

PEKING REVIEW

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Round the Week, Art and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 16, 1962 Vol. V No. 11

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ROUND THE WEEK

Accent on Standardization

China's railways at the time of liberation were using a bewildering assemblage of different types of locomotives, passenger coaches and goods wagons, communications and signalling apparatus and other equipment. There were no uniform national standards for equipment. One of the major tasks of the post-liberation years, therefore, has been to standardize the whole railway system. One recent report shows that through the concerted efforts of railway, industrial and scientific research departments, this has been achieved in the case of more than 200 parts and accessories for locomotives and wagons and for about an equal number of items of communications and signalling equipment. That still leaves quite a bit to be done but the job is being carried out with competence and thoroughness. The technical transformation and standardization of the nation's whole railway transport system is going ahead rapidly.

This work of standardization is necessitated by the many left-overs from the old China which can be traced back to the last years of the 19th century when the imperialist countries had already made deep inroads on China's territory and sovereignty. China under the Ching government was an independent country only in name; in actual fact it was a semi-colony of several imperialist powers who were busily parcelling out its territory and resources, grabbing what rights they could in transport, trade, banking and other spheres. The tottering Ching government sought to save itself with foreign loans and other "aid." Towards the end of the century it secured several railway loans from foreign countries. These had many strings attached to them: they had to be spent on buying construction materials and rolling stock from the creditor country, which also reserved the right to control the railway when built and get special privileges in the territory which the line traversed. So it came about that Japan and tsarist Russia controlled the railways in northeast China; Germany, the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway; Britain,

the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, etc. This resulted in the great diversity of types of locomotives, wagons and other railway equipment which China, a semi-colonial country with practically no industry of its own, was obliged to import.

It can readily be seen what an obstacle this proved to the rapid development of China's railways even after it freed itself from the yoke of the imperialists and reactionaries. The question of wheel-sets on rolling stock well illustrates this. At the time of liberation the national railways were using dozens of types of wheel-sets. Many sizes of wheels, axles and tyres were in use and there were endless difficulties in replacing or repairing them. When repairs had to be done, it was often necessary first to make drawings of the parts needed before they could be manufactured. This consumed much time and held up the turn-around of rolling stock.

Step by step, however, wheels, axles and tyres have all been standardized on a national scale. Newly made wagons are all fitted with standardized wheel-sets and, as they passed through the repair sheds, the wheel-sets of old wagons have been replaced with new, standardized ones too. This and other standardization has already gone far to streamline operations and raise efficiency on the railways. It also makes for greater economy in designing and manufacturing equipment for the expansion of the nation's railway network.

Women's Day Celebrations

International Working Women's Day on March 8 was celebrated from end to end of the country last week. At the many parties, get-togethers and rallies held in honour of the occasion, Chinese women reaffirmed their solidarity with their sisters throughout the world in defence of peace and pledged themselves to do their utmost in the building of socialism in China.

The National Women's Federation of China gave a party in Peking to celebrate the day. President of the



In the Repair Shop Watercolour by Liang Yu-lung

federation Tsai Chang, Vice-Presidents Teng Ying-chao, Li Teh-chuan, Hsu Kuang-ping, Yang Chih-hua and Liu Ching-yang were hosts to women guests from 27 countries and representatives of women from all walks of life in the capital. Among the foreign guests at the party were wives of diplomatic envoys, women experts and wives of experts helping in China's construction, guests now visiting the country and students studying in Peking. Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun attended the party.

Li Teh-chuan, speaking on behalf of the women of China, gave her greetings to all present. She paid tribute to the women of all the socialist countries now engaged in selfless work, to the women of the Asian, African and Latin American countries struggling for or safeguarding their national independence and to women throughout the world actively engaged in defending world peace. She wished them all greater successes in their struggles in the days to come.

Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun, on behalf of the Chinese Government, extended greetings to all present and, through them, to the women of all lands. He toasted friendship and unity among the women of the whole

world; he toasted victory in their common struggle for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and the health and happiness of the women and children of all lands.

On behalf of the women of the diplomatic corps in China, Mrs. Panchevsky, wife of the Bulgarian Ambassador to China, proposed a toast to the happiness of Chinese women and to their successes in working for the prosperity of China.

March 8 was the occasion for many similar get-togethers in Shanghai, Harbin, Canton and many other cities. Enterprises, offices and schools gave the women a holiday. Some went on spring picnics to the parks or suburban hills and gardens. Kindergarten-

ten small fry put on shows for their mothers. Clubs and theatres and cinemas put on special matinees and evening performances.

They Play a Big Role

China's women have much to celebrate. With the liberation of the country, the door has been thrown wide open to a full and happy and fruitful life for them. Working with grit and initiative they are making notable contributions in many fields to the nation's socialist construction.

