of Lenin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung exposed the antagonistic contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on one side and the masses of people led by the proletariat on the other during the period of China's Third Revolutionary Civil War, traced the evolution of the two sides to the contradictions, further demonstrated the transient character of the Kuomintang dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and the inevitability of the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and thus helped the masses of people led by the Chinese proletariat to use revolutionary action to smash the reactionary state machine of the Kuomintang and set up the state machine of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has thoroughly and steadfastly developed the revolutionary spirit of Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics. In contrast with all the rotten and impotent opportunists and revisionists, he did not advocate toning down the class struggle between the masses of people and the Kuomintang reactionaries but stood firm for the interests of the proletariat and maintained that this class struggle should be carried through to the end; instead of carrying out the reformist policy of trying to reconcile the interests of the masses of people and of the Kuomintang reactionaries, he most steadfastly pursued the firm revolutionary policy of the proletariat.

III. Two Possibilities of Development of the Situation, the Two-Tactic Policy of the Revolutionary Party

The contradiction between imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the one side and the masses of people led by the proletariat on the other is an antagonistic contradiction that is a matter of life-and-death, a contradiction that has to be solved. How, then, can this contradiction be solved and by what way and by what method will it be solved?

After the War of Resistance Against Japan ended, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the basis of an analysis of the situation as a whole, considered that there were two possible ways and two possible methods of solving this contradiction. One possibility was that under powerful pressure at home and abroad and after peace talks, the Kuomintang would be compelled to give conditional rec-

**"Carry the Revolution Through to the End."

***V.I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, p. 287.

ognition to our Party's status; at the same time our Party would also give conditional recognition to the Kuomintang's status, thereby creating a situation under which the Kuomintang and the Communist Party (plus other democratic parties) could co-operate peacefully, and gradually realizing social and political reforms in China by peaceful means. Another possibility was the outbreak of a nationwide civil war. The Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries had steadily persisted in their policies of selling out the country, waging counter-revolutionary civil war and preserving its counter-revolutionary dictatorship; they regarded all the efforts made by the Chinese Communist Party, representing the aspirations of the Chinese people, to vigorously strive for peace and oppose civil war as signs of cowardice and weakness, and so with powerful assistance from U.S. imperialism they launched an all-out civil war in a vain attempt to eliminate all the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people. Under these circumstances, the Chinese people were compelled to use revolutionary war against the counter-revolutionary war and carry this revolutionary war through to the end, thoroughly destroying the reactionary regime of the Kuomintang.

ON the basis of this overall appraisal, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid it down that our Party's policy should be to make every effort to realize the first possibility and at the same time make preparations to cope with the second possibility, with the key concentration of all our work placed on expanding the people's forces to cope with the worst eventuality. This is one of the excellent examples of how Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied dialectics in making an overall appraisal of the development of the situation and correctly formulating the Party's policy. On the basis of the inner contradictions in the development of things, he has always kept in view all the possibilities in the development of things as a whole and opposed unilateral recognition of one possibility and the ignoring of another possibility. He penetratingly pointed out that to prepare for the worst is precisely a condition of extremely great importance for striving for the better possibility and transforming it into reality.

At that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly reminded the whole Party of the lessons learnt from the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927. He said: "In 1927, our Party was still in its infancy and was wholly unprepared mentally for Chiang Kai-shek's surprise counter-revolutionary attack. Consequently the people soon lost the fruits of their victory and had to undergo long suffering and a bright China was plunged into darkness. This time things are different. Our Party has acquired the rich experience of three revolutions and a much greater degree of political maturity. Time and again, the Central Committee of the Party has clearly explained the danger of civil war in order that the whole people, our entire membership and the troops led by our Party should be in a state of preparedness."* These words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung tell us clearly that if we are unprepared and make no preparations to cope with the worst eventuality, once when a sudden accident occurs

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and a difficult situation arises, we shall be placed in a passive state of weakness and impotence, at a loss what to do and find it hard to handle the situation, thereby causing the revolution to suffer defeat. On the contrary, having made preparations and got ready to deal with the worst eventuality, no matter what situation arises our Party will be able to hold initiative, stand in an invincible position, and be completely confident in working out means to meet any complex and difficult situation and strive for victory for the revolution.

This idea of Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the whole Party, raised the ideological and political level of the cadres of the whole Party, enabled our Party to be constantly on guard against the danger of civil war while conducting talks with the Kuomintang to bring about internal peace, and enabled our cadres to avoid the one-sidedness of neglecting the possibility of civil war because of striving for peace. In direct opposition to the counter-revolutionary two-tactics of the Kuomintang reactionaries, that was, playing "peace" tricks on the one hand while plotting military attacks on the other, our Party adopted the revolutionary two-tactics of exposing through the talks the "peace" intrigues played by the Kuomintang reactionaries on the one hand and resolutely beating back the military attacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries on the other hand. Thus, our Party successfully coped with the complex situation created by the Kuomintang reactionaries that was characterized by fighting while holding talks, conducting talks here while fighting battles there, holding talks one day and waging battles the next, fighting after holding talks and resuming talks after fighting; it defended the fruits of victory gained by the people and maintained a fundamentally peaceful situation in the country for nearly a year. After the outbreak of the nationwide civil war, while waging war in self-defence to thoroughly smash the offensive of the Kuomintang reactionaries, our Party did not reject talks which did no harm to the people's fundamental interests, and wherever peaceful liberation was possible, such as Peiping, Suiyuan, Changsha, Kunming, the western part of Szechuan, Sinkiang and Tibet, we did not let slip any possible chance but vigorously pressed forward in the work of winning over, keeping contacts and negotiating and thereby brought about the peaceful liberation of these places. Thus, it enabled our cadres to avoid another kind of ideological one-sidedness, that is, neglecting the possibility of attaining liberation by peaceful means in local areas while conducting revolutionary war to overthrow the enemy.

THE Kuomintang reactionaries aimed to persist in their autocratic rule and destroy the Chinese Communist Party, the people's army and the people's state power. It was, of course, for realizing this purpose that they carried on counter-revolutionary civil war; but they still worked for this very purpose when they were compelled to hold talks with our Party. They considered that even if they could not make us voluntarily hand over the people's army and the people's state power through these talks, they could at least swindle political capital out of the talks and gain time to prepare the nationwide civil war or secure a respite. Though the enemy's tactics might change with the changing conditions of struggle, their reactionary nature of persisting in autocracy and attempting to destroy the Communist Party would never

change. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, we used revolutionary war against counter-revolutionary war in order to overthrow the autocratic rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries and establish the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat. After the three major campaigns—the Liaosi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin Campaigns—the Kuomintang reactionaries tried to preserve their remnant forces through peace talks; our Party saw through this intrigue and pointedly put forward eight conditions for the peace talks, which also aimed at the thorough destruction of the Kuomintang reactionaries' state machine and its main tool—the reactionary army. That is to say, the basic question in revolution, the question of state power, had to be ultimately solved either through revolutionary civil war or by peaceful means.

IV. Slighting the Enemy Strategically, Taking Full Account of Him Tactically

Correct understanding of the revolutionary forces and the reactionary forces, correct appraisal of the situation and establishing our strategic and tactical ideas on this basis are an indispensable prerequisite for the victorious advance of the revolutionary cause.

IN summing up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Our strategy is 'to pit one against ten,' while our tactic is 'to pit ten against one'—this is one of the fundamental principles on which we beat the enemy."* He also said: "To all the rulers of China we say: 'We defeat the many with the few.' To the separate units of the enemy forces that we meet on the battlefield we say, however: 'We also defeat the few with the many.'""** Here, Comrade Mao Tse-tung dialectically solved the question of how to unify strategic and tactical ideas in a situation in which the enemy enjoyed military superiority while we were in a position of military inferiority. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung continued to develop this idea in the light of the new experience gained in the practice of the Chinese revolution.

After the Second World War, China was one of the focus points in the world where fierce struggles were waged between revolution and counter-revolution. To turn China into a U.S. colony, U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the world, gave powerful support to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in the vain hope of using a counter-revolutionary civil war on an unprecedented scale to crush the Chinese people. Precisely at a time when the enemy "looked powerful and dominant," Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Imperialism and 'all reactionaries are paper tigers,' 'Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are also paper tigers' and 'what we rely on is only millet plus rifles, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is stronger than Chiang Kai-shek's aircraft plus tanks.'""*** At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also

*"Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War."

**Ibid.

***"Interview with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong."

put special emphasis on the operational method of mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal in the military field, opposed the erroneous tendency of slighting the enemy and evenly distributing armed strength in operational dispositions and thus landing oneself in a passive position. He stressed that politically we should pay attention to making use of the contradictions among the enemies, split and isolate them, and strive to win over all the allies who could be won over, including even temporary allies. He pointed out that in waging struggles against the enemy we must work hard to accumulate strength and destroy the enemy step by step.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has generalized these ideas into the well-known concept of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically. This is a new creative generalization of the dialectical relations between Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, a new development of enormous significance in the theory of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. He said:

"We oppose overestimation of the enemy's strength. For example, fear of U.S. imperialism; fear of fighting battles in the Kuomintang areas; fear of abolishing the comprador-feudal system and of dividing up the land of the landlords and of confiscating bureaucrat-capital; fear of prosecuting a long-drawn-out war, and so on. All this is wrong. Imperialism throughout the world and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten and have no future. We have reason to slight them and we are certain and confident that we shall defeat all enemies of the Chinese people, both internal and external. But in regard to any particular situation or specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological), we must never slight the enemy; on the contrary, we can win victory only when we take full account of him and devote all our efforts to the fight. While we correctly point out that in appraising the situation as a whole and from the strategic standpoint we should slight the enemy, we must never slight him in regard to any particular situation or on any specific question. If we overestimate the strength of our enemies as a whole and hence do not dare to overthrow them and win victory, we shall be committing errors of Right opportunism. If in any particular situation or on any specific question we do not use caution, do not study carefully the art of struggle, do not devote all our effort to the fight and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen and small traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and intellectuals in general, the ordinary government employees, the professionals and the enlightened gentry), we shall be committing errors of 'Left' opportunism."*

THE ideas of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically are built on the firm conviction that new-born forces will certainly triumph over decadent forces, on the scientific analysis that the reactionaries are outwardly powerful but essentially weak, on deep understanding of the law that the development of all things proceeds from quantitative change to qualita-

tive change and from partial qualitative change to complete qualitative change. Comrade Mao Tse-tung holds that as everything in the world, without exception, has a twofold nature (that is the law of the unity of opposites), imperialism and all reactionaries too have their twofold nature: Judged by their essence, appraising them as a whole and on a long-term view, we must take imperialism and all reactionaries for what they really are, namely, paper tigers, and dare to wage struggles against them and win victory. Our strategic thinking must be built on this foundation. On the other hand, considered on any particular sector or in regard to any specific struggle, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers, capable of devouring people, and we must use caution and carefully study the art of struggle. It is on this point that we should build our tactical thinking and ideas on how battles are to be fought.

