

PEKING REVIEW

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March 2, 1962

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Theatre, Cinema and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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Keep the Red Flag Flying

by Liang Pin

A novel centring on the life of two peasant families in northern China against the background of the stormy struggles waged by the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism during the first three decades of the century.

At the time the story opens, the Chinese people were suffering grievous hardships as a result of the constant fighting between warlords backed by different imperialist powers, innumerable taxes and impositions, natural calamities, banditry, usury and high land rents. These things robbed them of the greater part of their earnings.

Although the peasants had the courage to strike back against the landlords and local bullies, all the earlier struggles ended in defeat. Only when they came into contact with the Communist Party was their fight assured of success.

The author draws upon his own experience of life and knowledge of class relations in the countryside in selecting and depicting his rural characters, and his early connection with the intellectuals in creating his students of Paoting. The characters he creates are all typical of the times.

Concretely, the high points of the struggles in the area he describes take the form of the fight against the pig-tax in the countryside and the fight put up by the students of the No. 2 Normal School in Paoting.

The class struggle which is introduced in the opening chapters runs like a red thread through the entire novel.



Chieh Chen-kuo, Guerrilla Hero

by WANG HUO

Chieh Chen-kuo was one of China's famous guerrilla leaders and a national hero during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). A miner in the Kailan Colliery in eastern Hopei Province, he took part in the big strike and armed uprising of the miners there in 1938, then organized a workers' guerrilla detachment and led it against the Japanese invaders and their puppets.

This book gives an absorbing account of the daring guerrilla operations of this detachment which kept the enemy on tenterhooks day and night and caused them heavy losses. Chieh Chen-kuo died in battle in 1940, loyal to the end to the cause of the people, a true son of the Communist Party.

122 pages

Illustrated



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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 2, 1962 Vol. V No. 9

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ROUND THE WEEK

Equipment for Light Industry

Shanghai workers produced more than 300 types of light industrial equipment last year. About one-third of it was new to Shanghai factories. These new products included vital equipment and high precision machines for paper-making, glass, plastics, watch-making, food processing and six other light industries. Among the special products were a precision milling machine for watch-making and whole sets of equipment for making synthetic fatty acids and washing compounds.

Most of the twelve types of new machines made to replace hand labour were devised by Shanghai workers during the movement for technical innovations. One of the most successful is a pneumatic bottle making machine with six moulds, capable of producing 40,000 bottles a day. Another, an automatic candy wrapping machine, can handle 500 kg. of candies a day.

Shanghai also produced equipment specially suited to the needs of small factories and workshops run by the rural people's communes. Included are cream separators and whole sets of equipment for oil-pressing mills, with a daily capacity of 5 tons of edible oil. In the countryside where a large amount of the oil used is still extracted by hand presses, these latter machines will be a tremendous boon.

In addition to all this, Shanghai has manufactured more than 200,000 spare parts and accessories for 500 types of light industrial machinery.

First priority for all these machines, parts and accessories is given to orders from the remote regions and areas where light industry is relatively weakly developed. The special conditions in those places are carefully taken account of. When making the cream separators for dairy farms in some pastoral areas, Shanghai designers bore in mind that some of these areas may not yet have an electric supply, so the separators were made to be operated either by electricity or by hand.

Shanghai's big advance in the production of light industrial equipment was made possible because of the greatly increased variety and improved quality of Shanghai-made steel. Last year the demand for high quality and alloy steels increased more than 20 times, compared with 1958. That demand was fully met by Shanghai steelworkers. The plants were supplied with more than 1,000 types of steel products, and the manufacture of light industrial equipment roared ahead.

Sowing Starts in South China

Subtropical Kwangtung, China's southernmost province, is off to a flying start in spring ploughing and sowing. The farms there are humming with activity. Commune members are busy ploughing, carting fertilizers to the fields, nursing or transplanting rice seedlings, or sowing early ripening crops.

The province's Hainan Island, just off its south coast, is in the thick of the busy farming season. Transplanting of rice seedlings has been completed on more than half the acreage earmarked for early rice. In areas along the island's east coast, where spring set in earlier, the transplanting has been done. The commune members, now concentrating their efforts on cultivating the crops, have weeded and top-dressed the fields once.

While nursing the seedlings in the seed-beds is still the order of the day in the fertile Pearl River delta—one of the main rice-producing areas in Kwangtung, many farms on the lower reaches of the Tungkiang River have already gone well past this stage, having done this year's ploughing earlier than usual. There the seedlings are growing well. The seed-beds look like quilts of lush green velvet.

In the northern parts of the province, while everything is being made ready for the busy spring ploughing in the coming weeks, early ripening crops, such as buckwheat, sweet potatoes and maize, have been sown on large tracts of land. These crops are also being sown in the warmer

parts of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan.

Tools and Machinery for the Farms

Further up north, the people's communes are making final preparations for the spring ploughing. These days the old farmers' saying is in everybody's mind: "We'd rather forfeit a bowl of gold than let ten days of spring slip idly away." Every farm is seeing to it that everything is to hand when the ploughing actually begins.

Factories and handicraft enterprises in the various provinces are speeding up the manufacture of farm tools and other necessary equipment for the spring ploughing and sowing that will soon be in full swing throughout the land. The state has allocated more iron and steel than in previous years for the manufacture of these tools and machinery. Big consignments of farm tools and machinery, fertilizers and insecticides, are rolling from the cities to the farms. Shanghai's workshops have manufactured greater amounts of farm machines, pumps and spare parts for tractors this year than ever before, and these are swiftly being distributed to the farms. Hopei reports that the amount of small farm tools, chemical fertilizers and insecticides sent to the rural areas to date is twice as much as was sent by the same date last year. Kwangtung's workshops have also made 2.3 million small farm tools for the rural communes.

To make the various types of tools and machines best suited for use in varying local conditions, factories and workshops sent out technicians as early as last November to the countryside to make on-the-spot surveys and get advice from farmers. As a result, several new types of farm machines have been specially designed and produced for various localities. The Kwangtung Machinery Designing Institute alone has designed ten types of new machines for use in subtropical areas in south China. An improved type of rice combine-harvester it has produced has proved to be very efficient both in reaping and threshing.

Workers of a Shanghai power equipment plant have produced an ingenious electric pump for farm irrigation which is not much bigger than a thermos flask. Requests and suggestions from peasants had a lot to

do with the final successful production of this handy gadget that is suitable for use in places where the water is only half a metre deep. It costs only half as much as the electric pumps most commonly used in China today. Highly efficient, it can handle 100 tons of water per hour and is so light and conveniently shaped that a woman can easily lift it. Linked to rubber hoses, it can send water direct to the fields, thus dispensing with irrigation channels or ditches.

Geological Society: 40 Years Old

The Geological Society of China has just celebrated its 40th anniversary. Founded in 1922, it is the oldest natural science society in China. It began then with only 26 members and had a hard time of it under the Kuomintang regime. In the 12 years since liberation, over 90 times as many young people graduated in geology as in the years between 1911 and 1949. Thousands of geologists are now out in the field all over the country and in the nation's laboratories. And the society now has more than twenty branches in the various provinces and big cities.

The commemorative meeting held in Peking to celebrate its birthday was, therefore, a memorable gathering. More than a thousand geological workers in the capital attended. On the rostrum sat many grey-haired veterans, pioneers of the society. Below sat the young experts, professors and geologists of the various research institutes, universities and government departments who have been richly benefited by their experience.

Seventy-four-year-old Professor Ho Chieh, the oldest member present, addressed the meeting. He is one of the society's foundation members, among whom now in Peking is the famous geologist Li Ssu-kuang, Minister of Geology and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Professor Ho, now Vice-President of the Peking Mining Institute, headed the department of geology in Peking University when it was first set up. He enthusiastically spoke of the rapid advances made in geological work in China since liberation. Over the past 12 years, he recalled, extensive surveys have been carried out and rich mineral deposits prospected. Various types of geological maps have been drawn up and a considerable amount of special theoretical research has been undertaken. The



Surveying Team Among the High Mountains

Traditional Chinese painting by Kuan Sung-fang

data gathered on mineral resources has been of key importance for the country's socialist construction. Modern techniques are being used to good advantage in geological research. The study of geological mechanics, initiated by Li Ssu-kuang in the 1920s, has been enriched by practical work and research in recent years. All this has contributed greatly to raising the theoretical level of geological science which, in the old China, stagnated because of the backward state of the nation's economy and because it received no attention or encouragement from the reactionary ruling class.

The younger generation followed the speech with great interest. Then

someone from the audience handed a note to the chairman. It requested him to introduce to the gathering the senior scientists present. Most of the young geologists there still did not know them but were eager to make their acquaintance. There followed a unique "roll-call": Wang Chu-chuan, 71, chief engineer of the Ministry of the Coal Industry; Yuan Fu-li, 68, professor at the Peking Institute of Geology; Sun Yun-chu, 67, Vice-President of the Academy of Geological Research under the Ministry of Geology. . . . While the elder scientists smiled their acknowledgements the whole hall resounded to round after round of applause.

Kweichow Licks Malaria

Multi-national Kweichow Province in southwest China reports rapid progress in public health work, particularly among its minority peoples.

The national minorities in Kweichow were brutally exploited and oppressed under the Kuomintang regime and it was naturally in their areas that health conditions were at their worst. There were only 700 hospital beds and about 600 medical workers for the whole province. These were all located in the big cities. Today the province has over 15,000 hospital beds and 14,000 medical workers, and their numbers are steadily increasing. A network of well-equipped polyclinics has been set up throughout the province. In the villages, the people's communes have their own clinics and maternity homes. The popularization of modern obstetrics has brought infant tetanus under control.

Malaria accounted for over 70 per cent of all diseases in the province before liberation. It was a particular scourge in areas inhabited by the national minorities. Now it has been practically wiped out. The incidence of the disease was reduced to less than 1 per cent last year.

Wangmu County in the south of the province well illustrates the change that has taken place. Inhabited mostly by Puyis, Miaos and other minority peoples, it was one of the areas with the highest incidence of malaria in pre-liberation days. No preventive measures were taken by the reactionary government at that time, and no effective treatment was available. The people were left to cope with the disease as best as they could themselves.

Immediately after liberation, the people's government built Wangmu's minority peoples a new hospital. Every year since then large sums have been allocated for malaria prevention. With medical teams regularly visiting the villages to treat the sick and promote hygiene, sanitation has greatly improved and the number of malaria cases has dropped from 80 per cent of the incidence of diseases in the county before liberation to less than 2 per cent last year.

Now Wangmu County has three hospitals; each of the 28 rural people's communes has a clinic while every production brigade has a health centre. And, what is more, the minority peoples there now have their own medical workers. With the great improvement in the people's health, added prosperity has come to the area. Last year Wangmu registered a 24.6 per cent increase in grain output, compared with 1950, and a 13.4 per cent increase in population.

Lantern Festival

The lantern festival this month was the occasion for some beautiful night celebrations in many cities.

The festival fell on February 19 this year. More than 1,400 years ago the Chinese people already made and displayed fancy lanterns on the evening of the fifteenth of the first month by the lunar calendar — the first full moon after the lunar New Year's Day. During the reign of the Tang emperor Jui Tsung in the early years of the 8th century, lanterns were displayed for one evening only. In the reign of the succeeding emperor Hsuan Tsung, it was extended to three. When the Ming emperor Tai Tsu established his capital in Nanking in 1368, he proclaimed that lanterns be displayed for ten successive evenings, from the 8th to the 17th day of the first moon, to celebrate peaceful times and beautify the city. This popular festival is still observed, but the date and the length of time for the display of lanterns vary from place to place.