More than 5,000 women are teaching in Peking's colleges and universities—more than double the number in 1958—and over 120 of them are professors or associate professors. Before liberation only a few women taught in institutes of higher learning, and these were mostly colleges of art or medicine or teachers' universities. Now they go in for the most diverse subjects. A growing number of them are teaching geology, hydraulic engineering, metallurgy, aeronautical engineering, forestry, agronomy and other sciences. In Peking and Tsinghua Universities—two of the oldest in the capital—women teachers comprise one-fourth of the faculty. Greatly expanded, Peking University now has

500 women on its faculty; this exceeds the total number of Peking University's faculty members of both sexes in 1948, the year before liberation.

China's women are also taking an increasingly important part in developing the nation's industries. Anshan, one of China's leading steel centres, had practically no women technicians at all before liberation. Now, in addition to the rank and file, more than 600 women are working as engineers, designers and technicians in its metallurgical, steel rolling, power generating, machine-building, mining and other departments. In Shanghai's textile mills, perhaps the only industry that formerly opened its doors to women workers, there are now 1,000 women working as engineers and technicians. More are being trained. Thousands of specialists staff this city's great engineering plants, high-precision instruments factories, chemical works and, in fact, every branch of industry.

The establishment of the people's communes in the countryside has offered greater opportunities to Chinese women than ever before. They are found today working as directors of communes or team and brigade leaders; many of them have learnt to be tractor drivers, technicians, agronomists, medical workers in the communes' clinics or teachers in the rural schools.

"Prospects for women in China are extremely bright," said Sun Hsiang, associate research worker of the Institute of Physics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. "It is only in a socialist society that women enjoy genuine equality and have equal opportunities with men." In her institute alone, there are today 44 young women research workers. In the Chinese Academy of Sciences as a whole, women account for more than one-fifth of the research workers—a 42 per cent increase since 1957. Among them are many outstanding scientists who are contributing to the advance of the sciences in China. Sun Hsiang herself, working in co-operation with her colleagues, has just published a number of important papers on plasma physics.

Maiden Run

Adding colour to the celebration of Women's Day, China's first double-

decker passenger train left Shenyang on its maiden run on March 7 and arrived in Peking the following morning. In charge of the spick and span train was a crew of 98 conductors—all women—who called themselves the "March 8" crew in honour of their own festive day. Efficient and affable, the young conductresses' average age is 22.

When the train pulled in, the girls were aglow with satisfaction: the train had completed its run on schedule and the passengers voted it was one of the pleasantest journeys they had ever made. Snappily they set about helping passengers off and warmly bade all good-bye. Their work done, they began sprucing themselves up for the March 8 celebrations in the capital.

The double-decker train with its 12 coaches was entirely made in China. Passenger comfort has been given particular consideration. Each coach is equipped with electric heaters, light regulators, telephone booths and other up-to-date facilities. When the train speeds through the night, it is like a brightly lit two-storey building gliding past. Ingenious designing has made the best use of space, and the revolving seats are more commodious and comfortable than those on single-decker expresses. To make a long journey short, the train has a designed maximum speed of 140 kilometres per hour.

The "March 8" crew is already a well-known team which has been cited for its excellent service. In the summer of 1959 when the girls were on duty on the Shenyang-Peking express, a sudden flood caught them and marooned their train on a hillock. They displayed an exemplary discipline in this emergency, and their composure quickly dispelled any worries or alarm the passengers might have had. With prompt help from the nearby commune members, they safely led their passengers out of danger. Their splendid example drew congratulatory messages from all over the country and the episode was later made into a film.

Old Press in New Role

The Commercial Press, one of the oldest publishing houses in China, recently celebrated its 65th anniversary. At a commemorative meeting held in

Peking it received birthday greetings and commendations delivered in person by government officials, prominent scholars and leading members of several other publishing houses. Vice-Minister Hu Yu-chih, on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, brought particularly warm greetings.

Established in 1897, the Commercial Press was founded in answer to the demands of the times. China had suffered a heavy defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. This subjected it to intensified pressure from the imperialist powers demanding special privileges, "spheres of influence" and "leased territories." Exasperated by the grave crisis brought on the nation by the corruptness and weakness of the Ching government, many intellectuals at the time called for reforms. The masses of the people, yearning to save the country, craved for education and knowledge. It was in these circumstances that the Commercial Press came into being.

Since its founding, it has undergone many vicissitudes. It started out as a small printing shop. But in less than 30 years it grew to be the largest publishing house in China, with branch offices all over the country. In introducing foreign art and literature and works of the social and natural sciences to the Chinese public and in editing and republishing the Chinese classics, the Commercial Press had made no small contributions to the intellectual renaissance in China. It played a pioneering role in introducing modern printing methods to the country.

But its heyday before liberation was cut short by the Japanese militarists. On January 28, 1932, when the Japanese attacked Shanghai in an act of vandalism, they razed the printing shops of the Commercial Press and its famous Tungfang (Eastern) Library to the ground. The press never really recovered from this blow. As the all-out invasion of China by the Japanese developed after 1937, this once flourishing enterprise was carried to the verge of bankruptcy; only its small holdings were left to it in Chungking and some other cities. Victory over Japan did not alleviate its condition much; for Chiang Kai-shek soon plunged the nation again into civil war. Business dwindled fast and it was again faced with disaster.