Applying this fundamental law of defeating the enemy, that is, to slight the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically, Comrade Mao Tse-tung dialectically solved a series of important questions on using inferior forces (numerically speaking) to defeat superior forces during the people's revolutionary war and scientifically formulated the ten famous cardinal military principles guiding the operations of our army. He directed the whole army to carry out resolutely the operational policy of mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal, and to take as its main goal the wiping out of the enemy's effectives and not the holding or seizing of cities and places. He directed our army to undertake offensive campaigns in a war of strategic defence, exterior-line campaigns in strategic interior-line operations, and seek for quick decisions in campaigns in a strategically protracted war. "By fighting in this way, although we are on the whole inferior (in numbers), we enjoy absolute superiority in every sector and every given campaign, thus making sure that we win campaigns. As time goes on, we shall gain all-round superiority and eventually wipe out all the enemy forces."*

DURING the process of leading the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently applied this dialectical thinking that integrates slighting the enemy strategically with taking full account of him tactically to wage struggles against the enemy and against all sorts of difficulties; and he has waged ceaseless struggles against the mistakes of right and "left" deviations that ran counter to this thinking. Right opportunism and "left" opportunism both refused to recognize the twofold nature inherent in things, they did not understand the dialectics of the process of waging struggles and as a result fell into the following two kinds of one-sidedness: One kind of one-sidedness was that in seeing only the outward powerfulness of the enemy and the very hard and tortuous road of the people's revolutionary struggles, they dared not lead the people to wage blow-for-blow struggles against the enemy, but adopted the capitulationist line, energetically propagating the theory of compromise and even regarding slighting the enemy strategically and taking him to be a paper tiger as an "adventurist" and "putchist" view. Another kind of one-sidedness was that

*"Some Important Problems of Our Party's Present Policy."

*"The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

in seeing only the enemy's essential weakness and the inevitable victory of the revolution, they would not undertake arduous organizational work and work to accumulate strength, but adopted a rash attitude in waging struggles against the enemy and even regarded taking full account of the enemy tactically and enhancing vigilance against the enemy's war plots as overestimation of the enemy's strength and underestimation of our own strength, and so on. That is to say, they both develop one side into an absolute thing, magnify one side to cover the whole thing and subject the whole to one side. They regard slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically as two things that absolutely cannot exist together and are completely opposed to each other. As they see it, since we slight the enemy strategically, we should also slight him tactically; or, since we take full account of the enemy tactically, we should also take full account of him strategically. They consider that slighting cannot go together with taking full account of, and vice versa. Their metaphysical brain prevents them from understanding that unity exists in contradictory things while contradiction exists in unitary things. They do not understand the differences and links between slighting and taking full account of and, in fact, neither do they understand the differences and links between strategy and tactics.

V. The Policy of Uniting with and Winning over Friends, and the Policy of Splitting and Isolating Enemies

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always paid great attention to the question of strictly drawing a demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves, defining specific differences in conditions of the various classes and strata both among our enemies and among the people and, on the basis of such objective differences, formulating our correct policies.

As has been said above, a new line-up of the enemy and of our forces took place in our country after the defeat of the Japanese aggressors. On the basis of the fundamental dialectical tenet of "the division of the one and the cognition of its contradictory parts,"* Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a penetrating and concrete analysis of this new line-up of forces. He pointed out that, as a result of their hostility towards the people, the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries had increasingly exposed their own crimes and deceptions by their own acts and that they had completely isolated themselves by launching massive attacks on the liberated areas, waging a ruthless civil war and, at the same time, threatening with their bayonets the people in the Kuomintang-controlled areas who opposed hunger, persecution and civil war. On the other hand, because our Party adopted the correct policy of resolutely opposing acts of national betrayal, civil war and dictatorship and safeguarding the interests of the masses, it won increasing support from the broad masses of the people in the liberated areas and the Kuomintang-

controlled areas, with the result that the basis of the revolutionary united front during this period was not reduced but became really broader than before. The revolutionary people who constituted more than 90 per cent of the total population of the country—including workers, peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen, professionals, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie and a section of the enlightened gentry which had broken away from the landlord class—became more closely united than ever. From this, Comrade Mao Tse-tung drew this basic conclusion: There was only a handful of reactionaries who constituted less than 10 per cent of the population while the revolutionary people made up more than 90 per cent of the population. Our task was to unite the latter and form the broadest possible revolutionary united front to defeat the handful of reactionaries. Our Party took this as the starting point in formulating its correct strategy and a complete set of tactics and policies.

IT would have been impossible to win victory in the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism without a united front that was broadest in scope and embraced the overwhelming majority of people throughout the nation. Moreover, this united front must be under the strong leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Without such leadership, no revolutionary united front could achieve victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the masses of the people, led by the proletariat, had as their main force the workers, peasants and other working people and, at the same time, included the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry who had broken away from the landlord class. To reinforce the strength of the masses of the people and defeat the reactionaries, we should, first and foremost, rely on the working people and turn their revolutionary initiative to full account. It was of especially great significance to carry out the land reform thoroughly, because only when the revolutionary fervour of the broad masses of the peasants was fully aroused could hundreds of millions of people rise and carry forward a genuinely great people's revolution to liberate themselves and establish a solid worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat, otherwise there would not have been a genuine people's revolution and struggle, much less such things as the people's revolutionary war. In several stages of the Chinese revolution in the past, there occurred errors resulting from right opportunism which adopted a topsy-turvy attitude in regard to the main and other forces among the masses of the people; the right opportunists trusted members of the bourgeoisie and those people who had broken away from the enemy camp more than they did the labouring masses of workers and peasants, they dared not give full rein to mobilizing the masses nor would they allow the labouring masses to rise and carry on the revolution. Instead, they relied on members of the bourgeoisie and those who had broken away from the enemy camp to achieve the aims of the revolution and spread illusions of this kind. This was entirely wrong. If we had followed this wrong way of doing things, it would have been impossible to work out the correct solution to the contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution; similarly, it would have been impossible to find the correct solution to contradictions within the united front. This was because, without fully

* "On Dialectics," *Selected Works of Lenin*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1939, Vol. XI, p. 81.

mobilizing and reinforcing the main force of the revolution, it would have been impossible to really unite all the forces that could be united; without expanding the progressive forces, it would have been impossible to win over the middle-of-the-roaders; and without consolidating the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat, it would have been impossible to establish and consolidate the united front of the working people and non-working people who could be united.

It would be entirely wrong, however, if we depended on this main force only and did not rely on it to unite all the forces that could be united, bring the more than 90 per cent of the people into close unity under the leadership of the proletariat and isolate our chief enemy. This was a kind of "left" one-sidedness, which discarded the correct solution to contradictions between revolution and counter-revolution as a result of being "left." During this period, and particularly in its latter part, Comrade Mao Tse-tung paid special attention to correcting this one-sidedness coming from the "left," the major mistake of which was encroachment on the interests of the middle peasants and on industry and commerce. He emphasized that, in the villages, we should rely on the poor peasants, solidly unite with the middle peasants, and see to it that the united front in the land reform embraced more than 90 per cent of the people (households). He pointed out that, with regard to the national bourgeoisie, we should not only win them over politically but give its members consideration economically, and held that we must pay attention to the question of uniting with the enlightened gentry.

IN order to solve the contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution correctly, it is also necessary to handle correctly contradictions within the united front which are mainly contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie. In the historical conditions of our country, the national bourgeoisie may take part in the people's democratic revolution or remain neutral. It has a dual character; that is, it is revolutionary on the one hand and compromising and wavering on the other. Our policy towards it has also two aspects. With regard to its revolutionary character, our policy is one of unity; but towards its compromising and wavering character, our policy is one of criticism and struggle, our aim being to achieve unity through criticism and struggle. This is to say, there is both unity and contradiction. Failing to take note of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, seeing only contradiction but not unity in mutual relations and therefore denying the possibility and necessity of uniting with the national bourgeoisie — all this is likely to result in a "left" one-sidedness. Similarly, failing to take note of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, seeing only unity but not contradiction in mutual relations with it and therefore denying the necessity of struggling against it — all this is likely to result in a right one-sidedness. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, judging from the history of our Party, when our Party formed a united front with the Kuomintang, right one-sidedness was likely to occur within the Party, while "left" one-sidedness was likely to occur within the Party when our Party split with the Kuomintang.

We should analyse not only the dual character of the national bourgeoisie but also the different conditions of the left, middle and right sections within it. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, most members of the national bourgeoisie became increasingly dissatisfied with the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and hated them more and more; the left-wingers were willing to cooperate with the Communist Party, but the right-wingers were attached to the Kuomintang, while the middle-of-the-roaders wavered between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Facts have fully proved that, in the interests of resolving the contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, we must in our dealings with this class wage necessary struggles against it at the same time as we persist in the policy of uniting with it. As mentioned above, during this period we firmly adhered to the policy of giving protection, in principle, to the economic status of this class without exception, took serious measures to rectify the "leftist" errors in certain places which violated the policies of our Party's Central Committee towards industry and commerce and which resulted in serious damage to both industry and commerce there. On the other hand, we did not make compromises at every turn, give up criticism or struggle. At that time, to win over this class to join the united front against U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, we waged an extremely important and serious struggle against those people of this class who advocated the "third road." While they disapproved of the counter-revolutionary road pursued by Chiang Kai-shek, they also opposed the road of the people's revolution led by the Communist Party. What they advocated was in fact a road favourable to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries — the road of an Anglo-American type of bourgeois dictatorship. The struggle against these people who advocated this road was, in the final analysis, a struggle on the question whether or not one wanted to carry through the revolution to the end and whether or not one recognized the leadership of the working class in the state. With regard to the right-wingers of the national bourgeoisie, it is even more necessary for us to wage serious struggles against their passive and reactionary side in accordance with the principles of justifiability, expediency and restraint. These right-wingers had reactionary political tendencies; they spread illusions about U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and opposed the people's democratic revolution. If we did not thoroughly expose their reactionary character and resolutely counter-act their political influence among the masses, but compromised with them at every turn or even whitewashed and prettified them, thereby enhancing the masses' illusions about them, this would have been a rightist mistake. Moreover, it would not have been favourable to winning them over to the side of the people. But even in the case of these people, to deal them blows politically and to eliminate them economically were two different things; "leftist" mistakes would occur if the two were confused. Facts proved that we could effectively win over the middle-of-the-roaders only when we persisted in our struggles against our common enemies — U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries — and continuously scored victories. The more resolute our struggle against the reactionaries was

and the greater the victories we scored, the easier it was to win over the middle-of-the-roaders. Failing this, it would not only be impossible to win over the middle-of-the-roaders effectively, but would make them waver and hesitate more than ever till they finally inclined to the right, thereby weakening the forces of the revolution and expanding the forces of the reactionaries.