In Chengtu, Szechuan Province, more than 30,000 people thronged to the opening of the Qingyanggong Park lantern fair. This opened on the 19th, and is scheduled to run for 15 days. A full moon was shining and clear star-studded skies enhanced the loveliness of the 1,000-year-old lantern-lit garden. Thousands of fancy lanterns dangled from the trees and lit the

kiosks and pavilions, the covered veranda walks and the many decorative bridges in the park. On a little stream in a corner of the garden floated colourful lanterns in the shape of lotus flowers, egrets, swans and mandarin ducks—symbol of happiness. One section fascinated the children especially with its array of animal and fish-shaped lanterns—rabbits, sheep, horses, carp. At the park's octagonal pavilion, the veteran folk artist Yang Tao-cheng had designed a unique lantern show. This was in the form of a new version of the so-called "Aoshan" or lantern-lit mountain which the Sung emperor Hui Tsung, who reigned in the years 1101-25, once ordered his servants to create for his enjoyment. On Yang Tao-cheng's mountain hundreds of lanterns shed their light on shepherdesses dancing; little cowherds playing the flute astride their buffaloes; peasants busy transplanting rice; tractors ploughing the fields; and fish swimming in clear water. . . .

Canton celebrated the festival with a fine lantern display and free public stage shows. At each end of one of the city's main thoroughfares, two brightly lit archways were erected. These were the entrances to the fair between them which displayed a pageant of glass palace lanterns, light crepe paper lanterns and lanterns with floral paper designs created by well-known handicraftsmen. Coloured lights lit the whole thoroughfare, adding lustre to the exhibitions of ivory carvings, embroideries, toys, paintings and calligraphy set out on stalls by the roadside. A key attraction was the theatrical performances taking place on seven open-air stages arranged at intervals along the 700-metre section of the road given over to the fair. Tens of thousands of people gathered to enjoy Kwangtung opera, dancing and singing, balladry, modern Chinese plays and dance-dramas by both professionals and amateurs. For flower lovers, the city's Cultural Park put on an exhibition of peach blossoms specially brought from Yunnan and Chekiang Provinces.

In Sian, the ancient capital of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) and the original "home" of lantern fairs, a 15-day fair started on February 5, the lunar New Year's Day, and reached its climax on the 19th. Over 130,000 lanterns were displayed this year. The fair drew a record attendance and sales registered an all-time high.

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

- Full support for the just stand and righteous demand of the Vietnamese Government
- The U.S. must immediately stop its armed intervention in southern Viet Nam

On February 24, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement concerning the intensified U.S. armed intervention in southern Viet Nam. Following is a translation of the statement. On the following day, "Renmin Ribao" published an editorial demanding an immediate stop to U.S. armed intervention in southern Viet Nam. For details, see "Chinese Press Opinion" (p. 19). — Ed.

RECENTLY, the United States of America has become more and more bold and unscrupulous in its intervention and aggression in southern Viet Nam, thus increasingly aggravating the situation there. U.S. military equipment and war material are being steadily introduced into southern Viet Nam. U.S. aircraft are constantly carrying on reconnaissance and strafing missions over southern Viet Nam. U.S. warships are on operational duty day in and day out along the coast of Viet Nam. The number of fully armed U.S. military men introduced into southern Viet Nam has reached 5,000. On February 8, the U.S. Government openly declared the establishment of a "U.S. Military Assistance Command, Viet Nam." This marks the beginning of a new stage in U.S. imperialist armed intervention in southern Viet Nam. It is obvious that this command is by no means merely one for military assistance, but an operational command of the U.S. imperialists for direct participation in and direction of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's suppression of the south Vietnamese people's just and patriotic struggle. The United States has openly indicated that U.S. military men will shoot back if shot at. This shows in fact that the United States is already in an "undeclared" war in southern Viet Nam. This state of affairs cannot but arouse the serious anxiety and vigilance of all peace-loving countries in Indo-China, Asia and the Pacific.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement on February 18, strongly condemning this U.S. imperialist armed intervention in southern Viet Nam, pointing out that this U.S. imperialist action threatens the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the peace of Asia, and asking the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference and the countries concerned to take effective measures to halt the armed aggressive activities of the United States in southern Viet Nam. The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand and righteous demand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and holds that the United States must stop at once its armed intervention in southern Viet Nam and immediately withdraw all its military men and equipment there.

It should be pointed out that the U.S. imperialist armed intervention in southern Viet Nam is an important component part of its intensified attempt to suppress the

national-liberation movements throughout the world. Since its assumption of power, the Kennedy Administration, acting according to the will of the big U.S. monopoly groups, while striking various peace postures, has all along been actively preparing to wage three kinds of wars: nuclear war, conventional war and the "special warfare" designed for coping with the national-liberation movements. The present U.S. imperialist armed intervention in southern Viet Nam is precisely such "special warfare" waged by so-called "special forces." If this new war scheme of U.S. imperialism should succeed in southern Viet Nam, not only all peoples striving for freedom and independence will suffer, but the danger of wars of a bigger scale will be greatly increased. This is absolutely impermissible.

SINCE the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements, U.S. imperialism has been supporting the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in refusing to hold general elections and realize the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements. U.S. imperialism has been interfering more and more crudely in southern Viet Nam. The rule of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is entirely propped up by the U.S. imperialist bayonets. It is precisely this U.S. imperialist intervention and the corrupt rule of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique that have provoked the stormy, just and patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese people. This fundamental fact is not to be altered by U.S. slanders against the socialist countries, however oft repeated. The "special warfare" now imposed by U.S. imperialism on the south Vietnamese people will only arouse their indignation and even more resolute resistance. The strength of the people is invincible. There is no force on earth that can check the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the reunification of their sacred motherland. No new tactics and weapons can save the U.S. interventionists from their doom. In the face of the resolute struggle of the south Vietnamese people fighting with one heart and one mind, U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression will only end in complete defeat.

U.S. imperialist armed intervention and aggression in southern Viet Nam constitutes a direct threat to the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; it also seriously affects the security of China and the peace of Asia. Soon after the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements, U.S. imperialism rigged up the aggressive SEATO military bloc and arbitrarily designated southern Viet Nam as an area under the protection of this bloc. As everyone knows, while the spearhead of U.S. imperialist aggression points directly to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, it points indirectly to China. While engaged in wanton military intervention in southern Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism now describes its action as being of a local

nature and unrelated to the Geneva agreements and having nothing to do with the countries adjoining Viet Nam. This cannot deceive anybody. The war flames lit by U.S. imperialism single-handedly in southern Viet Nam are raging. The Chinese Government and people cannot but express their grave concern at this.

The Chinese Government has always stood for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. China took part in the 1954 Geneva agreements and has all along striven to ensure the strict implementation of these agree-

ments. U.S. violations of the Geneva agreements which have been going on since 1954 have developed to an extremely dangerous stage. This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. The Chinese Government holds that the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference and the countries concerned must promptly hold consultations and take appropriate measures to eliminate the serious danger of war in southern Viet Nam by peaceful means, so that the Geneva agreements and the peace of Indo-China can be safeguarded.

Facts and Information

SEATO—Instrument of U.S. Aggression

by HUNG LAN

THE aggressive moves of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia in 1961 once again make it clear that SEATO is an instrument of its aggression.

Intervention in Laos and South Viet Nam

This is particularly evident in the U.S. aggression in Laos and south Viet Nam. Early in 1961, in order to save the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique from destruction and maintain its own aggressive positions in Laos, the United States instigated SEATO to interfere openly in Laos' internal affairs. In January, SEATO Council representatives held five "extraordinary meetings" in rapid succession in Bangkok. Then, from March 27 to 29, just when the United States was stepping up intervention and aggression in Laos, the SEATO bloc called a council meeting in Bangkok, attended by a 25-member U.S. delegation headed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique of south Viet Nam also sent an "observer." A resolution passed at the meeting threatened that if the war situation in Laos continued to develop, "members of SEATO are prepared, within the terms of the treaty, to take whatever action may be appropriate in the circumstances." The resolution also threatened the south Vietnamese people that the SEATO bloc would not "acquiesce" in any "take-over" in south Viet Nam.

Earlier, SEATO had held two military advisers' conferences in Bangkok. Its Secretary-General Pote Sarasin declared before the conference met that Laos was "under the protective shield of SEATO" and was eligible to receive its military support. Premier Sarit of Thailand said that the only way to solve the Laotian question was for SEATO to send troops to fight there. Australian representative Vice-Admiral Roy Dowling declared that a portion of the Australian armed forces was on constant standby for service under SEATO.

Frequent Military Manoeuvres

In co-ordination with this military planning, the SEATO bloc held a series of military exercises to threaten the people in Southeast Asia and aggravate tension in that area. Among these the important ones were as follows: In early March 1961, the United States, Thailand,

France and Australia held joint air manoeuvres in Thailand, in which about 3,000 air force personnel and over 100 aeroplanes took part. At the same time, the United States and the Philippines held joint naval and air exercises in the Philippines. In mid-March, the U.S. ground forces, marine corps and air forces and Thailand's army and naval forces held joint exercises in northeastern Thailand. From April 24 to early May, amphibious warfare exercises were held in the South China Sea near Laos. British North Borneo was also included in the manoeuvres. These were the largest military exercises ever staged by SEATO in the past few years, involving more than 100 aeroplanes, 60 ships, over 20,000 naval personnel and 6,000 marines.

In the past year, the Kennedy Administration not only sent large numbers of military personnel to Laos and south Viet Nam but also instigated SEATO members, Thailand and the Philippines, to carry out direct intervention there. Thailand sent no less than six fully equipped battalions to fight in Laos and also plans to send more troops to conduct a war of aggression against that country. The Philippines has sent more than 700 military personnel to Laos. In south Viet Nam, large numbers of personnel from the Philippines and other SEATO countries are engaged in suppressing the south Vietnamese people.

Stepped-Up War Provocations

At the enlarged Geneva conference for a peaceful solution of the Laotian question, the United States and Thailand, in an attempt to hinder the progress of the conference and create a pretext for their continued intervention, insisted on claiming the right of SEATO to "protect" Laos. In co-ordination with the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique's obstruction and sabotage of the formation of a government of national unity in Laos, and with the stepped-up U.S. intervention in south Viet Nam, SEATO, under U.S. direction, has increased its war provocations. From October 3 to 6, 1961, SEATO held a military advisers' conference in Bangkok. Laos and south Viet Nam were the "No. 1 topics" at the conference, which formulated "plans to resist and counter communist aggression in the treaty area." At the same time, use of the U.S. latest

non-nuclear weapons was included in SEATO's "emergency defence plans." The Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. armed forces in the Pacific Area, Harry Felt, chief U.S. delegate to the conference, declared that "the United States as a member of SEATO has a commitment to SEATO and so we must consider the use of American troops" in this area [Laos and south Viet Nam]. The U.S. naval commander in the Philippines David J. Welsh said that should the political talks fail, the United States was prepared to take military action. From November 11 to 19, the marines of the United States and Thailand held joint military exercises in the Gulf of Siam. The exercises, dubbed "Operation Jungle Drum," were said to be a "test of guerrilla warfare in the jungles." From November 25 to December 16, U.S. and Thai troops held joint large-scale military manoeuvres in northern Thailand near Laos. At the same time, air force exercises were held in the Philippines, with 100 aeroplanes taking part. From November 27 to December 2, the navies of the United States, Britain and Thailand held joint mine sweeping manoeuvres in Satahip, a Thai naval base. In addition to all this, acting under the instructions of the United States, the reactionary authorities in Thailand and south Viet Nam have persistently slandered and carried out military provocations against the Kingdom of Cambodia which is following a policy of peace and neutrality.