Liberation and the tremendous advance of literacy and education have created a vast new reading public in China. This gave the press a new lease of life. It first undertook the publication of scientific and technical books for use in colleges and universities. Since 1958 it has been given a new role—the translation, editing and publication of major works of philosophy and social sciences from foreign countries. To date it has brought out over 200 titles in this field.

Since the number of these works is so large and they cover such a wide range, the emphasis has now been placed on the translation of major works by outstanding thinkers between the 16th and 19th centuries, particularly works of the German philosophers, the British political economists and French Utopian socialists which are of help in the study of Marxism. Among the works published last year were *Philosophy of Right* in which Hegel presents his theories of the state and law; *Reflections sur la Formation et Distribution des Richesses*, a valuable reference book on the study of classical political economy by the 18th-century French economist Turgot; and *De L'Esprit des Lois* by the French political philosopher Montesquieu. This year the press will bring out Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*, as well as works by Saint-Simon and others.

The Commercial Press is engaged in other important work too. With the help of specialists, it is revising the Chinese dictionary *Tzu Yuan*, first published in 1915 and one of the biggest compendiums of Chinese words, phrases and their usage. The revised edition will give special space to Chinese terms and usage that will help in the study of the Chinese classics. Besides many kinds of dictionaries of the Chinese language, the Commercial Press has prepared and put out dictionaries of over a dozen foreign languages with Chinese explanations, as well as textbooks, grammars and supplementary readers. More of these are in preparation. An essential for Chinese students of foreign languages, they are at the same time a major contribution to cultural exchange between China and other countries.

Phony Arguments and Shameless Blackmail

“RENMIN RIBAO” OBSERVER

Following is a slightly abridged translation of a commentary in “Renmin Ribao” on March 10. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

IN a long speech made on March 2, U.S. President Kennedy announced his administration’s decision to resume atmospheric nuclear tests. Kennedy not only tried to justify this U.S. decision, but also made it clear to the world that, pushing ahead with its policies of aggression and war and hostile to the socialist camp and people the world over, U.S. imperialism is determined to maintain and strengthen its “nuclear deterrent” and intensify preparations for a nuclear war, regardless of all consequences.

Delivered on the eve of the 18-nation disarmament conference in Geneva, Kennedy’s speech had two themes:

1. By resorting to shameless blackmail, he tried to bring pressure to bear on the disarmament conference and to coerce the socialist and other peace-loving countries into accepting the terms laid down by the United States. 2. By his crude and phony arguments about nuclear tests, he tried to cover up his government’s criminal policy of frantic arms drive and war preparation and escape world public condemnation.

Imperialist Gangster Logic

To conceal his real purpose, Kennedy advanced this line of argument in his speech: The United States only and no other country is allowed to conduct nuclear tests. If any other country, for purposes of self-defence and security, should conduct such tests, that would constitute a monstrous crime and provide Washington with an excuse not only to conduct further large-scale tests, but also to blame others for dragging the United States into the arms race! Likewise, only the United States is allowed to monopolize nuclear arms. Others are not allowed to break its monopoly. And if anyone does this, and opposes U.S. nuclear blackmail, that would also be sufficient excuse for Washington to develop its nuclear weapons further and even to accuse others of threatening the security of the United States and mankind.

In short, here is a bandit brandishing his knife with intent to kill, but he lacks justification for its use. But then the threatened party picks up a knife in self-defence, and the bandit suddenly finds his “justification.” Look here, he says, since you are carrying a knife, that certainly threatens me, and I have all the more “reason” to use my knife to kill. Kennedy’s speech on March 2 is a masterpiece of this type of U.S. imperialist gangster logic.

Kennedy also referred to the relation between his decision to resume atmospheric nuclear tests and the disarmament talks. “It is my hope,” he said, “that the prospects for peace may actually be strengthened by this decision.” But how can this be so? The answer is that his so-called “prospects for peace” really mean the resumption of nuclear tests for blackmailing purposes. This is how Kennedy himself put it.

Atomic Blackmail

1. He declared that the United States would refrain from conducting nuclear tests only on condition that the



Kennedy: As usual, we are doing this to show the world our sincere desire for peace on the eve of East-West negotiations.
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

China Recognizes Burma's New Government

THE Chinese Government has extended recognition to the new Government of Burma.

Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on March 6 sent a congratulatory cable to General Ne Win. It reads: "On the occasion of Your Excellency's assumption of office as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, I have the honour, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and in my own name, to extend to Your Excellency sincere congratulations. I am confident that the close relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Burma will be further strengthened and developed. May the Burmese people achieve even more successes in safeguarding their national independence and in national construction."