In order to solve the contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, we must make full use of the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, bring about continuous splits favourable to the revolution within the ranks of the handful of people who constitute less than 10 per cent of the population, and place those most reactionary people in utter isolation. We should gather all the struggles, breaches and contradictions within the enemy camp and utilize them against the enemy confronting us. Here again experience proves that only when we carried out unwavering struggles against the enemy and scored victories continuously could we bring about increasing contradictions and splits among our enemies and make full use of these contradictions. Failing this, our possibilities of using contradictions among our enemies would in fact be reduced and instead our enemies would be given the opportunity to take their time in deploying their forces. During this period, it was precisely because we resolutely struggled against the enemy and continuously scored victories that we could ever more frequently and with ever greater success utilize the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, and secure peaceful agreements with quite a number of Kuomintang generals to make them come over to the side of the people, thereby speeding up the isolation and utter defeat of our chief enemies. In utilizing contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, we must pay attention to consolidating the revolutionary camp and not let bad elements infiltrate into it. We should maintain sharp vigilance against those enemies who try to preserve and strengthen their positions by sneaking into the revolutionary camp, and should "keep a clear and cool head to cope with the tactics which will be adopted by the other side, the tactics of the Monkey who gets into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan and makes trouble by all sorts of mischievous pranks and tricks."*

From what has been said above, we can see how Comrade Mao Tse-tung, basing himself on the dialectics of Marxism-Leninism and using the law of the unity of opposites in objective things, made a concrete analysis of the relations between the various classes in Chinese society, arrived at the correct conclusions and formulated correct policies which enabled us to avoid various kinds of one-sidedness in complex struggles and march forward consistently on the correct road, ensuring thorough victory in the revolution.

VI. Overcoming Difficulties Group by Group, Scoring Victories One by One

The victory won in the Third Revolutionary Civil War is a process of attaining victory first in the lesser part

*Mao Tse-tung, "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party."

of China, then in half of China, and going on from victory in the greater part of the country to victory throughout China. This is the process by which the Chinese people, on the basis of victories already achieved, finally transformed the old China into a new China.

BECAUSE of the development of contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the one hand and the masses of the people led by the proletariat on the other and because of the changes that took place in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, the Third Revolutionary Civil War can be divided into the following stages, each with some essential differences: (1) from August 1945 to June 1946, the stage in which efforts were made to bring about peaceful co-operation throughout the country and preparations were made against the eventuality of a nationwide civil war; (2) from July 1946 to June 1947, the stage in which the enemy was on the strategic offensive while we were on the strategic defensive; (3) from July 1947 to the summer of 1948, the stage in which we were on the strategic offensive while the enemy was on the strategic defensive; (4) after the autumn of 1948, the stage in which decisive, strategic battles were fought, the Kuomintang government was fundamentally overthrown and victory was attained throughout the country. The complete overthrow of the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique and the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance through revolutionary war constituted a basic qualitative change in the essential character of Chinese society. This basic qualitative change was achieved through continuous quantitative changes. In the space of three and a half years, the armies and political power of the reactionaries were wiped out part by part while the people's revolutionary forces developed step by step; this was a manifestation of the process of quantitative changes. At the same time, the process of continuous quantitative changes contained many partial qualitative changes; this was why different stages could be discerned in the whole process, with each new stage possessing some essential differences when compared with the old.

Dialectical materialism tells us that, in the long process of the growth of a thing, it must undergo continuous quantitative changes and many partial qualitative changes before its final qualitative change takes place; no complete qualitative change will take place without continuous quantitative changes and many partial qualitative changes. This is the objective law of the development of things. If we know this law for what it is and grasp it skilfully, it is possible for us to bring into play the great role of our subjective activity in promoting the growth of things.

From the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, we have seen clearly how skilfully Comrade Mao Tse-tung has applied dialectical materialism; by proceeding from reality, analysing the law of development of the entire revolutionary war and studying the course of its development, he was able to give guidance to the revolutionary war in a way that fully conformed

to objective reality. Moreover, whenever an objective process was undergoing changes and moving from one stage of development to another, he was always adept in guiding the whole Party and the entire armed forces to move forward and make changes accordingly in their subjective understanding to meet the new situation that had arisen; and he put forward in good time new revolutionary tasks and new programmes, thus giving impetus to the development of the objective process and leading the revolution forward from one victory to another.

WHEN the nationwide civil war broke out, the enemy was on the strategic offensive while we were on the strategic defensive. Basing himself on an analysis of the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung came to the conclusion that we must and could defeat Chiang Kai-shek. He said: "While the basic cause that makes our victory certain and Chiang Kai-shek's defeat inevitable consists in his inability to resolve fundamental political and economic contradictions, a sharp contradiction has also arisen in the military sphere, the contradiction between his over-extended battle lines and his shortage of troops to man them. This contradiction will definitely be the immediate cause of our victory and Chiang Kai-shek's defeat."* To realize this goal of defeating Chiang Kai-shek, Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only set forth the operational principle of mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal, but also mapped out operational plans of annihilating a monthly average of eight brigades of enemy forces in a year and held that the overall realization of this plan was the crucial link in effecting a change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. After a year of fighting during which we wiped out 97.5 brigades of enemy forces, a great change took place in the war situation; our army brought the enemy's strategic offensive to an end and wrested the initiative in strategy from his hands. At that time, in addition to the front along which the People's Liberation Army fought against Chiang Kai-shek's invading army, there appeared in Kuomintang-controlled areas a second front of opposition to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary government. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung rightly pointed out: "The Chiang Kai-shek government, which regards the entire people as its enemy, now finds itself besieged by them. It has met with defeat on both the military and political fronts, is now surrounded by forces which it has declared to be its enemy and can find no way of escape."**

In keeping with this change in the situation, in order to shatter completely the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary strategic principles of continuing to carry the war into the liberated areas to further destroy and exhaust our manpower and material resources there and make it impossible for us to fight a protracted war, and in order to give a more direct impetus to the struggle of the people in the Kuomintang-controlled areas and liberate the broad masses of people in those areas, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in good time put forward the basic task of the second

year's operations. This task was to launch a countrywide counter-offensive, that is, to send our main forces to fight on exterior lines, carry the war into the Kuomintang-controlled areas, and wipe out enemy troops in large numbers on these exterior lines. Thus began a new stage in which our army took the strategic offensive and the enemy troops were forced on to the strategic defensive.

In calling upon the whole Party and the whole army to fulfil the plans for the second year's operations, Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out: "If we can wipe out the enemy at the rate of eight brigades a month, as we did in the first year, and thus further wipe out 96 to 100 brigades in the second year (in July and August we already wiped out 16.5 brigades), the enemy will be further considerably weakened, his strategic reserves will be reduced to the minimum, and he will be driven to the defensive everywhere and exposed everywhere to our attacks."* Things turned out exactly as expected. A fundamental change took place in the war situation when the heroic People's Liberation Army had wiped out 94 enemy brigades after another year of operations. The People's Liberation Army not only recovered the greater part of the lost areas in the northeast, Shantung and northern Shensi, but extended the battle line into the vast Kuomintang-controlled areas north of the Yangtse and Wei Rivers. At the same time, it learnt the tactics of attacking heavily fortified enemy positions in the course of taking several important cities and was able to undertake not only mobile warfare but positional warfare. A series of large liberated areas were linked up together and the agrarian reform was completed in the main. The strength of the People's Liberation Army expanded from 1,200,000 men in June 1946, to 2,800,000 men in June 1948. On the other hand, the enemy's strength dwindled from 4,300,000 men in July 1946, to 3,650,000 men in June 1948; only 70 per cent of these men were used in the front line, they were spread over a long battle line and were of poor fighting capacity, quite a number of these units having been replenished after being wiped out by us. All this showed that the opportunity for fighting strategic, decisive battles was nearing maturity.

TAKING firm grasp of this opportunity, Comrade Mao Tse-tung brilliantly organized the three major campaigns—the Liaosi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin Campaigns—which wiped out more than 1,540,000 enemy troops. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "It is only now that the Chinese people can begin to hold their heads high. The present situation is quite clear: the whole structure of the reactionary Kuomintang regime will crumble and perish if the People's Liberation Army launches a few more powerful attacks against its remnant forces. Pursuing a policy of civil war, the reactionary Kuomintang government is now reaping what it has sown; with its followers in revolt and its close associates deserting, it can no longer manage to get along."** In the light

* "Strategic Principles for the Second Year of the Liberation War."

** "Statement on the Present Situation by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party."

* "A Three-Month Summary."

** "The Chiang Kai-shek Government Is Besieged by the Whole People."

of the situation in which reactionary Kuomintang rule was crumbling fast and in order to put a speedy end to the war, to realize a real peace and alleviate the sufferings of the people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung raised the question of dealing with the remnant Kuomintang troops on the three different patterns of Tientsin, Peiping and Suiyuan. After crossing the Yangtse River in large numbers and up to the end of 1949, the People's Liberation Army wiped out all the Kuomintang troops on the Chinese mainland and liberated the whole mainland with the exception of Tibet.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic conclusion of the bourgeois democratic revolution and the beginning of the proletarian socialist revolution in our country. In the domestic field, the contradiction between the masses of the people led by the working class and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries had been solved and the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie came to the fore. Having foreseen this change, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly pointed out in his report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: "After the countrywide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the agrarian problem, China will still face two basic contradictions. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must be strengthened and not weakened."