Thailand — Centre of U.S. War Adventures

Thailand, headquarters of the SEATO bloc, has now become a centre of U.S. military adventure and subversion in Indo-China. The United States has established an air base for large aeroplanes in Udorn, northeastern Thailand. Hundreds of U.S. "military advisers" and other military personnel, 300 U.S. marines and scores of helicopters are stationed there, especially to help the Laotian rebel group to expand the civil war. Batch after batch of the Laotian rebel clique's hired soldiers have been sent to Thailand for training and equipment. The Satahip naval base has

become one of SEATO's major naval bases. In order to use SEATO to engage in "limited warfare" for suppressing national-liberation movements, the United States has also got Thailand and the Philippines to step up their training of "guerrilla units." Last June, Thailand's Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence Thanom Kittikachorn disclosed that Thailand was training its armed forces to acquaint them with methods of warfare in mountain terrain and in the jungles. Bangkok press reports say that U.S. troops have been sent to Thailand to train "guerrillas" for that country. The Radio of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units disclosed that the reactionary Thai authorities have organized a "guerrilla unit" of 30,000 men in northeastern Thailand near the Laotian border, and are prepared to use it, according to U.S. "plans for guerrilla warfare," to engage in further intervention and aggression in Laos. Last June, the General Staff of the Philippine Army also set up a "special committee on unconventional warfare" and drew up a new "defence plan," the main purpose of which is to "counter communist guerrilla tactics."

Last September, in order to use SEATO to further its policy of aggression, the United States instigated Thailand to put forward a proposal aimed to increase SEATO's "effectiveness." Reports say that this proposal called for a change in the "voting method," that is, to substitute "decision by majority vote" for the present method of "decision by unanimous vote." By this means, it was hoped that the United States could get a free hand to take action against Laos with SEATO forces. The proposal also called for the establishment of "special forces" by SEATO to "cope with" any emergencies that may occur in Southeast Asia. This indicates that this year, the United States will continue to use SEATO to engage in aggression and create tension in Southeast Asia. These criminal activities of U.S. imperialism in using SEATO to threaten peace and security in Southeast Asia have aroused bitter indignation among the peoples of Southeast Asia and all the peace-loving people of the world. They are alerted to the danger of fresh U.S. aggressive moves.

Theory

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

by LI WEI-HAN

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

This article discusses questions under the following five heads: 1. The twofold struggle for leadership; 2. Distinguish correctly between enemies and friends; lead our allies in a resolute struggle against the common enemy; win victory step by step; 3. Distinguish between the principal enemy and non-principal enemies; make use of their contradictions and concentrate our forces to fight against the principal enemy; 4. Distinguish be-

tween our principal ally and non-principal allies; rely on the worker-peasant alliance; unite with the urban petty bourgeoisie and win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements; 5. Distinguish between leader

and allies; develop the independent political strength of the working class and raise its allies to the level of the current revolutionary programme. *Subheads and the boxed notes for reference are ours.*—Ed.

2. Distinguish Correctly Between Enemies and Friends; Lead Our Allies in a Resolute Struggle Against the Common Enemy; Win Victory Step by Step

Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote at the very beginning of his *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*:

“Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of primary importance in the revolution. All previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved very little, primarily because the revolutionaries failed to unite with their real friends to attack their real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution can ever succeed if the revolutionary party leads it astray. To ensure that we will not lead our revolution astray but achieve positive success, we must take special care to unite with our real friends to attack our real enemies.”*

Correctly Distinguish Between Enemies and Friends, Know Who the Enemies Are

First of all we must correctly distinguish between our enemies and friends, know clearly who our enemies are and determine against whom the revolution is aimed.

The enemies of the Chinese democratic revolution were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. This thesis was gradually clarified and brought to its full formulation during the course of the protracted revolutionary struggle and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The struggle against imperialism and feudalism was the most fundamental task of the Chinese democratic revolution. This revolution began as early as 1840 in the Opium War. But at no time during the entire period of its leadership of the democratic revolution did the bourgeoisie clearly raise the battle-cry against imperialism and against feudalism. The Revolution of 1911 was of great historic significance, but at that time Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his comrades-in-arms did not yet realize that a genuine democratic revolution must be one which opposes imperialism and feudalism in a thoroughgoing way. It was precisely for this reason that although it was Sun Yat-sen who started China's democratic revolution in the fuller meaning of that term, he failed to keep that revolution going forward on the basis of popular struggles until he began to co-operate with the Chinese Communist Party. It was under new historical conditions that the Chinese Communist Party took up and carried forward Sun Yat-sen's unfinished cause. As soon as it was founded, the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist analysis of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, raised the slogans of anti-imperialism

and anti-feudalism. These two slogans correctly reflected the nature and tasks of the Chinese revolution; they expressed the will of the overwhelming majority of the people and they were therefore able to mobilize and rally the overwhelming majority of the people to carry on a long and protracted struggle. It was the Chinese Communist Party, representing the Chinese working class, that for the first time so clearly and forthrightly put forward the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal battle-cry and programme; and for many decades it alone consistently held aloft the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal banner. It was precisely for this reason that the Chinese Communist Party was able to shoulder the responsibility of leading the Chinese democratic revolution to the end.

As we have said earlier, the Chinese bourgeoisie was made up of two sections: one—the big bourgeoisie which attached itself to imperialism, worked hand in glove with the feudal forces, and was a target against which the democratic revolution was aimed; the other—the national bourgeoisie; this, on the one hand was revolutionary, but on the other, was prone to compromise; it was a vacillating ally but it could take part in the democratic revolution. The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that our ability or lack of it to distinguish correctly between these two sections of the bourgeoisie was of tremendous importance to making a clear distinction between friends and foes, to the success or failure of the revolution, and to winning or losing its leadership. Before the firm establishment of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership over the whole Party in 1935, the Chinese Communist Party on many occasions failed to make such a correct distinction due to political inexperience and especially because during certain periods the Party was dominated by Right or “Left” opportunism. The Right opportunists regarded the bourgeoisie as an undifferentiated revolutionary force. The “Left” opportunists, on the other hand, fought against the entire bourgeoisie, making the national bourgeoisie a target of the revolution, at the same time emphasizing the struggle against the rich peasants. Comrade Mao Tse-tung drew a line of distinction between the big bourgeoisie, which was comprador in nature, and the national bourgeoisie, which had a dual nature; he defined the comprador big bourgeoisie, imperialism and the feudal class as the three major enemies and put forward the full revolutionary slogan of opposing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. As regards the rich peasants, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the old-type rich peasants in China generally engaged in feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and that this kind of exploitation should be abolished, but that the new-democratic revolution did not aim at eliminating the rich-peasant economy and the policy of eliminating

* Mao Tse-tung, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 1.

the rich peasants as a class should not be adopted prematurely. In this way Comrade Mao Tse-tung completely and correctly solved the question of whom we should unite with and whom we should fight against—a question of primary importance to the outcome of the revolution—and pointed out a clear objective of struggle for the Chinese people.

Lead the Allies in a Resolute Struggle Against the Common Enemy and to Win Victory Step by Step

Having correctly distinguished friends from foes, determined the targets and objectives of the revolution, the Party's task was to be adept at leading its allies in a resolute struggle against the common enemy and to win victory step by step. To establish its leadership in the democratic revolution the working class must itself be the staunchest and most courageous and stand in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle; it must lead the revolutionary struggle independently; it should never regard the democratic revolution as being the business of the bourgeoisie and look on with folded arms, or willingly

act as the bourgeoisie's assistant and coolie. At the same time, the working class should never fight single-handed, but should be adept at winning over and leading its allies in the struggle against the enemy. Moreover, it is only by correctly handling both strategy and tactics, and steadily winning victories that the working class can strengthen the fighting will and confidence of the masses, win over allies on the broadest scale and carry the revolution forward step by step.

The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that in order to be victorious in the struggle against the enemy, it is imperative, first of all, to take the enemy lightly strategically while tactically taking him seriously; secondly, we must be well versed in all forms of struggle, we must be especially good at using the two forms of struggle—armed struggle and non-armed political struggle; thirdly, we must be good at taking advantage of the contradictions among our enemies to divide and split them up. These are important lessons learnt by our Party in its struggle against our enemies. If our Party had not struggled in the correct way against our enemies as de-

FOR YOUR REFERENCE

The Line of Wang Ming in the Period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War

In the early 30s a group of comrades inside the Chinese Communist Party, who were inexperienced in revolutionary struggle and whose leaders were Chen Shao-yu (known as Wang Ming) and Chin Pang-hsien (known as Po Ku), put forward a "Left" opportunist political programme and set themselves against the correct line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This erroneous "Left" opportunist line was dominant in the Party from the time of the plenary session of the Central Committee in January 1931 to the Tsunyi meeting in January 1935 when the Central Committee established its new leadership with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at its head. This "Left" opportunist line, which dominated the Party for four years (longer than any previous opportunist line did), brought especially heavy losses to the Party and the revolution. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Red Army lost about 90 per cent of their strength and the Red Army's base areas too lost about 90 per cent of their area; tens of millions of people in the revolutionary base areas suffered untold misery at the hands of the Kuomintang. All this seriously retarded the progress of the Chinese revolution. Through years of practical experience, however, most of the comrades who erred in this "Left" line have realized and rectified their mistakes and have rendered great service to the Party and the people. On the basis of a common political understanding they have united with all other comrades in

the Party under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership. A detailed summary of this erroneous line was made in the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party," which appears as an appendix to *Our Study and the Current Situation*, by Mao Tse-tung. (Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960.)

Hung Hsiu-chuan One of the leaders of the Taiping Revolution, a peasant revolution against the Ching Dynasty's feudal rule and national oppression in the middle of the 19th century. He and other leaders of the revolution staged an uprising in Kwangsi in January 1851 and proclaimed the establishment of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In 1852 the peasant army proceeded northward from Kwangsi and marched through Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Anhwei. In 1853 it captured Nanking, on the lower reaches of the Yangtse River. Part of its forces then continued the drive north and pushed to the vicinity of Tientsin, in north China. Because the Taiping army failed to build stable base areas in the places it occupied and also because, after establishing its capital in Nanking, the leading group in the army committed many political and military errors, it could not withstand the joint attack of the counter-revolutionary troops of the Ching government and the aggressors, Britain, the United States and France, and suffered defeat in 1864.

The North China Incident An overall name for the following events in 1935: (1) In May, the Japanese invaders demanded that the Kuomintang govern-

ment grant them administrative authority in north China; (2) In June, Ho Ying-chin, the Kuomintang government's representative in north China, signed with Yoshijiro Umezu, commander of Japanese armed forces in north China, an agreement (known as the Ho-Umezu agreement) which virtually surrendered China's sovereignty in the provinces of Hopei and Chahar; (3) In October, a group of collaborators seized the county town of Siangho, eastern Hopei, in a revolt instigated by the Japanese; (4) In November, the Japanese sponsored the "movement for autonomy in the five northern provinces" which led to the establishment of the puppet "Anti-Communist Autonomous Administration" in eastern Hopei; (5) In the same month the Kuomintang government formed the "Political Affairs Commission for Hopei and Chahar" to meet the Japanese demand for a "special political power in north China."

Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng

Leaders of the Northeastern and Northwestern Armies respectively who staged the 1936 Sian Incident. Chang was put into prison immediately after he set Chiang Kai-shek free and accompanied him to Nanking. Yang was deposed and forced by the Kuomintang reactionaries to go abroad. When the War of Resistance Against Japan began, Yang returned to China to offer his services, only to be interned by Chiang Kai-shek. In September 1949, when the People's Liberation Army was driving towards Chungking, Chiang had him murdered in a concentration camp there.

scribed above, it would never have been able to win over all its possible allies.