On the same day, Foreign Minister Chen Yi informed the Burmese Foreign Minister U Thi Han that the Chinese Government had decided to recognize the

new Government of Burma. He expressed confidence that following China's recognition of the new Burmese Government, the friendship and co-operation between the two Governments and peoples will be further strengthened and deepened on the basis of the present good relations.

Earlier on March 3, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Burma delivered to the Chinese Embassy in Burma a statement on foreign policy issued by the Revolutionary Council and Government of the Union of Burma. The statement expressed the desire of the new Government to maintain and strengthen existing friendly relations with all other countries. On March 7, the Chinese Ambassador to Burma Li Yi-mang called on the Burmese Foreign Minister and delivered a note in reply stating that the Chinese Government also desired to maintain and strengthen its friendly relations with Burma. He also handed over the message from Foreign Minister Chen Yi.

Soviet Union first agrees to "inspections." In other words, the Soviet Union must throw its doors wide open for the United States to collect military intelligence. Should the Soviet Union refuse these "inspections," the United States would lay the blame for the resumption of tests on the Soviet Union. Kennedy openly threatened, "It is the leaders of the Soviet Union who must bear the heavy responsibility of choosing, in the weeks that lie ahead, whether we proceed with these new steps [referring to the U.S. proposed treaty on inspection] — or proceed with new tests."

2. Kennedy also made Soviet acceptance of his unreasonable demands a condition for U.S. agreement to a heads-of-government conference. "If, on the other hand," he said, "the Soviet Union should accept such a treaty in the opening month of talks . . . both Prime Minister Macmillan and I would think it fitting to meet Chairman Khrushchov at Geneva to sign the final pact." In other words, the heads-of-government conference is to Kennedy's mind but a formal occasion for the signing of a U.S.-dictated treaty.

3. He further said that the Soviet Union would not only have to change its attitude towards the conclusion of an agreement on inspection but to make "a major shift in Soviet policies" before the United States would refrain from testing.

Such are the "prospects for peace" which Kennedy wants to strengthen! What absurdity! What arrogance! This is nothing but nuclear blackmail, pure and simple. What purpose can it have other than the deliberate obstruction and wrecking of the 18-nation disarmament conference and sabotage of world peace?

The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N.S. Khrushchov, in his March 3 reply to Kennedy's letter,

denounced the U.S. resumption of atmospheric nuclear weapon tests as "a new expression of an aggressive line in international affairs." Khrushchov said: "Perhaps the Soviet Union is expected to answer whether it is ready, even before the U.S. starts its nuclear weapon tests in April, to consent to conditions we have already rejected for a treaty which, under the guise of international control over the ending of tests, would lead to the institution of a widely ramified network of intelligence and espionage? I hope it is not that which is expected of us, otherwise it smacks very much of atomic blackmail."

Need for Vigilance

The Soviet Union, China and all other socialist countries have consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, worked steadfastly for general disarmament, and advocated prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons. Now, as the 18-nation disarmament conference is about to meet on March 14 in Geneva, all the peoples of the world are watching to see what attitude the U.S. Government will adopt at this conference. However, as shown by Kennedy's March 2 speech, Washington is still stepping up its military build-up on a vast scale, displaying its "deterrent strength" and conducting nuclear blackmail. This calls for the utmost vigilance on the part of all who cherish peace. It is obvious that, in striving for general disarmament, a prolonged, complex and arduous struggle will have to be waged. Only by steadily expanding the world forces for peace, firmly fighting against the policies of war and aggression pursued by the imperialist bloc headed by the United States, and relentlessly exposing the Kennedy Administration's deceptions and blackmail, can the struggle for disarmament yield positive results that will conform to the interests of the world's peoples.

The French People's Fight for Peace in Algeria

by YANG HSIAO-NENG

THROUGHOUT the long years of the colonial war in Algeria, the people of metropolitan France have fought steadfastly against their government's colonial policy. Right from the start they demanded a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question. Their struggle, complementing the armed struggle of the Algerian people, has played an important part in forcing the French Government to sit down for peace talks with Algeria.

Protest Movement Mounts

The Algerian people took up arms against the French colonialists on October 31, 1954. Three days later, in Paris, many mass meetings were held supporting the Algerian people and condemning the outrages perpetrated by the French Government. Voicing the wishes of the French people, representatives of the French Communist Party standing in the van of the movement demanded that "everything should be done to satisfy the Algerian people's national aspirations and to recognize their freedom and rights." They also demanded "an immediate end to repressions against the Algerian people" and "a peaceful solution through negotiation."

But the French Government was determined to hold to its imperialist course. At that time, it dreamt that the Algerian revolution could be stamped out by its police forces within two months. The people's demands were ignored. French colonialist aggression against Algeria continued. Six months passed. The revolutionary forces of Algeria rapidly grew stronger while the hard-pressed French Government began to feel a shortage of troops on active service. To cope with the colonial war in Algeria, the French Government lengthened the terms of service of 100,000 soldiers due for release, and to replenish the strength of its army recalled 800,000 men who had already completed their military service and been released only a short time before. These measures for expanding the colonial war provoked prompt gigantic mass struggles in France.