FROM the foregoing, we can see how Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with great revolutionary perseverance and superb art in leadership, in good time advanced the war from the stage of the strategic defensive to that of the strategic offensive, opportunely organized strategic, decisive battles after winning victories in the strategic offensive, and then speedily and thoroughly extended the revolutionary victory to the entire country. When victory had been won in the democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again brilliantly worked out a solution for the problem of the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution and uninterruptedly pushed the wheel of the Chinese revolution on to the path of socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung thus masters the laws of proceeding from quantitative change to qualitative change and from partial qualitative change to complete qualitative change, linking up the various stages in the development of the revolution, while making a distinction between them, bringing into full play the subjective initiative of the masses, promoting a constant quantitative change and partial qualitative change and enabling the revolution to advance uninterruptedly and yet systematically, thereby accelerating the victory of the revolution.

VII. Strive for All-Sidedness in Knowledge and Guard Against One-Sidedness in Thought

In "On Contradiction," Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "In studying a problem, we must guard against subjectivism, one-sidedness, and superficiality. Subjectivism consists in not looking at a problem objectively, that is, not looking at it from the materialist viewpoint." "One-sidedness consists in not looking at a problem as a whole." "Superficiality is evinced when a person considers neither the characteristics of a contradiction as a whole nor those of each of its aspects, denies the necessity of deeply probing into and minutely studying the characteristics of the contradiction, but wants to set about solving the contradiction (to answer a question, to settle a dispute, to perform a task, or to direct a military operation) after only a cursory glance from a distance."

Every article in the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* shows us that Comrade Mao Tse-tung is firmly opposed to such subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality in studying and solving a problem.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung always studies and analyses the developments and changes in the actual situation and the revolutionary movement objectively and faithfully and gives expression to these developments and changes objectively and faithfully without any subjectivist arbitrariness, endeavouring to make his own thought correspond fully to the objective laws of the external world and the dialectical movement of the objective world.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung always observes and analyses every problem from all its aspects, opposing both "left" one-sidedness and right one-sidedness. In disclosing and solving the basic contradiction in the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, he saw both the universality and the particularity of the contradiction. It is precisely because he had particularly and penetratingly analysed the particularity of the basic contradiction of Chinese society during the Third Revolutionary Civil War that he expounded even more profoundly, more adequately, and more completely the universality of the basic contradiction of modern Chinese society. In analysing the whole situation after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he took into account both the possibility of achieving internal peace and the possibility of the outbreak of a countrywide civil war. It is precisely because he had put the entire work of the Party on the basis of augmenting the strength of the people and coping with the latter possibility that our Party was able to hold the initiative and cope successfully with all sorts of grave and intricate situations. He integrated in a dialectical way slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, opposing both the right opportunism which is afraid of the enemy and the "left" opportunism which underestimates the enemy. He made a comprehensive analysis of the inter-relations between the various classes and strata in Chinese society and understood both the reactionaries and the people, both the proletariat, the leading class in the people's democratic united front, and the classes and strata who were being led in the united front, both the worker-peasant alliance and all the other social forces that could be united with, both the proletariat and the peasants in the worker-peasant alliance, both the poor peasants and hired hands and the middle peasants among the peasantry; and as for the na-

tional bourgeoisie, he understood both its revolutionary character and its compromising character, while making a concrete analysis of its left, middle and right sections, and so forth. Comrade Mao Tse-tung thus makes a concrete and profound analysis of the concrete conditions of all the classes and strata and of all things, seeing each contradiction as a whole and each of its aspects. In getting to know a thing, he always, just as Lenin put it, grasps and studies all its sides, all connections and "mediations," endeavours to attain all-sidedness in his knowledge and guards against one-sidedness in his thought.

It is precisely because he always analyses problems objectively and all-sidedly that Comrade Mao Tse-tung can penetrate through the phenomena of a thing, probe deeply into its essence, attain a profound knowledge of its own inter-connections, and thus discover the inherent laws of the movement of things and utilize these laws consciously to promote the development of things.

In "On the Protracted War," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

People who direct a war cannot strive for victories beyond the limit allowed by the objective conditions, but within that limit they can and must strive for victories through their conscious activity. The theatre for these directors of war must be based upon objective conditions, but given such a basis, they can stage many a play, full of spectacular scenes and heroic action. On a given objective material basis, a commander in the War of Resistance Against Japan should give full play to his powers and lead the whole army to crush the nation's enemy, transform our society and state now under aggression and oppression into a new China of freedom and equality; this is where our own skill in directing war can and must be exercised. We do not approve of any of our commanders in the War of Resistance Against Japan detaching himself from objective conditions and becoming a rash and reckless hot-head, but we must encourage him to become a brave and resourceful

general. He should possess both the courage to make the enemy cower, and the ability to remain the master of the situation in an entire war with all its changes and vicissitudes. Swimming in an immense ocean of war, a commander must not only keep himself from sinking but also make sure of reaching the opposite shore with measured strokes. Strategy and tactics, as the laws for directing war, constitute the art of swimming in the ocean of war.

Guided by the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and inspired by his dialectical thought, our many brave and resourceful generals, just as described above, possess not only the courage to make the enemy cower but also the ability to remain master of the situation in an entire war with all its changes and vicissitudes. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, they staged many a play, full of spectacular scenes and heroic action. By making use of their dextrous skill in swimming in the immense ocean of war, they enabled the Chinese people to reach the opposite shore assuredly and with measured strokes and win the great victory of the people's revolutionary war.

WE are now in the period of speeding up our socialist construction. In order to build our country into a great socialist land with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture, an increasing number of brave and resourceful leading personnel and cadres are needed on every front and at every post; like the brave and resourceful generals in time of war, they, too, are required to possess the courage to conquer difficulties and the ability to remain master of the situation and to make outstanding achievements at their posts. As can be expected, the publication of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* will give powerful impetus to the upsurge in the study of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung among our people and will greatly raise the political and ideological levels of the whole Party and all the cadres, enabling them to learn and apply better materialist dialectics and to have greater confidence and ability to accomplish the various tasks confronting them.

The Korean Question Can Only Be Solved By the Korean People Themselves

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on November 12. — Ed.

ON November 11 the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic issued a memorandum on the peaceful unification of Korea. Citing a host of irrefutable facts, it exposed the deceptive nature of the tenth "annual report" and "supplementary report" presented to the current United Nations General Assembly

by the so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It resolutely demanded the immediate withdrawal from south Korea of the U.S. troops which are occupying that part of the country under the fraudulent signboard of the United Nations. It also demanded the disbandment of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" which is being used as a tool to implement aggressive U.S. policy. It emphatically set forth the

proposition that the Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves. The Chinese people fully support this just stand of the Korean Democratic People's Republic; they support these just demands which fully accord with the interests of the Korean people and of world peace.

The so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" is a tool for aggression in Korea which U.S. imperialism created ten years ago by means of its voting machine at the U.N. General Assembly. All of its "annual reports" during the past ten years have served the vile scheme of U.S. imperialism to permanently split Korea and make south Korea its colony and military base. This year's "annual report," repeating the old line, asserts that "the prospects of unification [of Korea] . . . remain remote" and, confusing right with wrong, puts the blame on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, alleging that this situation was brought about because the latter refused to accept the "United Nations resolution." This "annual report" shamelessly prettifies the south Korean puppet "government" and the state of affairs in south Korea. It continues to stick to such absurd propositions as "elections under U.N. supervision" in Korea, etc. Under the pretext of examining this "annual report," U.S. imperialism has once again forced the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to put the "Korean question" on its agenda.

IN the past 15 years, Korea has been artificially divided into two parts, southern and northern. This is wholly the result of the forcible occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism and the carrying on of its policy to split Korea. U.S. imperialism has fabricated various pretexts in order to cover up its crimes of aggression, but these pretexts are utterly untenable. The United States insists that so-called "free elections" be held in Korea "under U.N. supervision." However, everyone knows that the war of aggression against Korea launched by the United States was carried out by usurping the name of the United Nations. The United Nations as one of the belligerents in the Korean war has absolutely no right to supervise Korean elections. The insistence of the U.S. imperialists on this preposterous proposition means imposing the will of one belligerent on the other and deliberately obstructing the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

At the same time, south Korea today is still under the rule of the bayonets of the invading U.S. troops, and there is no possibility whatsoever of holding free elections there. As the memorandum has exposed, the "freedom" of such elections can only be like that of the "elections" unilaterally held in south Korea under "U.N. supervision" on May 10, 1948, which were conducted in an atmosphere of terror with the U.S. occupation army and the terrorist organizations of Syngman Rhee fully mobilized. The French newspaper *Le Combat* said that Syngman Rhee was able to secure a majority in that election only with the help of U.S. bayonets and tanks, and at the cost of 323 persons killed, including 32 policemen, and 1,000 wounded. Nevertheless, the U.N. personnel "supervising" the "election" at that time said

that the "election" was conducted in a "free atmosphere" which guaranteed the expression of the "free will" of the people. This makes it easy to understand that the so-called "freedom" which the U.N. personnel chattered about was not the freedom of the people but the freedom of the executioners to kill people. Syngman Rhee, who was again and again elected "president" in these so-called "free elections," had already been thrown out by the people unable to tolerate the situation any longer. The new farce of "free elections" stage-managed by the United States replaced Syngman Rhee with Chang Myun, another U.S. puppet. The July 29 election, which was praised by the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" as a "free" and "very satisfactory" election "under U.N. observation," was likewise conducted by suppressive and fraudulent methods. In order to seize votes in this election, Chang Myun's "Democratic Party" colluded with Huh Chung's "caretaker government," spent money on fraudulent practices, and resorted to such despicable means as forging votes, casting votes in other people's names, changing votes by underhand methods, making false lists of dead-soul voters, falsifying large batches of ballot papers, and deliberately miscounting votes, etc. According to minimized statistics issued by the south Korean police, more than 17,500 innocent people were arrested from June 24 to August 3. As a result, electors in various places in south Korea one after another demanded cancellation of the ballots; they attacked balloting stations, set balloting boxes on fire and declared the elections null and void. While the slogan "Chang Myun Cabinet, Get Out!" resounded throughout south Korea, the U.S. State Department went so far as to issue a statement on October 11 saying that it had "every confidence" in the Chang Myun clique and demanding that the people of south Korea give the Chang Myun clique "wholehearted support."