Take the Enemy Lightly Strategically and Take Him Seriously Tactically

During the protracted revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again and again pointed out that the enemies of the Chinese revolution were exceptionally powerful, that they were extremely brutal in their suppression of the revolution and that the Chinese revolution could achieve victory only after prolonged and bitter struggles. If the revolutionary forces had not steeled themselves and shown tenacity in these struggles, they would have failed to retain a firm grip on their own positions and would have failed to go on to seize the enemy positions; they would have been unable to muster and train up sufficient forces to crush the enemy finally. The idea that the Chinese revolutionary forces could be organized in the twinkling of an eye and that the Chinese revolutionary struggle could achieve victory in a trice was wrong. We had to take full account of the protracted character and bitterness of the revolutionary struggle and oppose impetuosity and adventurist tendencies in the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also repeatedly pointed out that our enemies were weak at their base, that they were divided, divorced from the people, rotten and without a future and that, taking a long-term view, the truly great power belonged, not to the reactionaries, but to the people. We were confident and certain that we could defeat all China's internal and external enemies and that it was imperative for us to oppose the tendency to overestimate the strength of the enemy or fear him. The myth of the invincibility of the reactionaries should have no place in our ranks. Later, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up his views on these two points and put forward the thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers but at the same time real tigers, that strategically we should take the enemy lightly while tactically taking him seriously. He said:

“... imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can eat people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.”*

“In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period that strategically we should take all enemies lightly, but tactically take them seriously. This also means that with regard to the whole, we should take the enemy lightly but take him seriously on each and every concrete question.”**

* Introductory note to “Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 99.

** Speech delivered on Nov. 18, 1957, at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow, *Comrade Mao Tse-tung on “Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers,”* Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, pp. 25-26.

“If, with regard to the whole, we overestimate the strength of our enemy and hence do not dare to overthrow him and do not dare to win victory, we shall be committing a Right opportunist error. If, with regard to each part, each specific problem, we are not prudent, do not carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, do not concentrate all our strength for battle and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, small independent craftsmen and traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and ordinary intellectuals, ordinary government employees, professionals and enlightened gentry), we shall be committing a ‘Left’ opportunist error.”*

This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung sums up both the correct and successful experience of the Chinese revolution as represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the wrong and unsuccessful experience of Right and “Left” opportunism; it is the summation of these experiences. That is to say, like other ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it was formed and developed in the prolonged process of the development of Chinese revolutionary practice as well as in the struggle against Right and “Left” opportunism within the Party.

Overestimation of the strength of the enemy and underestimation of the strength of the revolution; fear of imperialism and the domestic reactionaries instead of strategically taking them lightly; catering to the needs of the bourgeoisie — these are features common to all Right opportunists. This sort of Right opportunism occurred more than once in the history of our Party; the most striking example was Chen Tu-hsiu-ism in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War. Chen Tu-hsiu and his followers had no faith in the strength of the masses of the people, especially in that of the peasants; at a critical moment of the revolution, they were frightened by the rabid air of the counter-revolution; they did not dare to lead the millions upon millions of the peasant masses to wage a blow-for-blow struggle against the attacks of the counter-revolution and dreamt of steadying the vacillating national bourgeoisie by making concessions to the reactionaries, with the result that the reactionaries became even more rabid and the allies of the workers vacillated even more, so that the working class completely lost the leadership. Betrayals took place all around; the Communist Party and the working class had to fight single-handed; and it met with defeat. They did not understand that “Whoever wants to help the vacillating must first stop vacillating himself.”** The working class and the Communist Party are the most progressive and thoroughly revolutionary class and political party. When the working class and the Communist Party recoiled and vacillated in face of the enemy and did not dare to lead their most reliable ally — the peasantry — to wage a resolute struggle against the enemy, those other classes and strata that stood between the working class and the big landlords and big bourgeoisie inevitably vacillated still more, even to the point of deserting the working class.

* “On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-182.

** “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1936, Vol. VI, p. 72.

All experience gained in China and abroad proves that it is only when the working class and the Communist Party dare to lead and rely on their staunch ally to resolutely stand up to the enemy and deal him blows that they can give support to their sympathetic allies, steady their vacillating allies and isolate the enemy.

On the other hand, "Left" adventurism also occurred more than once in the history of our Party, the most striking instance being the line of Wang Ming in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (see *For Your Reference* on p. 10). One of its characteristics was that tactically it took the enemy lightly. The "Left" opportunists wanted to overthrow everyone and struggle, just struggle; they paid no attention to the awakening of the masses and did not try to win over all the allies that could be won over; in particular, they refused to win over the national bourgeoisie; they refused to take advantage of the contradictions among our enemies; they did not carefully study and perfect themselves in the art of struggle; they refused to consider what would be the consequences of such struggles. Hence the more they struggled, the more isolated they became and naturally forfeited the right to lead.

The experience in leadership which our Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has gained fully proves that it is only by strategically taking the enemy lightly while tactically taking him seriously that both Right and "Left" opportunist errors can be avoided and proletarian leadership established and consolidated.

Be Well Versed in All Forms of Struggle; Be Prepared for Both Armed Struggle and Political Struggle

In order to defeat the enemy, we must also be adept at choosing the most advantageous forms of struggle. The working-class party must be well versed in all forms of struggle; it must arm itself to the teeth, as Lenin has said, with all the means and methods of struggle so as to be able to make timely changes in the form of struggle to suit changes in the situation. The forms of struggle can be divided into main or secondary, and which should be the main and which should be secondary, differs under different historical conditions in different countries. The working class and the Communist Party must be good at mastering the main form of struggle under the historical conditions of the time and properly co-ordinate it with other forms of struggle; only by so doing can they deal the enemy effective blows and firmly maintain the leadership of the revolution.

The characteristic feature of the revolution in China was armed revolution against armed counter-revolution. All the counter-revolutionary regimes in modern China, and the regime of imperialism, the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in particular, were armed to the teeth. And all the progressive individuals and groups who began revolutionary movements, from Hung Hsiu-chuan (see p. 10) to Sun Yat-sen, understood that the revolution must be armed and that only revolutionary war could solve all issues. In the democratic revolution in China, the main form of struggle was, therefore, armed struggle and the main form of organization was the army. Leadership in the armed struggle and the army was, therefore, an important part of leadership in the Chinese revolution and

the struggle for military power and for leadership in war formed an important part of the struggle for leadership waged between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Without armed forces the working class and the Communist Party would not have been able to lead the people's revolution independently, nor would they have been able to gain and maintain their leadership of the revolution; in the united front with the bourgeoisie, without armed forces, they could be kicked out at any time by the bourgeoisie. This was a truth repeatedly proved by revolutionary practice. Our Party gradually came to understand this truth through bitter lessons of oppression by domestic and foreign enemies and betrayal by its allies. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung it completely and correctly mastered this truth. It is just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "It is very difficult for the working people, who have been for several thousand years deceived and intimidated by the reactionary ruling classes, to awaken to the importance of having guns in their own hands."*

In the five or six years from the time of its founding in 1921 to 1926 when it took part in the War of the Northern Expedition, our Party had a very inadequate understanding of this truth. At that time it did not understand the supreme importance of armed struggle in China; it did not seriously set about preparing to wage war and organize an army, and it paid no attention to the study of military strategy and tactics. In the course of the Northern Expedition, it neglected to win over the army and one-sidedly stressed mass movements with the result that the counter-revolutionary big bourgeoisie headed by Chiang Kai-shek usurped the leadership of the War of the Northern Expedition, kicked out the Communist Party and the working class and stopped the revolution in its tracks. For a long time after 1927 there were still many comrades who failed to learn this lesson. The second Wang Ming line occurred within our Party even as late as the first days of the War of Resistance Against Japan. At that time in those places under the influence of this line, such people harboured the illusion that they could rely on the armed forces of the Kuomintang to wage the War of Resistance; they did not dare develop guerrilla warfare against Japan independently and on their own in the enemy's rear, neither did they develop the people's armed forces and build up base areas for resistance against Japan; instead, they devoted their main efforts to assisting the Kuomintang in the War of Resistance. In this way they handed over the leadership in the War of Resistance Against Japan to the Kuomintang. Once the Kuomintang adopted the policy of fighting Japan passively while actively fighting communism, these people were reduced to a state of helplessness and could not but suffer serious blows.

Generally speaking, armed struggle was the main form of struggle in the Chinese democratic revolution and all other forms of struggle were meant to serve the armed struggle. But this does not exclude cases where peaceful political struggle became the main form of struggle in a certain field and in a certain period. After the September 18 Incident of 1931 (see *Peking Review*,

* Mao Tse-tung, *Problems of War and Strategy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 13.

Wang Ching-wei Head of the pro-Japanese faction in the Kuomintang. He had stood consistently for compromise with the Japanese imperialists ever since their invasion of northeast China in 1931. In December 1933 he left Chungking, the Kuomintang's wartime capital, openly went over to the Japanese invaders, and set up a puppet government in Nanking.

Ho Ying-chin A Kuomintang warlord and another leader of the pro-Japanese faction in that party. During the Sian Incident he actively plotted civil war by mobilizing the Kuomintang troops for an attack on Shensi along the Lunghai Railway. Intending to take over Chiang Kai-shek's position, he even planned to kill Chiang by bombing Sian.

The July Seventh Incident Also known as the Lukouchiao Incident. On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked the Chinese troops stationed at Lukouchiao, about ten kilometres southwest of Peking. The Chinese troops resisted the Japanese and thus began the heroic eight years' War of Resistance of the Chinese people.

"Armed Friction" "Friction" was a term in current use at that time, referring to the activities which the Kuomintang reactionaries directed against the Communist Party and the progressive forces with a view to disrupting the National Anti-Japanese United Front. During the War of Resistance,

Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang launched three large-scale anti-communist campaigns.

The first campaign took place between December 1939 and March 1940, when the Kuomintang diehards launched a series of political and military attacks on the Communist Party and the Liberated Areas.

The second such campaign was launched in the winter of 1940; it culminated in the notorious "Southern Anhwei Incident" of January 1941. In October 1940, the Kuomintang diehards, in an attempt to clear the way for capitulation to the Japanese invaders and to prepare a surprise attack on the people's forces, ordered all units of the Communist Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army operating south of the Yellow River to move to the north of the river within one month. Countering this, the Chinese Communist Party exposed the Kuomintang diehards' treacherous scheme. But to avoid a split in the united front and to uphold the War of Resistance, the Party agreed to shift some units of the New Fourth Army north of the Yangtse River. As the headquarters of this army with a contingent of about 10,000 men moved northward on January 4, 1941, they were ambushed by 80,000 Kuomintang troops. After seven days and nights of heroic fighting, all but 1,000, who broke out of the encirclement, were killed, wounded or cap-

tured. Comrade Yeh Ting, the Commander of the New Fourth Army, was captured. Comrade Hsiang Ying, the Deputy-Commander, was killed. Right after this, the Kuomintang diehards announced the cancellation of the designation of the New Fourth Army and publicly issued orders for its remaining units to be attacked. Our Party fought resolutely against this treacherous move. The headquarters of the New Fourth Army was soon re-established with Comrade Chen Yi as Acting Commander, Comrade Chang Yun-yi as Deputy-Commander and Comrade Liu Shao-chi as Political Commissar. Its 90,000 troops were reorganized into seven divisions to fight against the Japanese invaders in Central and East China.