On September 1, 1955, in Paris, 2,000 soldiers called to active service demonstrated at the Gare de l'Est and ten days later, at the city's Gare de Lyon 600 more soldiers ordered to the front refused to go. From September to the end of the year, there was a rapid succession of similar demonstrations. Workers and womenfolk in Marseille, Toulon, Toulouse, Dinan, Rouen and other cities held up the departure of troop trains and ships taking their sons and husbands to the front. On October 25, French youth observed an "Anti-Colonial War Day." Shipbuilding workers in the south and metallurgical workers in the north supported their struggle against colonial war with strike action.

Assuming office early in 1956, Guy Mollet of the Socialist Party went back on his election pledges and sent

reinforcements of the colonialist troops to Algeria for further suppression of the Algerian people. This fraudulent act of the Socialist Party aroused intense indignation among the French people. When the Mollet government ordered more reservists to Algeria, fresh demonstrations broke out all over the country. On February 5, 1956, 2,000 representatives from 63 French departments held a rally in the eastern suburbs of Paris and passed a resolution calling for "emergency ceasefire talks."

As the struggle sharpened, the French colonial authorities employed ever more brutal methods against the Algerian people. Prosecution, extortion, torture and murder were frequently employed by the colonialists. In the military courts and concentration camps, Algerian patriots were horribly tortured or even secretly put to death. When word of these monstrous crimes broke through the official news blackout and reached France, more and more people joined the protest movement against the atrocities committed by the French colonialists. From February 25 to March 2, 1957, the French Communist Party sponsored a "Struggle for Peace in Algeria Week," during which the truth about the Algerian situation and the tasks of the struggle were explained to the people of all walks of life. From April to June, the Communist Youth Movement organized 25 meetings, demanding a peaceful solution of the Algerian question. This protest movement continued for more than six months.

Developments in the Algerian war over the last few years have driven the French colonialists into a quagmire of insurmountable difficulties and contradictions, while the Algerian people have grown steadily in their fight for the liberation of their country. The colonial war in Algeria has become a source of ferment and unrest in the French political situation. Between November 1954 and May 1958, there were no less than six changes of government in France. The fifth governmental crisis lasted nearly a month.

De Gaulle's Political Trick

In May 1958, with a reactionary military revolt seething in Algeria, the crises-ridden French ruling classes trotted out de Gaulle as a means of saving themselves from decline and consolidating their tottering regime. They calculated that de Gaulle's personal dictatorship would provide them with a way out.

To appease public opinion and win the people's support, de Gaulle, after coming to power, promised a "solution" of the Algerian question as his first task. But, as time went on, the colonial war continued and French plunder and suppression of the Algerian people intensified.

But facts are the best educators. The people freed themselves from their illusions. Again and again they voiced their demand for a peaceful settlement of the Al-

gerian question. On March 30, 1959, more than 100 prominent Frenchmen signed a joint statement in Paris, demanding the realization of peace in Algeria. Throughout that summer, the demand to hold talks to solve the Algerian question became one of the main slogans of the progressive movement.

De Gaulle's coming to power did not improve the colonialists' chances of winning the war in Algeria. Faced with the heroic resistance of the Algerian people, the French Government has suffered endless military reverses. In the circumstances, pressure of public opinion in France mounted steadily for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question. It was in this unfavourable situation that on September 16, 1959, de Gaulle, who had once announced his intention of incorporating Algeria into the "French community from Dunkirk to Tananarive," was compelled to put forward his proposals for "self-determination" for the Algerians. This was designed to calm popular discontent in France. It was also a political trick designed to induce Algeria to surrender. But the French people, taking advantage of de Gaulle's concessions, pushed their struggle a further step forward and forced the government to take concrete steps towards achieving a peaceful solution of the Algerian question.

Forced to the Conference Table

Defeat in its colonial war in Algeria and the worsening of its political and economic situation sharpened the contradictions within the ruling group in France. A fascist force appeared in the French political scene with the extreme colonialists in North Africa and reactionary militarists in France as its core. Early in 1960, a second military revolt broke out in Algeria. To deal counterblows against the fascists and reaffirm the people's aspirations for peace, 12 million French workers came out in a general strike on February 1, 1960. From that time onwards, the French people's struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question has combined with their anti-fascist struggle and their struggle for democratic rights.

On June 25, 1960, pressed on all sides, the de Gaulle government for the first time held talks with representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria at Melun. In order to make the negotiations a success, the French people called for a "National Action Day" on June 28. But the French Government, which had no sincerity for peace at all, banned this movement. In spite of the government ban, large-scale demonstrations were held. The following day, however, the talks with the Algerian Provisional Government were broken off as a result of the French Government's sabotage. French workers in major cities responded with fresh strike action and demonstrations to protest against the government's anti-democratic measures and its sabotage of the talks. The demonstration held on October 27, 1960, was the biggest during this period.