All these facts have proved time and again that "elections under U.N. supervision," so much lauded by U.S. imperialism, are aimed at obstructing the genuine peaceful unification of Korea, extending the criminal rule of the south Korean puppet government controlled by the United States to the northern part of Korea, and turning the whole of Korea into a U.S. colony and military base.

THESE plots and tricks of U.S. imperialism can never succeed. That is because the broad masses of the Korean people have understood very clearly from their own experience that the deep sufferings of the Korean nation were brought about by U.S. imperialist aggression against Korea and nothing else. As long as the U.S. aggressors do not leave south Korea and U.S. intervention in Korea does not stop, the flames of the Korean people's struggles will not subside for a single day. In March and April this year, the south Korean people, in defiance of bloody repressions by the U.S.-Rhee reactionaries, successively waged persistent struggles for weeks on end. The angered masses of Seoul broke into the offices of the bogus government of the Syngman Rhee clique, burned down the headquarters of Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party and other command posts of the counter-revolutionary forces and smashed the bronze statue of MacArthur, chieftain of the aggressive U.S. troops in Korea. In an

instant, one of the major bases of U.S. aggression against Asia became a volcano. This stormy struggle waged by the south Korean people against U.S.-Rhee fascist rule started with protests against the "presidential election" rigged by the Syngman Rhee clique. That "election," however, was merely the fuse that set off this struggle. This struggle was a general outbreak of the angry fires that had long been smouldering among the south Korean people, who have been enslaved by U.S. aggressors during the past 15 years. For ten and more years the fascist rule of the U.S.-Rhee clique had made south Korea a hell on earth. The south Korean economy has become bankrupt and everywhere there are thousands and tens of thousands of unemployed and hungry people. The number of people thrown into prisons and slaughtered by the U.S.-Rhee clique reached 270,000 in the last year alone! To what an extent had the anger of the south Korean people mounted against the U.S.-Rhee clique's fascist rule of terror! The attempt of U.S. imperialism to cover up its ugly face now with this "report" of the so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" is just one more proof that it intends to hang on, unreasonably and arrogantly, in south Korea, continue to enslave the Korean people and use south Korea as its aggressive base to threaten peace in Asia and the world.

TO achieve the peaceful unification of Korea, the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has again and again put forward reasonable proposals, advocating the conducting of free general elections throughout Korea in accordance with the will of the Korean people when all foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea and when there is no interference by any outside force. It has also proposed that the armed forces of south and north Korea be reduced, that economic and cultural exchanges between the two sides be devel-

oped and that representatives from south and north Korea sit down to consult together on this important subject of peaceful unification. These are genuinely feasible measures for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. These proposals, however, have been opposed by U.S. imperialism. At the ceremony commemorating the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Korea this year, Premier Kim Il Sung again put forward on behalf of the Korean Government a new programme concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, advocating the institution of a system of confederation of the northern and southern parts of Korea as a transitional measure for the settlement of the question of Korea's peaceful unification. This programme has won praise and support from people all over the world. The people of south and north Korea have also given it enthusiastic support. What reason has the United States to reject the proposal of the Korean Democratic People's Republic if it is really, as it says, "willing" to realize the unification of Korea? The intrigues of U.S. imperialism to disrupt the unification of Korea and to occupy south Korea permanently can certainly not be covered up by the so-called "report" made to the U.N. General Assembly by the U.S.-manipulated "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," a "report" which called black white.

The Chinese people have always held that the Korean question can only be settled by the Korean people themselves. It is entirely illegal for the United Nations, which is a belligerent in the war, to discuss the "Korean question" under the manipulation of the United States and with the representatives of the Korean Democratic People's Republic excluded. And, consequently, any resolution it adopts is null and void. For the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the United States must stop interfering in Korea by utilizing the name of the United Nations and all the U.S. forces of aggression must withdraw from south Korea immediately.

Support Agriculture Campaign

Transport Aids the Farm Front

by YANG CHU-CHUN

TRANSPORT is well to the fore in the current nationwide campaign to aid agriculture. Transport personnel did fine work this year moving supplies needed by agriculture in good order and on time. They are also reinforcing the farm front directly with manpower, materials and technical knowledge. Of great value are the long-term arrangements made by specific transport organizations in "hooking up" with the rural people's communes.

In the Van

Where agricultural needs are concerned, every transport group is on its toes. Vehicles, boats, ships and civil

aeroplanes are mobilized. They were well on time serving the busy farm seasons this year. In the first half of the year, transport departments in Anhwei Province moved over 8.5 million tons of seeds, farm implements, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, farm produce and subsidiary products and consumer goods for the rural areas. Before the spring ploughing started, they made a big effort to get supplies of seed to the farms and building materials for the key reservoirs. This played an important part in boosting farm production. In July, a busy season for both harvesting and sowing, they made another well-organized effort to rush more seed, implements, fertilizer and other needed supplies to the farms.



Overhead Cable Lines for Transport in a People's Commune

Woodcut by Chen Chang-kuo, a peasant

The civil aviation service has also made an extra effort to aid agriculture. Special flights have been organized to apply fertilizer to the growing crops from the air, for pest control and to make artificial rain. Planes have been used to sow large tracts of desert land with grass and shrubs to hold the sand drifts in check and enlarge the forest area. These efforts have been notably successful. Aerial spraying has given a swift rebuff to the attacks of plant pests. It has proved to be quick, extremely efficient, very economical of manpower and well suited to large-scale action. In 1958, insect pests cut by 70 per cent the output of 8,000 *mu* of cotton fields of the Wuho Brigade of a people's commune in Huangmei County, Hupeh Province. Early in August this year the same fields were again attacked by insect pests and the damage threatened to be as serious as before. But the civil aviation service was called in and the pests were quickly eliminated. To have done a comparable anti-pest job by hand would have needed at least 4,000 men working hard for ten days. The planes did it in three hours. The Wuho peasants used the manpower saved by the planes to reclaim 100 *mu* of wasteland, weed another 1,000 *mu* and top-dress the crops with 4,000 *tan* of fertilizer. And the autumn harvesting was completed seven days ahead of schedule. As the local peasants put it: "We got more grain and cotton this year thanks to the transport and communications departments."

Innovations Save Manpower

Transport in the rural areas absorb a considerable amount of labour power. Many people's communes use as much as a third of their manpower for farm transport, for short distance hauls and for transport on water conservancy projects. In mountain areas with poor communication facilities, the proportion of manpower used in transport is even greater. By helping the people's communes reduce the amount of labour used in transport,

transport departments are making a big contribution to farm production.

This year, the transport departments launched a large-scale movement for technical innovations and technical revolution. They are now concentrating their efforts on implementing certain major measures for helping to bring about the technical transformation of rural transport. These measures are taken according to the nature of the local terrain. In the plains and where the land is relatively smooth and flat the number of vehicles is being increased and the use of rails for moving goods is being extended. In areas with navigable rivers, special efforts are being made to regulate the river beds and channels to enable more goods to be transported by water. In hill areas and where gradients can be used, the use of overhead cables, slides and troughs is being introduced or extended.

These varied efforts have already provided the rural areas with an extensive and growing network of short-distance transport lines. The increasing use of vehicles of all kinds, boats, rails, overhead cable lines, slides and troughs as the chief means of transport is doing away with the once ubiquitous carrying pole for carrying goods. In Pengan County, Szechuan Province, where the local people are making greatly increased use of vehicles and boats for transport, they have gone on to attach trailers to animal-drawn carts, equip their sampans (rowboats) with sails and use these as tugs to haul trains of barges. They are also using mechanically operated cables to help their boats sail through the rapids. These innovations have raised transport efficiency two or threefold and, in addition, the manpower so saved—36 per cent of all the manpower employed for transport in the county—has been transferred to farm work. By installing overhead cables for transport on the farms, four people's communes in Liangping County moved more than 11 million *jin* of fertilizers in May and June alone. The manpower so saved in transport amounted to 14,000 workdays. By using vehicles for bringing in the summer harvest, the Chiuping People's Commune, Pingli County, Shensi Province, saved about 30 per cent of the labour power formerly employed in transport; the manpower so saved was used to speed up the harvesting of summer crops and for attending the autumn crops; as a result the area sown to autumn crops was more than double that of the previous year.

"Hooking Up" with the Communes

Since support to agriculture is now gradually becoming a permanent feature of their work, transport departments, in addition to short-term measures of aid,

are now arranging suitable long-term contacts. One form is the initiation of permanent "hook up" arrangements with the people's communes to help them in various ways and particularly in the technical line. In Shansi Province, communications bureaux in the special administrative regions and counties, motor vehicle maintenance depots, bus stations and communications and transport engineering units have all "hooked up" with the local people's communes or their production brigades, and made arrangements for keeping in close contact with them. In July, eight counties and cities including Yangchuan County sent more than 1,800 technical personnel to the people's communes and the work sites of water conservancy projects. They helped to repair more than 750 farm machines of various types and improve more than 1,200 production tools. Their timely help was greatly appreciated by the local people.

In "hooking up" with the people's communes to bring modern techniques to the countryside, the sending of machine tools, lending a hand in repairing farm machines and setting up plants for making farm implements are one part of the job; another part is to teach the peasants how to operate these machines and machine tools. While fighting against the drought this year as its contribution to the aid agriculture campaign, the Mamoi Shipbuilding Works in Fukien Province organized three mobile teams to help the Mamoi People's Commune repair eight water pumps. They also helped train over 390 technical workers for the people's communes in 24 counties in the coastal areas: long-term and short-term training was combined, and the training of men in special skills went hand in hand with more general all-round training. In Shantung Province, the Communications Bureau in Liaocheng County sent several technicians to Shihliwang People's Commune. Here they adapted the engines used for its irrigation stations so that the commune could run them on gas and also set up a technical school to help train technical personnel for agriculture.

Such permanent contacts help to make the people's communes more "transport conscious" and give their helpers a better understanding of commune needs. Workers and staff members in many transport organizations are using locally available materials to help the people's communes build vehicles and boats specially suited to their needs on a big scale. As a general rule the need is for light, fast vehicles and vessels capable of carrying heavy loads, cheap to build, easy for loading and unloading, safe and easy to handle. They are also helping the people's communes with the technical improvement of what means of transport they already have. By installing ball-bearings on carts, changing over to rubber tires, changing from single to double or from double to multiple wheels—quite a number of hand-operated and animal-drawn carts have been made more handy and efficient. The use of sails on carts has been intro-

duced in some areas. This can greatly lighten a haulage job and speed up deliveries.