In 1943, the Kuomintang diehards staged a third anti-communist campaign. In June of that year, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the Kuomintang troops under Hu Tsung-nan and others to move towards the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. They began shelling the region on July 7 and planned to advance and capture Yen-an. But this move too was frustrated and stopped by our Party, which exposed the reactionaries' scheme and prepared for a counter-attack. Thus, because our Party and army were fully prepared and had a resolute policy for dealing with such eventualities, all three anti-communist campaigns launched by the Kuomintang diehards were beaten back.

No. 8), and especially after the North China Incident of 1935 (see p. 10), the contradiction between China and Japan became the principal contradiction and the nation's movement against Japan and for national salvation surged high. Our Party then proposed to put a stop to the civil war and wage a joint struggle against Japan; it organized various kinds of united front activities and on its own initiative worked for a cessation of the civil war and a peace agreement with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Under the influence of the popular anti-Japanese movement and our Party's advocacy of resistance to Japan, the Northeastern and Northwestern Armies of the Kuomintang, who wanted to resist Japan, staged the December 1936 Sian Incident under the leadership of Generals Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng (see p. 10); they took Chiang Kai-shek and certain high Kuomintang officials in Sian into custody, and demanded a cessation of civil strife and resistance to Japan. The Sian Incident at that time was called "armed remonstrance." It was a righteous move. Japanese imperialism and the pro-Japanese faction in China headed by Wang Ching-wei and Ho Ying-chin (see above) schemed to take advantage of this incident to organize a pro-Japanese government in Nan-

king, start a punitive expedition against Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng and extend the civil war, so as to facilitate the realization of Japan's plot to annex China. In view of these circumstances, our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung sympathized with and supported the patriotic move of the Northeastern and Northwestern Armies but at the same time insisted on a peaceful settlement of the incident so as to crush the pro-Japanese faction's conspiracy to extend the civil war. The Party's policy was accepted by Chang Hsueh-liang, Yang Hu-cheng and other patriotic generals and personages and the Sian Incident was finally settled in a peaceful way; Chiang Kai-shek was forced to give up his policy of civil war and accept the demands of the people. In this way, the Sian Incident and its peaceful settlement became the fulcrum for the switch from civil war to resistance against Japan. This was a great victory for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking regarding the united front at a decisive moment in history. It was followed by the War of Resistance Against Japan beginning with the July Seventh Incident (see above) which opened up a new period, one of triumphant development for the Chinese revolutionary war.

We had to use peaceful political struggle as the main form of struggle in the domestic class struggle throughout the War of Resistance Against Japan in order to wage and keep that national struggle going. Only by being good at waging this kind of political struggle were we able during that war to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces, and so consolidate and develop the National Anti-Japanese United Front, thereby ensuring victory in the war. Armed struggle against "armed friction" (see p. 13) was resorted to only when necessary and care was taken not to carry this too far, otherwise, it would have been detrimental to unity against Japan.

Another instance of waging peaceful political struggle as the main form of struggle was in the period after Japan's surrender and before the outbreak of the all-out civil war in July 1946. The entire nation wanted peace and democracy then; furthermore the United States and Chiang Kai-shek had not yet completed their preparations for all-out civil war, so, faced as they were by these strong hopes of the broad masses of the people, they had to put on a mask of peace for the time being in order to deceive the people, prepare for the civil war and isolate our Party. Thus, in this period, the main form of our struggle against the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries was a political struggle for peace and democracy based on the condition that the positions already won by the people should be securely safeguarded. This was a struggle for the support of the people. Whoever was on the side of justice would win the support of the people and the war, and vice versa. The outcome of this struggle was that we won the war and the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries lost. As a matter of fact the victory gained in this political struggle politically and mentally prepared the broad masses of the people throughout the country, and particularly those in Kuomintang-controlled areas, for the War of Liberation which followed. During

that war, the development and upsurge of the people's revolutionary movement in the areas under Kuomintang rule was due mainly to the victorious progress of the war, but at the same time it was also inseparable from this mental, political preparation.

To sum up, in order to gain and consolidate its leadership and carry the revolution to victory, the political party of the working class must be ready to engage in two forms of struggle — peaceful political struggle and armed struggle — it must be well versed in these two forms of struggle so that it can determine which should be the main form of struggle conforming to the existing situation, and co-ordinate other forms of struggle with this main form of struggle; and it must also be good at switching from one form of struggle to another in accordance with changes in the situation. In the course of prolonged and tortuous struggles, our Party gained rich experience in both political and armed struggles and became adept at both armed military struggle and peaceful political struggle. This was how it was that the Party won an invincible position and was able to lead the revolution to victory.

Here we have described the experience gained in the necessity to take the enemy lightly strategically while tactically taking him seriously and the experience of the necessity to be well versed in all forms of struggle, particularly in waging armed struggle and non-armed political struggle. There is one other important experience that must be mentioned, namely, the need to be good at making use of contradictions among our enemies, and dividing and splitting them up. The most important point here is that we must be good at distinguishing between the principal and non-principal enemies, making use of their contradictions, and concentrating our forces to fight against the principal enemy. In the following section we shall deal specifically with this question.

(To be continued.)

Kennedy's Report

U.S. Economy's Slippery Path

by TU PIEN

“ONE way lies inflation, and the other way lies recession”; only a “narrow middle course” lies between the two. This, as John F. Kennedy himself put it in his recent economic report to the U.S. Congress, is the present picture of economy of the United States, the foremost capitalist country in the world.

But, in order to gloss over that picture, Kennedy said much more in the same report. Reviewing the past year under his administration, he boasted of an economic “recovery” and promised “sustained prosperity” in the future. He set forth three grandiose aims: “acceleration of economic growth,” “achievement of full employment” and “restoration of [the U.S.’ international] balance of payments equilibrium.” To attain these aims, he pro-

posed three measures: spending more on armaments, squeezing the American people harder, and more vigorous economic expansion abroad.

It is worth recalling that only a year ago, when Kennedy stepped into the White House, he loudly lamented:

“The present state of our economy is disturbing. We take office in the wake of 7 months of recession, 3½ years of slack, 7 years of diminished economic growth, and 9 years of falling farm income. . . . In short, the American economy is in trouble.”

But now the U.S. President has suddenly brightened up and, waxing eloquent, is talking about “recovery” and “sustained prosperity.” Has his administration turned

the tide of the U.S. economy? Has anything happened that really warrants such optimism? Let's examine some of the salient facts.

"Gold Rain" and "Missile Boom"

True, U.S. industrial production registered an "upturn" in 1961. It began in March. From April to July, the national industrial production index rose by a monthly average of two points, taking the figure for 1957 as 100.

The cause of this upward turn was heavier government spending on arms drive and war preparations. In his economic report, Kennedy himself stressed that the U.S. Federal budget "played its proper role as a powerful instrument for promoting economic recovery." And it is common knowledge that the lion's share of that budget went for military spending. *U.S. News and World Report*, mouthpiece of U.S. Big Business, was more outspoken. It declared gleefully last October:

"Arms orders, in recent months, have been stepped up to the highest rate since the Korean War. Now those orders are beginning to be translated into actual production. . . . Businesses, large and small, are getting a lift."

Thus, in the words of the U.S. bourgeois press, it was a "gold rain" from the Pentagon that nurtured a "missile boom" in the troubled U.S. economy.

That "boom," however, was short-lived. Its tempo abruptly slowed down from August to the end of the year. During this five-month period, the U.S. national industrial production index rose by a monthly average of only one point, as compared with two points in the previous four months. In September, it even dropped by two points. The net result, at the end of the year was a rise to 115 points (with 1957 as 100). On February 15, the U.S. Federal Reserve Board announced that in January 1962, the index again dipped to 114.1.

It is now abundantly clear that a shot in the arm, in the form of bigger military expenditures, cannot save the sick-to-its-core U.S. capitalist economy. The "upturn" it boasts of has been slow, lop-sided and anaemic, and has not persisted.

The main branches of U.S. industry provide a convincing proof of this. Steel: the steel production index was 88 in 1960 but dropped to 83 in the first ten months of 1961. Machine-building: the index was 102 in 1960 and 99 in the first ten months of last year. Motor cars: 6.67 million were produced in 1960 but only 5.52 million came off the assembly lines in 1961, a reduction of 1.15 million.

A number of industrial branches did register considerable increases. There were the ones most closely connected with war production, among them were electrical machinery, chemicals and aeroplanes. The production in-



Kennedy's Pal Is Hungry

Cartoon by Jack Chen

dices for the former two branches, for instance, soared by 15 and 14 points respectively, as compared with the lowest point before the crisis. This represents a new peak unequalled by any other industry.

But civilian industries, such as household goods, television sets, radio and agricultural machinery, have shared very little in the "lift." Even when there was any "upturn," it was not at all stable. Within the same industrial branch, electronics, for instance, production of those lines connected with armaments, such as remote control systems, went up, while those lines connected with consumers' goods remained in the same old rut.

To augment their competitive strength, many U.S. monopolies further expanded their productive equipment, despite the already serious under-capacity operation of existing facilities. At present, only 76 per cent of U.S. productive capacity is being utilized, a one per cent decrease as compared with 1960. Kennedy himself had this to say in his economic report: "As 1961 ended, actual output was still 25 to 30 billion dollars short of potential."

The Sluggish Imperialist Dinosaur

All this points to one fact: Kennedy's reckless military spending has produced only a feeble "upturn." It is merely the facade behind which capitalist contradictions are being aggravated and a more serious crisis is in the making. This is because artificial stimulation of the economy by arms orders means, in effect, diverting huge financial and material resources to non-productive purposes. The higher the piles of "military hardware," the greater is the squandering of the people's national wealth. In the long run, huge military stockpiles can only undermine the productive forces, retard the expanded reproduction of civilian industries and thus gravely impair the normal growth of industry as a whole. Meanwhile, they inevitably lead to reduction of the people's purchasing power and further contradiction of the domestic market.

For the monopoly moneybags, such stockpiling naturally means tremendous profits. But, for the whole economic life of the country, it is fraught with dire consequences. The attempt to extricate the U.S. economy from its plight by ever greater military spending is, as a Chinese saying has it, like "drinking poison to quench thirst."

At present the United States has already piled up military goods to the value of away over \$100,000 million. Though this stockpiling can temporarily alleviate the crisis of "overproduction," it will never provide the U.S. capitalist economy with a way out of its recurrent crises.

Kennedy in his economic report boasted of attaining an annual 4.5 per cent growth of U.S. production in the 1960s. His hopes for this are pinned on a more feverish arms drive and war preparations.

But the stark reality is far from Kennedy's smug calculations. During the past 70 years, the average annual rate of U.S. economic growth has been only 3.5 per cent. The tempo has slowed down remarkably and become extremely unsteady during the postwar years. During 1955-61, the average annual rate of U.S. industrial growth was only 2.5 per cent and, for agriculture, only 2.4 per cent. What elixir can Kennedy find to enable the decaying U.S. capitalist economy to regain its long spent youthful vitality?

As the progressive American economist, Victor Perlo, wrote in the *People's World* of last August:

"For the longer pull, under Kennedy as under Eisenhower, the revival based on military injections will be of limited duration, to be followed by a fresh recession or crisis. Meanwhile, each layer of arms loaded on the American imperialist dinosaur makes it more sluggish, slows its economic growth rate, and increases the burden of taxation and unemployment on the masses."

"Warfare State" and the Jobless

The second aim Kennedy set forth is "full employment."

When he came to power, Kennedy promised the American people to reduce unemployment to 4 per cent of the total U.S. labour force. That promise remains unfulfilled. Now he glibly talks about "full employment." By what means? Again, an armament step-up.