In late April 1961, the third military revolt broke out in Algeria. French workers and students again held a one-hour general strike against this fascist rebellion. The emergence of the fascist organization "O.A.S." and the fact that the French Government has all along adopted an attitude of pampering this terrorist organization, has brought the French people's struggle against the colonialist war to be closely interwoven with their anti-fascist struggle

and their fight for democracy. The people have come to realize that the colonial war in Algeria is a root cause of the fascist menace in France, that to defeat this menace it is necessary to end the war imposed on the people by the French ruling group and that the safeguarding of democratic rights is, in turn, an indispensable condition for carrying forward the struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question.

Last May, faced with the Algerian people's armed resistance and hard pressed by the French people demanding a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question, the de Gaulle government resumed talks at Evian with the Provisional Government of Algeria. The French ruling classes, realizing that they have no hope of winning a military victory in Algeria, now seek to rid themselves of the onerous burden of the colonial war there provided their colonial interests can be preserved to a certain degree. They hope thus to facilitate their expansion abroad in other ways. While the Evian talks were in progress, representatives of the people of all walks of life went to Evian to express their aspirations for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question.

However, because the French Government clung obstinately to its colonialist stand, the Evian talks were suspended. The French fascists seized this opportunity to intensify their outrages. At the same time, seeking to carry on the Algerian war and safeguard the interests of the monopoly capitalists, the French Government has shifted the burden of its economic difficulties onto the working people. This provoked determined resistance from broad sections of the French people. Last year, the peasants' movement swept across the whole country and the working people's struggle too mounted steadily. In this situation, the French bourgeois parties sought to disengage themselves from the de Gaulle government and made plans to fill the "political vacuum" which will be created when de Gaulle steps down. The de Gaulle regime's position has become very unstable. This serious crisis left the French rulers with no choice but to find a way out on the Algerian question. It was these circumstances that compelled the de Gaulle government, following the failure of the Evian talks, to resume contact with the representatives of the Provisional Government of Algeria.

While calling for negotiations on the Algerian question, however, the de Gaulle government gave a free hand to the fascists to terrorize and kill in both Algeria and France; it brutally suppressed the French people's struggle to end the colonial war in Algeria and their anti-fascist struggle. The murder by the French police of the anti-fascist demonstrators on February 8 aroused the bitter anger of the French people. On February 13, one million Frenchmen in Paris marched to the burial ground of the anti-fascist martyrs and the workers came out in a general strike.

Although compelled under popular pressure to sit down for talks on the ending of the colonial war in Algeria, the de Gaulle government's connivance at the fascist crimes and its repressions against the people have raised doubts about the sincerity of its desire for "peace." At this moment when signs of peace have appeared on the Algerian horizon, the French and Algerian peoples, who have fought their way successfully through difficult and complex struggles, are keeping a close watch on what concrete action the de Gaulle government is going to take.

Inside South Korea

by SUNG TU

South Korea is sinking deeper into its chronic economic crisis. Its people are living in increasing misery. It is in the grip of an unprecedented white terror organized by the U.S.-sponsored and supported military dictatorship of Pak Jung Hwei. In a word: it continues to be a showplace of the "Free World" in Asia.

THERE was increasing unrest in south Korea in 1961. At the beginning of last year, its people fought against Chang Myun, the former south Korean Prime Minister who concluded a ruinous "economic and technical agreement" with Washington; they fought against his oppressive "national security" law and his restrictions on meetings and demonstrations; they demanded consultations between the north and south and economic and cultural exchanges between the two parts of Korea. These popular struggles shook the very foundations of the Chang Myun regime. It was to save its colonial rule in south Korea that U.S. imperialism stage-managed the military coup of May 16, 1961, and helped the ultra-reactionary and pro-U.S. fascist Pak Jung Hwei to power.

Fascist Terror

The Pak Jung Hwei regime was given the job of suppressing the popular movement and particularly the patriots advocating a peaceful reunification of Korea. To carry out this task it has set up a "supreme council" composed entirely of officers on active duty to control the legislative and executive organs, the judiciary and the armed forces. It thus holds complete power in the country. Large numbers of officers have been put in responsible government posts; all affairs of state are under their strict control. The anti-popular fascist laws and decrees which were introduced by Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun have been added to by Pak Jung Hwei. The new "law of special punishments for special offences," for instance, provides that anyone who "praises, encourages, and sympathizes with the political parties and social organizations [not to the liking of the military dictatorship] and the activities of their members" is liable to "capital punishment, life imprisonment, or imprisonment for ten years or over." This law is retroactive for three and a half years previous to its date of promulgation. Other recent fascist decrees of the Pak Jung Hwei clique include the "provisional measures law for national reconstruction" designed to replace the old "constitution." Under these decrees Pak disbanded all political parties and social organizations other than "non-political relief and religious bodies," dissolved parliament and local assemblies, banned meetings, demonstrations, strikes and all other political activities. He arrested over 100,000 patriots and other innocent people. According to figures released by the military junta, 3,243 students or members of the "reformist