In most rural areas, power units for drainage and irrigation are used only for short periods each year. So transport personnel are helping people's communes adapt these power units for many other purposes. In some places where conditions permit, drainage and irrigation machines and their power units are being installed on junks for greater mobility so that they can be used for milling rice and flour or generating electricity. This keeps them being in use steadily all the year round.

Emulation Drive

To give added zeal and energy to their campaign in aid of agriculture, workers and staff in transport organizations have launched an emulation drive, one feature of which is that everyone has pledged himself personally to do something to increase agricultural production. In their spare time, these personnel have gone out to help to make and store fertilizer, turn water-wheels in the battle against drought, harvest and sow, help in the autumn fields and battle insect pests. Technical personnel have spent their holidays in the countryside helping to repair transport equipment and farm machines. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, when the crew of the tugboat *Chingshan* of the Yellow River Navigation Bureau got the news that a diesel engine of a brigade in the Shulinchao People's Commune in Talateh Banner had broken down causing a stoppage in pumping water for irrigation, they sent an emergency team to get the engine repaired. As a result, the 500 *mu* of vegetable fields was irrigated in good time and a good vegetable harvest was ensured. As this drive to aid agriculture spreads and deepens among transport personnel, it is finding ever more effective forms of harnessing efforts in transport to the needs of the farm front.



Transporting Fertilizer

Woodcut by Yen Han

Ancient Classical Paintings

The recent art exhibition at the Palace Museum in Peking which showed more than 400 paintings from Sui and Tang Dynasties (7th century) up to the late Ching Dynasty (19th century) gave art lovers a grand opportunity to review the development of Chinese traditional painting over this long period with some of the finest paintings actually before them in the original. The exhibition is now an annual event falling as a rule around China's National Day (October 1) and lasting about two months, a period so chosen because at this time of the year there is least danger of damage from weather to these precious works of art.

The Palace Museum has today the best and largest collection of art of any museum in China. Its collection of classical paintings is especially fine. Each piece of this choice collection put on show therefore is well worth individual treatment but as an introduction it may be best to limit this review to the most important masters and stages of development in chronological order.

Tang Figure-Painting

The time of the Sui and Tang Dynasties was the most flourishing in the history of Chinese painting. Figure-painting especially attained a high level

of development. Various phases of social life of the time, mostly the life of the upper classes, are depicted. To this genre belongs Chan Tzu-chien's *Chun Yu Tu* (Rambling in the Spring) of the Sui period, of nobles and scholar-officials on a country excursion. This subtly painted scene of a lake and mountain landscape awakening to the spring shows how early the art of painting matured in China.

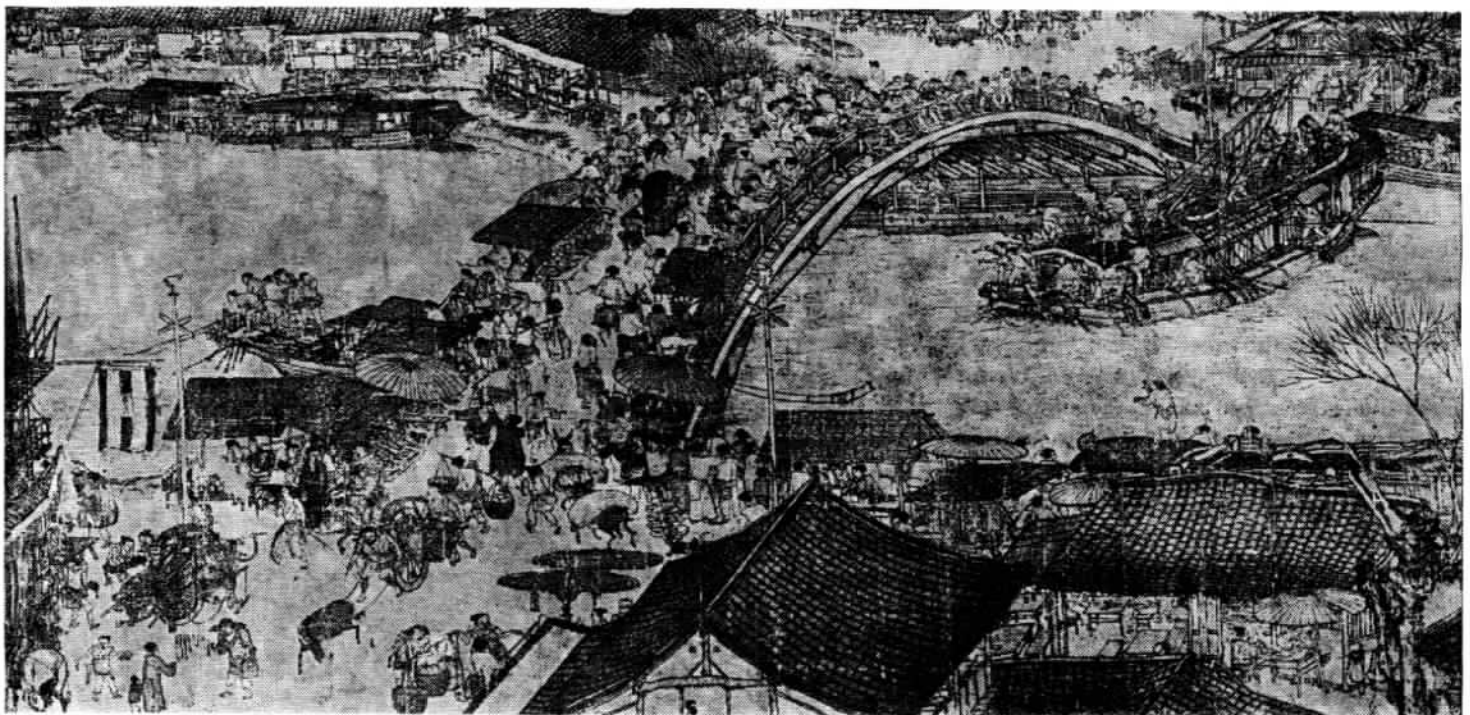
Pu Nien Tu (Following the Imperial Carriage) by another 7th century master, the well-known Tang painter Yen Li-pen, shows the Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang Dynasty receiving in audience an envoy from the Tibetan King Sron-tsan Gampo, a pictorial testimony of the long-standing relations of friendship between the Han and Tibetan nationalities. *Wan Shan Shih Nu Tu* (Ladies-in-Waiting with Round Fans) by an anonymous painter depicts a moment of everyday life at the imperial court. The expressions worn by the ladies telling eloquently of the emptiness of their lives in contrast with the elegance of their dress. Han Huang's *Wen Yuan Tu* (When Poets Meet) represents four Tang scholar-poets deeply absorbed in the search for the perfect phrase. Each face is subtly yet incisively characterized and full of individuality.

Beauty of Sung Paintings

The time of the Five Dynasties (10th century) to the Northern Sung (11th

century) brought new growth to Chinese painting. The technique of landscape-painting was further developed. Artists with keen insight depicted scenes of streams and mountains and forests in all the four seasons, in early morning or at night, on clear or rainy days, in wind or snow. Here one will find paintings superbly executed with bold and simple strokes and the use of graduated ink washes giving highly attractive effects. There was greater variety too in flower and animal-painting, with bolder treatment. In figure-painting, the tendency was towards ever subtler delineation.

The museum chose as representative works of this period Hu Kuei's painting depicting a group of herdsmen resting after hunting and Yuan Kao's work depicting fairies and their mountain home, a beautifully romantic and imaginative work; Tsui Pai's *Han Chueh Tu* (Winter Sparrows) is a gay picture of these lively little birds and Wang Shen's *Yu Chun Hsiao Hsueh Tu* (Fishermen's Village in Snow), a broad scene of precipitous mountains and forests with the fishermen working on shores and on boats. Li Kung-lin's *Mu Fang Tu* (Horses Brought Out to Pasture) which was also shown was painted after an original by Wei Yen, famous painter of horses of the Tang period. This magnificent scene of more than a thousand horses brought out to pasture by their grooms, is remarkable both for the wide sweep of its com-



"River Scene During Ching Ming Festival" (25.5 cm. x 2525 cm.), detail showing the Hung Bridge, by Chang Tse-tuan (c. 12th century A.D.)



"Man on Horseback" (30 cm. x 52 cm.) by Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322 A.D.)

position and the fine and vivid delineation of detail.

A painting which on this as on other occasions attracted a great deal of attention was *Ching Ming Shang Ho Tu* (River Scene During the Ching Ming Festival) by Chang Tse-tuan. This represents a scene on the River Pien running through the ancient capital of Kaifeng. In the streets and markets along its banks bustling crowds of people are seen engaged in all kinds of activities; the surrounding countryside is pictured in the background. This faithful pictorial record of an ordinary day in the life of the Sung capital is outstanding in its realism. It catches the striking contrast between rich and poor. Every detail counts in its richly informative composition.

"Idea-Writing" and the "Academy Style"

In the early Southern Sung period (12th century), new schools of painting emerged. They painted landscapes and flowers in simple, bold strokes and, in most cases, in black ink only. These schools of "idea-writing" or "expressionism," exercised a great influence on later painters. The exhibition showed some representative works of this type: Mi Yu-jen's *Yun Shan Tu* (Cloudy Mountains), Yang Wu-chiu's *Mei Hua* (Plum Blossom), the monk Fa Chang's life studies of various animals, vegetables and fruits, and Chao Meng-chien's monochrome *Orchid*.

At the same time, other painters, such as Li Tang, Liu Sung-nien and Ma Yuan, all members of the Academy of Painting, carried on the refined tradition of the Northern Sung masters and developed it further in the so-called "academy style."

Among the finest works in this style on show was Li Tang's *Po Yi Shu Chi Tsai Wei Tu* (Po-yi and Shu-chi Picking Ferns). It depicts these two brothers of the Shang Dynasty who, unwilling to pay allegiance to the Chou, the succeeding dynasty, escaped to the mountains, where finally both died of starvation. In masterly but restrained fashion, the painter brings out their sad and melancholy mood. Ma Yuan's *Ta Ko Tu* (Singing While Dancing) and Li Sung's *Huo Lang Tu* (Pedlar) both depict customs and manners in rural life. With the brushwork of the former characterized by great simplicity and of the latter, by great refinement and meticulousness, they are "different melodies equally well-rendered."