Last year, the Kennedy Administration increased the number of U.S. armed forces by more than 200,000 men, bringing the total strength of the three services to 2.78 million. In an article entitled "Juggernaut: The Warfare State," the U.S. journalist Fred J. Cook wrote in the *Nation* last October:

"The Defense Department alone employs 3.5 million persons, 947,000 of them civilians. Its annual payroll is \$11 billion, more than twice that of the automobile industry, customarily considered the bellwether of the domestic economy.

"In addition, an estimated four million persons are employed directly in defense industries. This means that a total of some 7.5 million Americans depend for their jobs *directly* [Italics ours.—Ed.] upon the Military—almost precisely one-tenth of the nation's entire labor force.

"In some areas of especially heavy war-plant employment, the percentage is far higher and the dependence upon military spending is almost total."

But, despite this heavy injection of military spending, mass unemployment remains a malignant cancer in the U.S. economic body. The question has become all the more serious during the postwar years. The ranks of the jobless swelled from 2.3 million to 4.9 million during 1947-61. American newspapers quoting official figures said that in the first ten months of last year, the average total of unemployed topped the 5 million mark, the highest peak since the great crisis of the 1930s. In his economic report, Kennedy himself had to admit that unemployment, still remaining at the level of more than six per cent, or about 4 million, "is far too high." "Involuntary unemployment," he added, "is the most dramatic sign and disheartening consequence of under-utilization of productive capacity." Seven and a half million people, according to a January issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, are living on relief in the U.S.A., the much-vaunted "richest country in the world."

Arms spending, furthermore, is steadily impoverishing the American people in general. Last year, every citizen paid an average of \$366 for Washington's military splurge. And the figure is rising. For an American worker, taxes take away 30 per cent of his income. And the proportion is increasing. Meanwhile, such huge expenditures have led to inflation. This further weighs down on the American working people, reducing their purchasing power and lowering their living standards.

Facts have proved that Kennedy's recourse to a "warfare state" cannot lift the American people from the abyss of mass unemployment. On the contrary, it only helps monopoly capital to squeeze them harder for superprofits. But, while bleeding the American people white, U.S. monopoly capital is at the same time cutting the ground from under its own feet—"killing the hen to get at all its eggs" as the Chinese saying goes.

Spending Beyond Means

The third aim set forth by Kennedy is "restoration of the payments equilibrium."

During his first year in office, Kennedy left no stone unturned in his effort to improve the position of U.S. international payments. But that trouble, and the twin evil of outflow of U.S. gold, remains as grave as ever.

Assuming the role of an "international gendarme," Washington has sent over one million of its troops to foreign countries; it has spread over 250 major military bases in the greater part of the world. The maintenance of these troops alone costs Washington \$3,000 million a year. Meanwhile, dollar diplomacy and neo-colonialism require increasing sums for military and economic "aid" to foreign countries. The export of private capital from the United States—a form of economic expansion abroad—is also on the increase. In short, Uncle Sam is spending abroad beyond his means. Hence the deepening crisis of adverse balances in his international payments.

Over the past three years the deficits in these payments amounted to \$10,000 million. The resultant outflow of U.S. gold totalled nearly \$6,000 million in the four

years up to 1961. The end of 1961 saw the U.S. gold reserve dropping to the all-time low of \$16,890 million.

In his economic report, Kennedy trumpeted his successes in narrowing the gap between Washington's earnings and expenditures abroad, and in reducing the outflow of U.S. gold last year. But whatever slight improvements he has made in this connection are only superficial and transient.

In the past year, Washington has pressured West Germany, the Netherlands and a number of other countries to pay back the debts and the accruing interest they owe the United States. It has got West Germany to buy more U.S. arms. It has foisted parts of its foreign "aid" expenses on some West European countries. It has managed to get a short-term credit from Switzerland. These and other factors contributed to the slight improvements in the U.S. payments position. But it is clear that the basic question of Uncle Sam spending abroad beyond his means remains unresolved.

Knowing full well that the payments question is still there, as menacing as ever, Kennedy has emphatically asked the U.S. Congress to enact a "Trade Expansion Act." The main purpose of this move is to lower or remove altogether the tariff walls erected by other capitalist countries, those of Western Europe in particular, so that the United States can sell more abroad. A more favourable balance of foreign trade, Kennedy hopes, will offset the U.S. payments deficits and provide Uncle Sam with the financial means he needs for his aggressive moves abroad. (For a detailed analysis of Kennedy's trade policy switch, see *Peking Review*, No. 7.) However, the cutthroat competition on the ever shrinking capitalist world market will render it exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible, to translate Kennedy's fond dream into reality.

Sham "Boom," Real Bust

For all his deliberately buoyant utterances in his economic report, Kennedy could not completely hide his fears. He had to admit that the postwar U.S. economy was "marked by four recessions." Looking back, he said, "the economy has spent a total of seven years regaining previous peaks of industrial production. . . . Recurrent recessions have thrown postwar American economy off stride." Periscoping the future, he warned (in his budget message to the U.S. Congress) that: "Periodic fluctuations in the economy cannot be completely avoided."

The general crisis of capitalism is deepening. The contradictions inherent in the imperialist system are becoming sharper than ever. What then are the prospects of the U.S. economy? Anyone who cares to delve beneath superficial and transient phenomena and get at the essence of things will find, among other signs, that U.S. domestic and foreign markets are contracting, its existing productive capacity cannot be fully utilized, mass unemployment remains a chronic disease, its international payments deficits are still huge, and likely to grow and the position of the dollar is shaky. In short, new and more devastating crises are being fomented.

The sham "boom" in the U.S. economy brought about by military injections will inevitably be followed by real busts. The "narrow middle course" Kennedy is steering is a slippery path indeed.

March 2, 1962

Pen Probes

Straight From the Murderers' Mouth

WHEN Patrice Lumumba, the national hero of the Congo, was murdered, the circumstantial evidence pointed overwhelmingly to U.S. imperialism as the main culprit. Washington naturally has repeatedly protested its innocence, but now, a year after the crime, the murderers themselves admit their direct complicity.

In a recently published book called *C.I.A. — The Inside Story*, the author Andrew Tully, a Scripps-Howard writer, describes in detail the conspiracy that sent Lumumba to his death.

"President" Kasavubu of the Congo "sat at the C.I.A. man's feet," Tully reports. He was following the C.I.A.'s advice when he issued his proclamation "deposing" Premier Lumumba. A puppet named Ileo was then set up as "Premier." But the indolent Kasavubu and the inexperienced Ileo were no match for Lumumba. So Mobutu, another C.I.A. man, who had served foreign masters for years as a part-time correspondent for the French press and later as a Belgian army sergeant, took over as a military dictator and Lumumba was sent to the killers in Katanga. Mobutu was the C.I.A.'s "right man at the right time," says Tully.

In revealing this plot, the author is not out to expose, let alone condemn the U.S. He is trying to advertise the C.I.A.'s powers and is quite satisfied with the job it did. He writes: "Brutal as it was, however, there is no denying that Lumumba's death cleared the air. . . ."

Tully isn't writing on tenuous evidence either. He acknowledges "a considerable debt of gratitude to a number of high government officials," among whom, he lists Allen Dulles, then C.I.A. Director, Roger Hillman, Director of Intelligence and Research for the State Department, Assistant Secretary of State Roger Tubby, Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, and McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to President Kennedy for National Security Affairs.

For good measure the author also brags about the C.I.A.'s role in subversion and murder in Hungary, Iran and Guatemala and in the Giron Beach invasion in Cuba.

In Hungary, he says, "it is also a virtual certainty that the C.I.A. managed to smuggle arms to the rebels and generally give them assistance before the uprising."

In Iran, he boasts, the overthrow of the nationalist Mossadegh government "was an American operation from beginning to end. . . . Certain Iranians started to get rich (just before the revolt) and the word later was that Schwartzkopf (a C.I.A. agent) supervised the careful spending of more than ten million of C.I.A. dollars."

In Guatemala, which *The New York Times* writer C.L. Sulzberger described in a recent article as the country "where the C.I.A. won," the author says outright that the Arbenz government was overthrown by the C.I.A. with American weapons.

About the Cuban invasion fiasco . . . but why read Tully? Kennedy himself has acknowledged that crime.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Soviet Army Day

The Chinese people warmly greeted the 44th anniversary of the Soviet Army Day (February 23). Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, in a message to the Soviet Minister of Defence Marshal R.Y. Malinovsky, extending heartfelt greetings, hailed the glorious history of the Soviet army — the army which had smashed imperialist intervention and defeated the fascist bandits. He congratulated it on its brilliant successes in increasing its fighting power. "This heroic army," said the message, "today reliably guarantees the defence of the Soviet people's gigantic work of building communism." The message pledged that the Chinese People's Liberation Army will always stand united with the fraternal Soviet army and the armies of other socialist countries, and struggle steadfastly against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace.

Anniversary parties were held in many units of the Chinese P.L.A. In Peking, films depicting the glorious history of the Soviet army were shown at the headquarters of the Chinese P.L.A. In the past few days, P.L.A. units stationed in Shenyang, Lushun-Talien, Canton, Wuhan and other places also put on film shows to mark the occasion. *Renmin Ribao* ran photographs of the Soviet armed forces. Under the headline "Celebrating the 44th Anniversary of the Founding of the Soviet Army," *Jie Fang Jun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily), on February 23, carried a special column of articles and photographs showing the life of Soviet armymen, and poems praising Soviet combat heroes.

A reception in Peking on February 23, attended by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and many high-ranking officers of the Chinese P.L.A. was given by Lieutenant-General N.A. Vassiliev, Military Attache of the Soviet Embassy. Senior General Hsu Kuang-ta, Chinese Vice-Minister of National Defence, and

Lieutenant-General Vassiliev speaking at the reception both stressed the unbreakable friendship between the peoples and the armed forces of China and the Soviet Union.

Analysing the current international situation, Senior General Hsu Kuang-ta said that confronted by the ever growing strength of the world's people, U.S. imperialist intrigues and tricks are going bankrupt one after another. In this situation, U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries are putting their hopes ever more on sowing discord, and on undermining the unity of China and the Soviet Union, the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement, and the unity of the people throughout the world. But we can say with certainty that their wishful thinking will come to nothing, said Senior General Hsu Kuang-ta. The struggle of the world's people for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism will certainly win ever greater victories.

"The Chinese people and Chinese People's Liberation Army," he said, "under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung — the great leader of the Chinese people — have always been loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They have consistently adhered to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and have resolutely striven to safeguard and strengthen the unity and friendship between the people and armies of China and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp."

"We are convinced," he continued, "that the long-tested unity between us, which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, can never be destroyed by any force. In the years to come, no matter what storms may arise in the world, and no matter what frantic, trouble making efforts the imperialists undertake, the Chinese people and the Chinese P.L.A. will always stand in unity with the great Soviet people and army. We will learn from each other, support each other and strive for the common cause for lasting world peace and human progress."

Sino-Mongolian Co-operation

Trade delegations from China and Mongolia on February 25 in Peking

signed a protocol on the mutual supply of goods for 1962.

Under the protocol, China will provide Mongolia with silk fabrics, coal, cement, raw materials for the chemical industry, machinery, machine parts and accessories, daily necessities and other goods. Mongolia will supply to China horses, beef and mutton, casings, hides, flour, woollen goods and other commodities.

At a banquet given by Yeh Chichuang, head of the Chinese government delegation and Minister of Foreign Trade, to celebrate the event and to honour the Mongolian government trade delegation, led by D. Gombozhav, Minister of Foreign Trade, both sides greeted the growth of friendship and economic and trade relations between China and Mongolia. The signing of the protocol, they said, will play a positive role in the development of their economies and in the building of socialism in both countries.