parties" were gaoled for opposition to the "south Korea-U.S. economic and technical agreement" and the two main fascist laws—the "national security" law and the law restricting meetings and demonstrations—and for demanding consultations between the north and south of the country; over 600 of them have been sentenced to death or imprisonment. Pak Jung Hwei has also put the press under stringent control. Large numbers of newspapers have been closed down. In the seven and a half months from mid-May 1961, when Pak and his gang seized power, more than 1,200 newspapers, news agencies and publications were banned. On February 22 this year, another 245 newspapers and publishing houses were suppressed, bringing the total to over 1,400. The Pak Jung Hwei clique hopes in this way to keep news of what's going on in the country from reaching the outside world.

In foreign affairs, south Korea stands at the U.S. side "more resolutely than ever," said Pak to Kennedy in Washington last November. Early this year, Pak reiterated his wish to "strengthen further the ties with the free and friendly nations headed by the United States."

Pak Jung Hwei also adheres to a pro-Japanese policy. Last November in compliance with Washington's wishes, he personally went to Japan for talks with the Japanese Premier Ikeda. He repeatedly suggested early "political talks" between Tokyo and Seoul, which is now being held in the Japanese capital, and declared that he was prepared to assume a "flexible attitude" towards the Syngman Rhee Line issue.* Prior to his own visit, his assistants on foreign affairs, economic planning and intelligence also visited Japan. He makes these gestures because he hopes to get Japanese monopoly capital to prop up his rule; this is also in accord with Washington's wish to bring south Korea closer to Japan as a prerequisite to the rigging up of the projected Northeast Asian military bloc.

Economic Breakdown

The Pak Jung Hwei clique took office and immediately faced a worsening economic crisis. At the beginning of last year prices began to soar and the economy slithered towards chaos. Things have grown steadily worse after the coup. Industry, agriculture and the fishing industry are all on the verge of bankruptcy.

First, south Korea is beset by grave financial difficulties and a currency crisis. Its finances are shackled to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Over 90 per cent of its state budget is spent directly or indirectly

* Under the guise of promoting the people's interest, Syngman Rhee, while in office, laid down a so-called "Syngman Rhee Line" 50 to 60 nautical miles off the south Korean coast and prohibited Japanese fishermen and other nationals from catching fish inside this line. This has given rise to the "Syngman Rhee Line" issue between south Korea and Japan.

on its military and police forces and its fascist administration. By the end of last September, its financial deficit amounted to 67,000 million hwan. In an attempt to cover their huge military expenses, the south Korean puppets, at the behest of U.S. imperialism, have imposed heavier and heavier taxes on the people and intensified their plunder of the national resources. Popular resistance, however, prevented them from collecting their levies. At the end of last October they had only managed to collect 18.7 per cent of the planned amount of agricultural and land taxes for the year, and this in spite of the fact that at autumn harvest time, they sent troops supported by armoured cars to the fields to confiscate the harvest. Up to the end of last September, 420 such cases of legalized robbery were reported in one south Korean province alone. At the same time, the military junta, hoping to spur production, issued special funds to enterprises. This sent the amount of inflated south Korean currency in circulation up from 219,100 million hwan at the end of 1960 to 293,800 million hwan by December 15, 1961. By the end of January, the total amount of money in circulation had topped 321,800 million hwan. As a result, prices skyrocketed.

Secondly, industrial output went down and business slackened. During the last quarter of 1961, only 40 per cent of the machines in south Korea's industrial plants was operating. Since the fascist coup, only 30 to 40 per cent of the machines even in the textile mills, sugar-refineries and flour mills owned by the big monopoly groups have been operating. In the small and medium plants, which constitute 98 per cent of south Korean enterprises, only 55.7 per cent of the machines have been operating. Retailers too are having a hard time due to lack of ready capital and the exceedingly low purchasing power of the people. By the end of last June, more than 7,800 shops and catering establishments had closed down. Those that remain open are doing less than one-third of the business they did before.

Thirdly, unemployment has increased and the people are suffering increasing hardships. According to figures released by the military junta, the number of unemployed before the fascist coup was 2.8 million (not counting semi-employed). Unemployment increased rapidly after the coup. Within 30 days half a million people had lost their jobs. In Seoul, by the end of last September, 93,300 people, including over 2,700 college graduates, were registered as unemployed. At the same time, feudal and semi-feudal relations of production in the countryside and ruthless plunder by U.S. imperialism and the puppet regime are ruining the peasants and fishermen: 1,200,000 rural households do not have normal food; they exist on tree bark, grass roots, seaweed or anything else edible they can lay their hands on. In one county of south Kyung-sang Province, 42 per cent of the households are in deep want. The fish catch of south Korea has fallen to only 40 per cent of what it was at the time of Japanese imperialist rule. Output per fisherman is only one-tenth of what it is in the Korean Democratic People's Republic. The average earnings of the fishermen households in south Korea is 600,000 hwan per annum which is at least 200,000 hwan short of minimum requirement. Many have had to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest.