New Developments in Yuan Times

In the Yuan period, the general trend again swung to "idea-writing" with the use of bold, sweeping strokes. The great master Chao Meng-fu, however, for his part, carried on the Tang tradition of figure-painting characterized by fine and careful line-work. His *Jen Chi Tu* (Man on Horseback) shown at the exhibition is close to the Tang style.

The handsome man in a red robe is mounted on a chestnut horse; his deportment is elegant and composed. He is drawn in fine, assured lines marking a complete contrast with the Southern Sung "expressionist" tradition.

Wang Chen-peng's *Po Ya Ku Chin Tu* (Po-ya Playing the Lute) follows the style of the Sung master Li Kung-lin of drawing black outlines only. The inner emotions of the subject are subtly delineated. Both player and listener are deeply absorbed in the melody played.

Painting was referred to in ancient times as "soundless poetry." But this picture may well be called a "resonant painting."

The Yuan period was outstanding for its monochrome paintings of landscape and bamboo. Among the exhibits were representative works of the four great Yuan masters Huang Kung-wang, Wu Chen, Ni Tsan and Wang Meng. Among the bamboo paintings, Li Kan's long scroll is notable for the ease and freedom of its execution; that by Ko Chiu-sze is characterized by its strength and soaring spirit.

Local Schools of Ming Painters

The Ming paintings were displayed in five sections. The first contained works of the early Ming (14th century) landscapists who had inherited the Yuan tradition of monochrome painting, and the works of the school of court painters of the 15th and 16th centuries, including works of the Chekiang School and Kianghsia (present-day Wuchang in Hupeh) School. *San Ku Mao Lu Tu* (Three Visits to a Thatched Cottage) by Tai Chin, leader of the Chekiang School, re-creates the widely popular story during the Three Kingdoms period of the visit paid by Liu Pei, who later became one of the rulers of the three kingdoms, to seek the services of the famous strategist Chuko Liang, then living as a hermit scholar. The human



"Grape Vine" (165.7 cm. x 64.5 cm.) by Hsu Wei (1521-1593 A.D.)

figures are vividly depicted against a background of magnificent cliffs and leafy trees. The Kianghsia School was originated by Wu Wei. His figure and landscape-paintings, executed freely without regard to old conventions, basically followed the style of Ma Yuan and Hsia Kuei of the Yuan period but with great variations. His *Pan Chiao Feng Hsueh Tu* (Snowstorm over a Wooden Bridge) represents a snowfall swept by a strong wind.

Lin Liang and Lu Chi were two great masters of the Academy of Painting in the 15th century who specialized in flowers and birds. Lin's brushwork is characterized by roughness and simplicity. His long scroll *Kuan Mu Chi Chin Tu* (Thicket Full of Birds) represents all sorts of sprightly birds in a grove of leafy trees and grasses. Lu Chi's *Kuei Chu Shan Chin Tu*

(Cassia, Chrysanthemum, and Mountain Birds) contrasts with this in the fineness of its brushwork and exquisite colouring. Lu Chi and Lin Liang are equal in artistic attainment but each had his own distinctive style.

The Influential Wu Men School

The second section of Ming paintings displayed works by Shen Chou, Tang Ying, Wen Cheng-ming and Chou Ying, the "four masters of Wu Men," the school of landscape and figure-painting which had the most widespread influence at the time. A painting which is very popular is Shen Chou's *Tsa Hua Tse* (Record of Miscellaneous Subjects) with studies of cows, chickens, loquats and flowering plants. There is a great freedom yet delicacy in his manner of painting. There is simplicity in his studies but these are not hastily drawn sketches.

Tang Ying's *Yen An Tu* (Yen-an, the Hermit) and *Shih Min Tu* (Serving Tea) depict landscapes and gardens south of the Yangtse and scholars living in retirement and isolation. Wen Cheng-ming's *Lu Ying Chang Hua Tu* (Long Talk Under Green Shade), in monochrome, and his *Hui Shan Tsa Hui Tu* (Tea Party at Hui Mountain), in colour, and Chou Ying's *Lien Chi Yu Yin Tu* (Living in Seclusion at Lotus Stream) also have the same motif though treated in a very different artistic style.

This section also contained paintings by Chen Tao-fu and Hsu Wei, well known for their flowers executed in the splash ink technique. Hsu Wei created a unique style of his own with his ink flowers and his influence has extended through Pa Ta Shan Jen (Chu Ta) of the Ching period to the modern masters like Wu Chang-shih and Chi Pai-shih.

The fourth section of Ming paintings contained figure-paintings mostly by Ting Yun-peng and Yu Shu, and landscape-paintings by Tung Chi-chang and Wang Shih-ming and the rest of the "nine painting friends." The last section was devoted to the two great masters: Hsiang Sheng-mu and Chen Hung-shuo.

Two Early Ching Masters

Among the Ching paintings, works of the 17th century Chinling and Sinan Schools were followed by paintings by the great master Chu Ta and the monk

Shih Tao. Chu Ta delighted in paintings of flowers and birds. *Liu Yin Yu Chin Tu* (Bird After Bathing) was his best work in his late years. A crested myna preens itself after bathing, its wings spread wide. Above are a few branches of willow — a lively composition. Shih Tao's landscape paintings are executed with fine strokes and meticulous care but as his drawings in ink of orchid, bamboo and lotus showed, he could also use bold, sketchy strokes. Rough or fine, however, he developed a unique style of his own which he created after travelling extensively and learning from nature — "the mountains and valleys in his heart" came from nature.

During the 18th century, there was a group of court painters who strove to merge the traditional Chinese and Western methods of painting. These also include the Italian painter J. Castiglione (Chinese name: Lang Shih-ning) and others who were engaged in painting pictures on buildings in the palace. In pictures of flowers, and figures, one can see how the Western technique of painting was applied; Castiglione also learnt to draw pictures in the Chinese way.

But what impressed visitors to the exhibition as most fresh and lively were works by the group of painters living in Hsiangchow. Of this group Hua Yan's *Tien Shan Chi Hsueh Tu* (In the Snowy Tianshan Mountains) shows a nomad of the northwest and his camel in a snowy mountain-rimmed waste gazing enviously at a south-flying goose.

Some people considered that in the Ching painting, there was a lack of originality. This was far from so as the paintings by Jen Hsiung, Chao Chin-nien, Jen I and others of the group known as the Shanghai School show. Several of them were capable innovators, whose accomplishments brought brilliance to the painting of the late Ching period. They set a good example for later generations in breaking away from the dead rules of academic art.

Soon after liberation, the People's Government set out to restore and expand the public collections of Chinese painting. The present collection at the Palace Museum speaks eloquently for the efforts that have been made.

—HSU PANG-TA

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Death of Kamerunian Leader Mourned

An outstanding leader of Kameruns' national liberation movement and President of the Union of the People of the Kameruns, Felix Roland Moumie, was murdered by imperialists in Geneva on November 3, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (November 9). The Chinese people, like all just-minded people throughout the world, are extremely indignant over this despicable crime of the imperialists and are deeply grieved by the death of Felix Moumie, says Commentator.

The murder of Moumie is a frenzied imperialist attack on the national liberation movement of the Kamerunian people, Commentator points out. It further proves the brutal and ugly nature of the imperialists and colonialists.

The murder of Moumie reflects the deathbed struggle of the imperialist reactionary forces in the Kameruns, says Commentator. More than four years ago, recalls Commentator, the Kamerunian people, under the leadership of the Union of the People of the Kameruns, were forced to take up arms against the French colonialists. In the course of these four years and more, the political consciousness of the Kamerunian people attained an unprecedented level and their armed forces have grown from several hundred men to tens of thousands. Armed struggle has spread over one-third of the whole country. This is the decisive factor which has compelled the French colonialists to recognize the Kameruns' independence. Now, Commentator points out, the colonialists have even resorted to the despicable means of murder. But this crime of the imperialists can never stop the Kamerunian people in their triumphant advance along the road of national liberation. It will only add to their hatred for imperialism and strengthen their indomitable will to fight imperialism and colonialism, says Commentator.

Commentator notes that Felix Moumie dedicated his life to the cause of national liberation of the Kamerunian and other African peoples. He was an outstanding African statesman who matured in the heroic struggle of the African peoples against imperialism and colonialism. He knew very well that

to achieve national independence, a resolute struggle must be waged against imperialism towards which no illusions should be entertained. He had particularly warned the Kamerunian and all African peoples against the grave threat of U.S. imperialism to the national liberation movement in Africa and thereby forcefully exposed U.S. imperialism as their most dangerous and ferocious enemy. Commentator recalls what Moumie once said: Despite its official declarations, the United States is the leader of neo-colonialism. Camouflaging its economic greed and bellicosity under the cloak of anti-communism, Moumie said, the U.S. is actively supporting the French imperialists in their brutal war against the national movement in the Kameruns.

In conclusion, Commentator emphasizes that these words of Felix Moumie have a great and real significance for the cause of the national liberation of the African peoples. The Union of the People of the Kameruns has called upon all Kamerunians to turn their grief into strength and carry the national revolution to its comple-

tion. It has declared that "the revolution continues. It will always remain faithful to the struggle for which Ruben Um Nyobe, Felix Moumie and many other patriots sacrificed their lives. It will guide the action of the Kamerunian people until final victory." This is the forceful reply of the Kamerunian people to the atrocities of French and U.S. imperialism.

Da Gong Bao writes in a commentary (November 10) that the murder of Felix Moumie further shows that the nearer imperialism is approaching its doom, the more desperate it becomes and the more frenzied are its attacks on the people.

The commentary points out that French imperialism still has 80,000 colonial troops stationed in the Kameruns and is killing patriots there every day. But because of the heroic armed struggle persistently waged by the Kamerunian people, the position of the French colonialists is daily becoming more difficult. That was why the imperialists resorted to the most despicable means of murdering Moumie.

The commentary stresses that the heroic Kamerunian people will certainly wage a more resolute struggle in reply to the enemy's attack and will win complete victory in the national liberation movement.

THE PASSING SHOW

For Services To Be Rendered

Lines spoken by President Eisenhower on presenting one of the highest U.S. military awards to Heusinger, a former Nazi general, now Inspector General of the West German Bundeswehr.