On the previous day, Premier Chou En-lai received and had a cordial talk with the Mongolian delegation.

Japan to Publish Chinese Literary Works

A 20-volume edition of selections from modern Chinese literature is being prepared in Japan. The selection now being compiled and translated by the Common Publishing House in Tokyo includes essays, novels, poems and other writings by noted Chinese authors from the time immediately preceding the May Fourth Movement of 1919 up to the present.

Chinese Books at Accra Book Fair

An international book fair at which Chinese books are displayed opened at the Exhibition Hall of Accra's Central Library, on February 23. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV, and others of his works such as *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers* and *Important Talks With Guests From Asia, Africa and Latin America* are included; as are *The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China* by Liu Shao-chi, and the literary works of Lu Hsun, Mao Tun and other Chinese authors.

Also displayed at the fair are books from Ghana, the German Democratic Republic, Britain, the United States, India and other countries.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

End U.S. Armed Intervention In South Viet Nam

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on February 24 on U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam. (See text of the statement on p. 6.) The Chinese people, declares the *Renmin Ribao* editorial (February 25), fully support the just stand and righteous demand of their government.

U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam, says the editorial, has brought the situation in that area to a dangerous point. U.S. troops are directly participating in the war in south Viet Nam, but Kennedy, to hide the truth from the American people and world public opinion, describes them as being there to engage in training and transportation activities. U.S. Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, however, admitted in Saigon on February 18 that the U.S. was "involved" in the war there, and U.S. Chief of Naval Operations George Anderson admitted that, "No doubt, many American lives will be lost in Viet Nam before there is a solution to the crisis there."

Intensified U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam, the editorial continues, shows clearly that the Kennedy Administration is more adventurous than its predecessor. In waging this "undeclared war," it aims to suppress not only the south Vietnamese people but other peoples fighting for independence and against colonialism.

Kennedy, before and after assuming office, has had much to say about expanding the "frontiers" of the U.S. to all the other continents. By the use of the U.S. military, political and economic strength, he strives to control and suppress the anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world and expand its aggression abroad. In addition to nuclear and limited wars, he has put forward the military strategy of waging a third kind of war, in a vain attempt to use "guerrilla warfare" to stamp out the armed revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples.

But U.S. imperialism can never achieve its aim of suppressing the

patriotic, just struggle of the south Vietnamese people by using its counter-revolutionary "guerrilla warfare," the editorial declares. The south Vietnamese people are waging an absolutely just struggle against the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's reactionary rule and brutal slaughter and for their very survival. The people's armed forces in south Viet Nam are invincible because they have the support of the broad masses, concludes the editorial.

What's Behind Japan-South Korea Talks

Washington's speed-up of the current Japan-south Korea talks is a move in its new aggressive deployment in Asia. What lies behind these talks is exposed by Commentator in *Renmin Ribao* on February 26.

In the attempt to consolidate its colonial domination in south Korea, says Commentator, the U.S. has reinforced its military occupation and control in south Korea and given increasing support to the puppet regime of the fascist military dictator, Pak Jung Heui. On top of this, it is trying to bring the Japanese militarist forces it has fostered into south Korea. It hopes, with the help of Japanese monopoly capital, to save the shaky south Korean puppet regime from collapse. This is the purpose behind

the U.S.-plotted Japan-south Korea talks.

The U.S. is also trying hard to get the Japanese militarists and its south Korean puppet regime to collaborate with each other, so as to bring about as early as possible an aggressive Northeast Asia military alliance, thus tying Japan more tightly to the U.S. war chariot and making it a more complete tool of U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

The acceleration of the Japan-south Korea talks, Commentator points out, has exposed the aggressive ambitions of the Japanese militarists in south Korea. Since the reopening of the talks last year, both Japanese militarists and monopoly capitalists have already stepped up their penetration into south Korea. Once again the Japanese militarists are taking the old road for "conquering Korea" mapped out during the time of Ito.

These manoeuvres of the United States, and the Japanese militarists it has fostered, pose a threat not only to the peoples of Korea and Japan but to peace in the Far East and Asia. The Chinese people, concludes Commentator, fully support the firm determination of the 30 million Korean people as expressed in the statement of the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front of Korea, and the struggle against the Japan-south Korea talks, which is being waged by the broad masses of the Japanese people.

THE PASSING SHOW

Scientific America

In Los Angeles, radio station K.N.X. scheduled a 55-min. programme on the earth's astrological peril this year when seven "planets" converged on the same small part of the sky and all sorts of calamities from floods, earthquakes to wars were predicted by U.S. astrologers. Said radio producer Sydney Omarr in charge of the show: "People are taking astrology seriously nowadays. What goes on upstairs has an effect down here."

Full Employment

In the "welfare state" of Mr. Macmillan, children of the seaside town of Skegness are working an 80-hour week. One local schoolmaster took a survey of his 450 pupils and found that over half of them had "spare-time" jobs. One child with three such jobs was working a 90-hour week. They were working "at cut-rate prices" and are "depriving" young workers of jobs, said the secretary of the Skegness Trades Council.



"I'm in a bit of a hurry:
I'll be on the air in half an hour!"

SIDELIGHTS

Chief Train Stewardess. Lo Chin-ming is a cheerful, 27-year-old chief stewardess of one of the Peking-Canton expresses. She began working on the train eight years ago as a raw beginner who talked and moved rather awkwardly but was quite plainly going to make a success of her job. To gain ease of manner, she often went into an empty carriage and practised her speeches and actions. That was in 1954, but even in that first year she received 250 thank-you letters from passengers and a glowing recommendation from the Ministry of Railways. The following year, before her twenty-first birthday she, along with other outstanding activists elected from all over China, had the honour of meeting Chairman Mao.

Lo Chin-ming has come a long way in eight years; travelled millions of kilometres and made numerous friends. Today she is an efficient chief stewardess with bright and polished manners that win the thanks and confidence of all travellers.

Canned Foods. Among the many industries that have come on in a big way in recent years is the canning industry. More, better and greater varieties of canned foods are coming out of the nation's food factories. Nowadays factory kitchens are producing not only simple meat, fish, soup, vegetable and fruit dishes, but some made after receipts from celebrated cuisines.

China's modern canning industry, set up after liberation, makes wide use of the many delicacies available in this country. Freshly caught prawns and tasty crab-meat are favourites among a long list of delicious marine products. Cantonese chicken, pig's trotters, southern carp in tomato sauce, game from the hills, crisp bamboo shoots, tender green peas, fleshy Fukien loquats in syrup, Shantung apples, Szechuan mandarin slices, Kwangtung pineapples and other local and seasonal delicacies are some of these enticing contents of tins.

Finding the Flaw. Reports of new time-saving skills and professional

knacks are quickly caught up and published in the press and publicized at demonstrations. An invitation to such a demonstration is not to be missed. Trade skills are often more astounding than stage magic. To watch Ku Cheng-hsiang pick out the cracked or broken bowls from yard-high stacks of straw-wrapped porcelain bowls is like looking at a magician's act.

When a shipment comes in to the Shanghai warehouse where Ku Cheng-hsiang is an inspector, the stacks of bowls are not unpacked for examination for breakages. Instead each package of crockery is tossed into the air and caught by Ku or other experienced inspectors like him. By this action alone they can detect whether a bowl has been damaged during transit. These inspectors can say accurately in 99 cases out of 100 how many and at which end of the stack the broken bowl is. To the initiated this is known as *paopi*. A defective bowl emits a faintly audible sound different from the ring of intact bowls. This is not a skill that is easily acquired but once mastered much time and effort is saved. Ku takes only 40 seconds to size up each stack.

Fun With a Rope. One team game popular with students all over the country today is *bahe* meaning "pull-river" or tug-of-war. Tug-of-war contests which nowadays often climax a picnic or a local sports meet were

known in ancient China as *chienkou* (pulling the hook). The game is said to have originated about 2,500 years ago when one of the many warring kingdoms, the State of Chu, organized matches to keep the troops in fighting trim and give them training in the use of rope and grapnel. This training came in very handy when scaling enemy walls or pulling down defences.

Later it became a peacetime sport affording fun for many at little expense. Formerly, in many districts of present-day Hupeh Province it was once a custom to hold tug-of-war matches on the 15th of the first lunar month near the end of the Spring Festival. Emperor Hsuan Tsung of the Tang Dynasty (713-756 A.D.) was an ardent champion and for a time the sport was the rage of the empire. Huge matches were held. Thousands took part with spectators cheering and barracking like today's football fans.

New Soles. Light and practical the heelless cloth shoes widely worn in this country are as comfortable as slippers and cost only a quarter the price of leather ones. Their many-layered cloth sole closely stitched with tough hemp cord wears well. They quickly mould themselves snugly to the wearer's feet, giving support and protection without constricting. Their unchallenged popularity has not been overlooked in this era of technical innovations.

The cloth sole is now giving way to a lighter and more flexible sole of plastic which has the added advantage of not becoming sodden in wet weather. These new plastic-sole shoes are very popular and the makers are as happy as the wearers. However, the company putting out these shoes hopes to improve their product. Believing that two heads are better than one, they wrote a letter to the *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily). This was published free as it is an appeal that will benefit the public.

The letter ends like this: "Our shoes are a new product. You may find faults in them that escaped our notice. Please send us your criticisms or suggestions for improvement. If the sole gives out in normal wear before the rest of the shoe, return it to us with your comments. We will gladly replace it with a new pair. . . ."



By Chi Pai-shih

CINEMA

Chinese Films of 1961

There were several significant new developments in Chinese film art in 1961.

The *Red Detachment of Women* and *Keep the Red Flag Flying* are leading the field of features in a poll to choose the best films of 1961 which *Dazhong Dianying* (Popular Cinema) is currently conducting. They seem certain to hold their place to the end. Set in subtropical Hainan Island, the *Red Detachment of Women* (see *Peking Review*, No. 30, 1961) is a dramatic and exciting narrative of the birth and growth of the first women's contingent of the Chinese Red Army. *Keep the Red Flag Flying*, adapted from Liang Pin's well-known novel, is directed by China's veteran screen actor-director Tsui Wei who also took the leading part. It has been highly commended for its vivid portrayal of the north China peasants' revolutionary movement in the nineteenth and thirties. Also dealing with the democratic revolution of the Chinese people and also high up on the poll is *The Red Guards of Lake Hunghu*, adapted from the opera of the same name produced by the Wuhan Experimental Opera Theatre. The film version has swiftly made some of the songs in the opera widely popular. Across the country, you can hear people humming *The Waters of Lake Hunghu* much as at one time they used to sing the songs of *The White-Haired Girl*.

New Films

Completed last year and soon to be released is the Shanghai production *A Withered Tree Revived* and the Peking production *People From the Northern Wasteland*, both treating current subjects of socialist construction and adapted from stage plays which are still running. Audience reactions after previews of these two films make it certain that they will enjoy a wide success. *A Withered Tree Revived* describes the successful struggle of the people against the disease, schistosomiasis, which plagued them in a vast area south of the Yangtse River, but it is also a dramatic struggle of social outlooks—the clash between advanced and conservative ideas and personalities. *People From*

the Northern Wasteland is a story of the pioneering spirit, the confidence and boundless optimism of people inspired by revolutionary socialist ideals in face of bitter difficulties imposed by Nature.

Life among China's minority peoples is always an important theme on the Chinese screen. Three of the most popular of last year's pictures were set among the minorities of the southwest: the colour features *Daughter of the Tai People* and *Menglungsha*, both about the Tais in multi-national Yunnan Province, and *Tachi and Her Fathers*. There is an interesting discussion going on at present about this latter picture, pros and cons concerning evaluation of it as a version of the short story by Kao Ying from which it is adapted.