*You fought for Adolf;
Burned, maimed and killed;
Drove Nazi arms into the U.S. ranks;
Nailed your black flag in panic to the mast—
But*

Heusinger has come into his own at last!

*Today you're NATO's golden headed boy,
Bundeswehr leader of the Deutsch revanche,
For war against the East, the spearhead
To our spear. Your future, like my own,
is past.*

*Yes,
Heusinger has come into his own at last!*

*Long did we fight.
Nor did we wot in those times past
That we were truly brothers, of one caste.
Take this award, this medal bright,
For
Heusinger has come into his own at last!*



CHINA AND THE WORLD

Greetings on Cambodia's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai have sent messages of greetings to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, on the occasion of Cambodia's National Day. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi also sent separate messages of greetings and congratulations to the Cambodian Premier and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs respectively.

Premier Chou's message to Prince Norodom Sihanouk pays tribute to the important successes which have been achieved by the Cambodian people under the leadership of His Royal Highness, in the struggle to safeguard their national independence and develop their national economy and in the defence of peace in Asia and the world. The message expresses good wishes for the industrious and talented Cambodian people in their triumphant advance in building up their own beautiful country.

Touching upon relations between China and Cambodia, the message says: "China and Cambodia have always faithfully observed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their mutual relations, and supported and co-operated amicably with each other in international affairs. The Chinese people thank the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia for having consistently adopted a just stand on questions concerning China's international rights and interests. I am profoundly convinced that the traditional friendship and the relations of friendly co-operation between our two countries will certainly be further consolidated and developed. This not only accords with the vital interests of the peoples of our two countries, but will also contribute to peace in Asia and the world."

The message extends a warm welcome to Prince Norodom Sihanouk on his forthcoming visit to China in

December this year in his capacity as Head of State of Cambodia.

Mutual Visits

Meanwhile, former Cambodian Premier Ung Hy is visiting China. Premier Chou En-lai received him and had a cordial and friendly talk with him, and they dined together.

In Cambodia, the visiting Chinese Swatow Opera Theatre has received a warm welcome from Cambodian audiences. On November 1, the Queen of Cambodia and state leaders attended its premiere at the Royal Palace. The Queen expressed her deep appreciation of the performance and thanked the Chinese artists. She presented medals to the two leaders of the troupe and to its leading artists. The whole troupe was invited to a dinner held in the Royal Gardens by Her Majesty.

Before the performance, the Cambodian Secretary of State for Education and the leader of the visiting Chinese artists both expressed confidence in their speeches that the visit of the Chinese theatre will strengthen and enrich traditional Cambodian-Chinese friendship.

Bulgarian-Chinese Protocol Signed

A protocol on scientific and technical co-operation between Bulgaria and China was signed at the 5th session of the Bulgarian-Chinese Commission for Scientific and Technical Co-operation in Sofia. The protocol stipulates that Bulgaria will render scientific and technical assistance to China in the building and power industries and agriculture. China will assist Bulgaria in the fields of metallurgy, agriculture and textile.

The protocol was signed by Liu Jui-lung, China's Vice-Minister of Agriculture, and S. Gulemezov, Vice-Chairman of the Bulgarian State Planning Committee.

Chinese Economic Exhibition In Baghdad

An exhibition on the achievements of China's economic construction opened in Baghdad on November 5. Iraqi Premier Kassim officiated at the opening ceremony. Speaking at the occasion the Chinese Ambassador to Iraq Chang Wei-lieh expressed the conviction that the exhibition would further mutual understanding between

the peoples of China and Iraq and the growth of economic and trade relations between the two countries. Premier Kassim declared that friendship between Iraq and China has a long history and that the exhibition definitely shows that this friendship would grow and flourish on the basis of mutual benefit.

The exhibition is divided into four sections which include heavy industry, agriculture, light and textile industries and handicrafts. In its first three days the exhibition attracted 15,000 visitors including workers, peasants, students and people of various strata. Workers and peasants evinced particular interest in the industrial and farming machines. After viewing the operation of improved farm tools, some visitors remarked that China's policy of "walking on two legs is good!" Another described the exhibition as proof that the great Chinese people are advancing with giant strides and racing with time.

Earlier, Chi Chao-ting, head of the Chinese exhibition delegation, was received by Premier Kassim and was guest of honour at a dinner party given by the President of the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce.

Chinese T.U. Delegation Concludes Australian Visit

A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by its Vice-President Liu Chang-sheng has concluded its visit in Australia. Arriving in Australia on October 10, the delegation visited a number of Australian industrial centres and was warmly welcomed by the Australian people. Before departure, the Chinese visitors gave a farewell dinner attended by representatives of some 57 trade unions and other organizations. Liu Chang-sheng speaking at the dinner described the visit as having erected a great bridge of friendship between the trade unions of China and Australia. The effective way to consolidate the strength and unity of the working class in the struggle to defend world peace is through friendly contacts, mutual respect and understanding among the trade unions of different countries, he said.

In Peking, Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, sent a message dated November 5 to Albert E. Monk, President of the Australian Council of Trade

Unions, extending support to the Australian workers' just struggle against the Crime Act Amendments. He expressed the conviction that provided the Australian working class and people unite and persist in the fight, their struggle would end in victory.

W.F.D.Y. Anniversary

Youth in the capital rallied on November 9 to mark the 15th anniversary of the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Attending the meeting held under the joint auspices of the All-China Youth Federation and its Peking branch, were leaders of the Chinese youth and student organizations. Young people and students from forty countries in Peking were also present.

Chang Chao, Vice-President of the All-China Youth Federation and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, and young people from the Soviet Union, Nepal, Kamerun, Honduras and Australia spoke.

The rally strongly condemned U.S.-led imperialism and emphatically pointed out that in order to win world peace, national independence, democratic freedom and social progress, and in order to win the right of the youth and realize their noble ideals, the democratic youth of the world must unite and carry on an unremitting struggle against imperialism.

The All-China Youth Federation sent a message to the W.F.D.Y. warmly greeting its 15th anniversary. The communication declared that in the com-

mon struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism and in defence of world peace, Chinese youth remain for ever the faithful friend of all youth the world over who fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

New Face of Guinea Filmed

Under arrangements provided in the Sino-Guinean cultural co-operation plan for 1960, visiting Chinese cinematographers have begun filming a full-length colour documentary reflecting the new face of Guinea. After consultation with the Guinean government departments concerned, the Chinese film makers from the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio completed plans for shooting the documentary.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

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

SHAOHSING OPERA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** The nymph of Mt. Huashan falls in love with a scholar. Infuriated by her attachment to a mortal, her intolerant brother imprisons her. Fifteen years later her child, who has grown up to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle and sets his mother free. Produced by the Peking Shaohsing Opera Troupe.

Nov. 15, 7:15 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

CONCERT

Symphonic music by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra

Symphony No. 2 by Sison Ma
Egmont Overture by Beethoven
Violin Concerto Hung Hsia
Symphony Defend Yanan!

Conductor: Li Teh-lun

Nov. 20, 10:00 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

BALLET

The Royal Swedish Opera Ballet now visiting Peking will give several performances. Programmes include excerpts from *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, *Don Quixote*, *Sleeping Beauty*, etc., as well as from modern Swedish ballets.

Nov. 15-20, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

THEATRE

▲ **THE COMMUNIST** A new play produced by the Central Drama School. It tells how a Communist Party member leads the work in setting up a state farm starting from scratch.

Nov. 15-20, 7:15 p.m. Shiyan Theatre

▲ **HSING YEN-TSE** A new play produced by the China Railway Workers' Cultural Troupe, based on the true story of the twenty year old Hsing Yen-tse, renowned throughout China. It tells how she provides

a brilliant example for others by choosing work on the farm after her graduation from school, and how she and her team battle difficulties to raise the status of her district's production brigade from poor to well-to-do.

Nov. 15-17, 7:15 p.m. Peking Theatre

Nov. 18-22, 7:15 p.m. Wu Dao Kou Club

▲ **COMRADE, YOUR ROAD IS WRONG!** A play set in the early period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. It describes the inner-Party struggle against the capitulationists' policy. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Nov. 15-20, 7:15 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

▲ **PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN WASTELAND** A play produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It is about the heroic exploits of the demobilized People's Liberation Army men pioneering new lands.

Nov. 17-20, 7:15 p.m. China Youth 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.

Nov. 19 & 20, 7:15 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities

FILMS

▲ **ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP** Sian Film Studio production. A feature film dedicated to Sino-Soviet friendship. The life of a Soviet woman geologist is saved by a young Chinese surveyor, whose life in his childhood she herself saved when she served in the Soviet Army on the eve of victory in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.

Nov. 15 and 16, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

Nov. 17-22, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

▲ **IN THE NAME OF THE REVOLUTION** A feature film based on the stage play by the Soviet playwright M. Shatrov.

Nov. 14-20, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

▲ **GUERRILLAS ON THE RAILWAY** A feature film produced by the Shanghai Film

Studio about a guerrilla detachment in southern Shantung led by the Communist Party, and its exploits in attacking the enemy during the anti-Japanese War.

Nov. 16-20, Peking Theatre

▲ **SHACHIATEN GRANARY** How the people of northern Shensi protected the Shachiaten Granary from falling into the hands of the Kuomintang troops during the counter-revolutionary attack in 1947. A Northeast Film Studio production.

Nov. 16-20, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

▲ **RED EAGLES SPREAD THEIR WINGS** A feature film produced by the August First Film Studio, recounting the story of an air forces group sent by the Communist Party from Yanan to northeastern China in the early period of the War of Liberation and how it encountered and solved all manner of difficulties to eventually set up the first people's aviation school.

Nov. 16-20, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

▲ **ON THE WILD BANKS OF THE IRTYSH** A feature film portraying the idomitable spirit of the Soviet people in communist construction.

Nov. 15-20, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **ART EXHIBITION ON NORTHERN WASTELAND** Over 190 works of graphic art, oil paintings, posters, etc. showing how ex-servicemen pioneer the Northern Wasteland. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m. 6:00 p.m. till Nov. 30.

At the Gallery of the Artists' Union

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** by workers and staff of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Works. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Nov. 30.

At Beihai Park

▲ **PHOTO EXHIBITION ON EDUCATION IN THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC** Opening Nov. 16. Daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At Zhongshan Park



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