Two recent films can be said to fall into the category of the thriller, a genre more or less new to Chinese film-making: *Tracks in the Snowy Forest* adapted from a best-selling novel about P.L.A. operations against Kuomintang bandits, and *Depot No. 51*, a battle of wits between the revolutionary underground, and the puppet traitors and Japanese during the War of Resistance Against Japan. Both have been very well received.

Last year work began on China's first widescreen stereoscopic feature, *The Wondrous Travels of a Magician*. It is expected to be completed soon.

The popularity of the best current operas, dance-dramas and stage plays is such that no matter how long they run, the millions who want to, don't get a chance to see them. In 1961, the film industry did an excellent job of filling the gap by producing film versions of many stage pieces everyone would like to see. Notable among these are *The Magic Aster*, a delightful fairytale fantasy produced specially for children but equally enjoyed by grown-ups; *Third Sister Liu* based on the local opera of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region in China's southwest which was one of the theatrical hits of 1960; the *Small Daggers Society*, a dance-drama based on the people's uprising in Shanghai during 1853-55; the Kwangtung opera *Kuan Han-ching* starring the outstanding actor Ma Shih-tseng and the leading actress Hung Hsien Nu (*The Red Thread Girl*); the *shaoju* opera *Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Ghost*, and

Mid-Summer Snow, a *puju* opera, a local style of opera from Shansi Province. This list is far from complete but it gives some idea of the considerable variety of film produced last year. In this field of presenting theatre arts on the screen, mention must also be made of a film which had already attracted widespread attention although it has not yet been publicly released. This is *The Stage Art of Chou Hsin-fang* presenting the great Peking opera actor Chou Hsin-fang in two of his most popular operatic roles. Chou Hsin-fang celebrated the 60th anniversary of his stage career just a few months ago. This film gives audiences a unique opportunity to enjoy and study his superb acting and classic perfection of operatic production.

Among the documentaries which were particularly welcomed last year were *A Decisive Struggle Between Two Destinies*, a cinematic summary of the Chinese revolutionary struggle during the last forty years, and one on the changes on the Yellow River, completed after four years of documentary camera work on the construction site of the great Sanmen Gorge Reservoir on the Yellow River.

First Full-Length Cartoon

Most noteworthy of the cartoon films are *Uproar in Heaven*, China's first full-length animated cartoon feature, and *Its True Face Exposed*, a biting political satire on U.S. imperialism based on ideas and designs created by Hua Chun-wu and Fang Cheng, two of China's leading political cartoonists. The popular science film *Toads Without a Grandfather on the Mother's Side* and *Soil* showed both recent achievements by our scientists and the great strides made by our film workers in this type of film.

Summarizing some of the other outstanding features of 1961, Yuan Wenshu, First Secretary of the Union of Chinese Cinema Workers, in a recent article noted the fine role played by the veterans in the achievements of last year and the emergence of new talents. Chu Hsi-chuan, who played the leading part in *Red Detachment of Women*, was, for example, only a third year student at the Shanghai Institute of Drama when that film was produced. China didn't produce so many feature films in 1961 as in the year before, he added, but there was an upward trend in general average quality.

Chinese films played a noteworthy part too in cultural exchanges between China and other countries last year. Those that were shown in Japan, Africa and Latin America were very warmly received.

On the practical, theoretical side one of the major occasions last year was the national conference which summed up the experiences gained in making feature films since the big leap forward. The conference made a further study of the Chinese Communist Party's policy on art and literature and discussed other questions of key importance to the further growth of cinema in China. It led to several shifts and adjustments in the film world and industry.

THEATRE

Yunnan Opera Festival

A unique opera festival recently put China's southwestern province of Yunnan very much in the theatrical news. This was a 10-day series of performances of local operas presented by four different minority nationalities of the province. The festival, the first of its kind to be held in this multi-national province, took place in mid-January in the provincial capital of Kunming. The four operatic troupes which took part were from the Tai, Chuang, Pai and Yi peoples. Each presented works with a most distinctive national flavour.

The Tais, Chuangs and Pairs have an opera history going back more than a hundred years. The Yis in this part of the country are well known for

their ancient traditions of singing, dancing and playing on the *lusheng* (a woodwind instrument consisting of a clustered series of pipes of different lengths) and other instruments, but they only developed their own operatic style after the liberation. Old or new, however, all these operatic styles have the closest links with their people's national literary and artistic traditions, and are immensely popular.

A widely acclaimed festival item was the *Tai Oping and Sanglo*, adapted from a long narrative Tai poem which has been passed down for centuries from generation to generation. It tells of the tragic love of the girl Oping and Sanglo, whose marriage is opposed by Sanglo's feudal-minded mother. This lyrical drama, a bitter indictment of the old Tai feudal system, gave audiences a deep insight into the thoughts and emotions of the Tai people. It is an excellent introduction to typical Tai music and dancing, including movements from the *Peacock Dance* which is one of the best examples of Tai dancing. *The Snail Girl*, presented by the Chuangs, also draws its theme from an old legend. It is a story of frustrated love much like *Oping and Sanglo* but it delivers its blows against the feudal past not with tragedy but by means of devastating ridicule in a sparkingly lively form.

Legend and history had a full part but a noteworthy element in the festival was the wide range of subjects covered by the entries. Several dealt with contemporary life. An outstanding example of these was *The Bleating of Sheep at Midnight*, a new opera which the Yi operatic troupe has been improving and polishing ever since

the troupe was set up in 1958 on Yunnan's Mount Tanhua 3,600 metres above sea-level. When first staged it was a one-scene dramatic: a rich farmer exploiter caught by the masses in an act of sabotage—slaughtering sheep at midnight. Bit by bit, the troupe has expanded and deepened its content so that today it has grown to four scenes whose action revolves around the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads during the movement for co-operative farming. In its present form, two characters stand out in sharp relief: the Yi youth Lo Pu, a member of the Chinese Communist Party, and the rich peasant, Lo's political antagonist. In addition, the opera has absorbed popular melodies of Yis living elsewhere than on Mount Tanhua, and evolved a whole range of conventionalized movements which give this new-born Yi opera an individual style of its own.

The general artistic level of the four groups was conceded to be quite high for troupes which only a short while ago were amateur organizations. Each of them now has its own talented librettists, actors and actresses. Yang Sheng, who is an outstanding writer and actor of the Yi troupe and a founder of the Yi operatic style, is a one-time book-keeper of an agricultural co-operative on Mount Tanhua. During the last three years, he has written more than a dozen operas including *The Bleating of Sheep at Midnight*. The young Tai actress Lang Chun-mei who takes the part of Oping in *Oping and Sanglo* has been playing in local opera for less than two years. Her performances at the recent festival, however, showed her to be a talented singer as well as a brilliant actress. In the first part of this



Song of the Minorities

By Han Mei-tin

opera, which has a great deal of comedy in it, she creates a picture of a lovely Tai maiden, tender in her love; in the latter part, deeply tragic, she moves her audience to tears. Chang Hsiao-mei, who plays the title role in *The Snail Girl*, and Yang Hsueh-ying, who takes the leading role in the Pai opera *Kou Yi*, are 17-year-olds. They too do not have much stage experience, but they won exceptionally warm applause from the festival audiences.

The festival led to many forums concerning the development of the theatre arts of China's various national minorities. There was also considerable discussion concerning the common and specific characteristics of the different national operatic styles, the question of how to draw on the cultural heritage of the minority peoples and how to introduce innovations and incorporate them in the national tradition.

Visitors came to Kunming for the festival from every part of Yunnan.

Teachers and students of the local Yunnan Institute of Nationalities were naturally there in force. Their general comment was: "We know our local operas of old. What we saw this time are still our own operas, but they definitely have a new look."

SHORT NOTES

Shanghai's New Local Opera

A new style of opera, developed from folk songs, called "mountain songs" south of the Yangtze, has aroused the keen interest of the theatre world since it was first seen during the rural amateur theatrical festival held during the Chinese lunar New Year on the outskirts of Shanghai. The two pieces presented at the festival in this new style with great simplicity and exceptional charm were *Plum Maid and Peach Lad* and *Travelling by Boat*. Both were very warmly received. The former is about a steadfast girl, Plum Maid, who, caught by her brother as she elopes with a young peach vendor, outwits the local imperial officials and

her brother and succeeds in marrying the man of her choice. The latter, with lively good humour, depicts the new moral qualities—selflessness and of always considering the needs of others first—that are being developed among the young generation under the socialist system. Two village girls come to take passage on a boat which is not big enough to accommodate them both and their loads, a pig and two huge baskets of vegetables. Both are in a hurry, yet each wants the other to go first. Finally they think out a clever method that makes room for all.

Tibet Photographic and Fine Arts Exhibition

This Lhasa exhibition which closed in mid-February reflected the changes and the new atmosphere in Tibet during the last ten years, and especially the past three years after the quelling of the reactionary rebellion. The more than 200 exhibits shown were a vivid indication of the strides made in Tibet in photography and the lively developments in other fine arts there.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

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

SHAHSING OPERA

▲ *THE JADE HAIRPIN* The story of how a serious misunderstanding between a young couple caused by a scheming cousin who wants the bride for himself is cleared up. Produced by the visiting Tientsin Shaohsing Opera Troupe.

MODERN OPERA

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

DANCE-DRAMA

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

CONCERTS

The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra presents:

Beethoven: Symphony No. 7 in A Major
Moussorgsky: *A Night on the Bald Mountain*

Saint-Saëns: Cello Concerto in E Minor
Grieg: Selection from the *Peer Gynt* Suite

Soloist: Sheng Ming-yao
Conductor: Chang Kung-fan

"Eugene Onegin" Concert

A performance of arias, duets and choruses from the famous opera *Eugene Onegin*. Sponsored by the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

March 2, 1962

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ *SONG OF RED TASSELS* A new five-act play produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. Railway Corps based on the heroic peasant uprising in Hunan Province in 1927.

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

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

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

FILMS

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

▲ *CHUN HSIANG* A Korean film in colour. The love story of Chun Hsiang, beautiful daughter of a famous courtesan. Because of her origin, her sweetheart's father will not give his consent to her marriage with his son. But love finds a way.

▲ *VOLUNTEERS* A Soviet colour film dedicated to the heroic spirit of Soviet youth in socialist construction.

▲ *OTHELLO* A Soviet ballet based on Shakespeare's great tragedy. In colour.

▲ *ASPALDAS MOJADAS (WETBACKS)* Deceived by American publicity, a group of

Mexican workers steal across the border into the United States. Awakened to the truth by real life, they are glad to return to their motherland. A Mexican feature film.

▲ *THE WATERFALL* A Bolivian film. A story of how a young teacher arouses the people of a town to build a canal to lead water to the mountain area.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ *EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE SWISS CONFEDERATION* Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till March 10. At Wenhua Hall in Palace Museum.

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

▲ *At Artists' Union Gallery:*

**EXHIBITION OF OIL PAINTINGS BY THE LATE SZUTU CHIAO* Daily, 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. till March 4.

(Above exhibitions closed on Mondays)

▲ *At Palace Museum:*

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

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



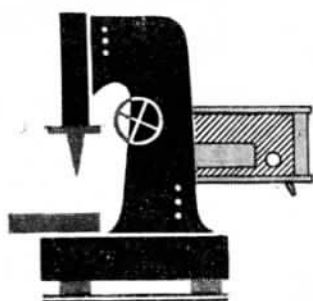
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