While not even being able to cope with these economic difficulties, Pak Jung Hwei has put forward a "five-year

plan of economic development" centring on the development of the coal, power, cement, fertilizer and steel industries. In drawing up this plan, he counts mainly on U.S. "aid." The plan calls for a capital investment of U.S. \$2,500 million and \$1,200 million of this will come from U.S. "aid." To get this "aid" the Pak Jung Hwei clique is selling off more of the country's sovereign rights. It has also decided to increase tax revenues by 44,800 million hwan in 1962, a 24 per cent increase. The peasants, meanwhile, will not receive a cash return for all they sell to the state; they will be forced to deposit as savings in the state treasury 1,000 to 1,400 hwan of what they get for every sack of grain they sell. These measures are bound to increase the burdens on the people and make their life harder still.

Tottering Puppet Rule

Popular discontent with the Pak Jung Hwei regime is growing as the economic crisis deepens. Despite all the brutality which the ruling clique resorts to, the south Korean people's resistance, far from being suppressed, is growing vigorously. The fighting spirit of the south Korean workers and students is traditional, and they stand in the forefront of the struggle. On September 8 last year, 1,700 students of the Teachers' College in Seoul met to protest against Pak Jung Hwei's educational policy. On November 3, another 400 students of the Medical College there staged a strike in spite of the repressions of the military junta, because the authorities concerned wanted to dismiss six fellow students who had asked for reduced tuition fees. The newspaper world is bitterly protesting against the death sentence which the fascist regime has passed on Cho Yong Soo, Director of the *Minjok Ilbo* for advocating the peaceful reunification of the country and other repressive measures against the staff members of the same paper. As Pak has himself admitted, many people in the "civil service" refuse to co-operate with the military junta. Over 700 workers in the Kupong mine of Chongyang County, south Chungchong Province, recently denounced the oppressive activities of the mine manager, who was hand-in-glove with the military administration, and put forward wage demands. Peasants are demanding compensation for land requisitioned; clerks are opposing reductions in salaries, merchants are asking for revised taxation rates and residents are opposing the regime's appointment of new administrative officials. . . .

The ruling clique too is split by contradictions. Since coming to power, Pak Jung Hwei, to tighten his control over the puppet armed forces, has purged at least 60 generals and 2,713 officers above the rank of lieutenant. At the same time, he has promoted his trusted followers including 56 generals and 3,991 others above the rank of lieutenant. Practically all divisional commanders and those in higher positions have been replaced by men of his choice. He is also striking out against the leading officials of the former government and many other politicians. This has resulted in further contradictions among the ruling circles in south Korea. Two attempts made by the opposition forces in the armed forces to "overthrow the military government" have been reported since the military coup. Those who took part included some officers of the Chang Do Yung clique and others who originally sponsored the coup. The Pak Jung Hwei clique itself is also divided: seven members of its "supreme council" have been purged and those who remain are fighting each other for power.

Pak Jung Hwei's position is extremely shaky. U.S. imperialism will continue to back and make use of this loyal henchman of theirs in order to maintain their colonial rule, but neither the United States nor their south Korean puppets have the power to solve the profound crisis in

south Korea. The struggle of the south Korean people against U.S. imperialism and the fascist rule of Pak Jung Hwei, for political democracy and a better economic life, for national independence and the reunification of their fatherland will smash through the many difficulties which confronts it and continue to forge ahead.

Theory

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

by LI WEI-HAN

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

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

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

4. Distinguish Between Our Principal Ally and Non-Principal Allies; Rely on the Worker-Peasant Alliance; Unite With the Urban Petty Bourgeoisie and Win Over the National Bourgeoisie and Other Patriotic Elements

China's new-democratic revolution was a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the working class. Participating in this revolution were the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and, to a certain extent and in certain periods of time, the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements with the worker-peasant alliance as the basis and the working people as the main body. Such was the general and basic definition of the nature and motivating forces of the democratic revolution in China given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This definition clarified the question of who was the principal enemy of the Chinese revolution; it also clarified the question of who comprised the main body of the Chinese revolutionaries and who was the principal ally of the working class; it

thus also clarified the fundamental question of proletarian leadership.

The Peasantry Was the Main Force in China's Bourgeois Democratic Revolution

The peasantry was the main force in China's bourgeois democratic revolution. Its agrarian revolution made up the basic content of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China. The Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution was in essence a peasant revolution. China's revolutionary wars were in essence peasant wars. The peasant question occupied an extremely important position in the Chinese revolution; whoever could lead the peasants to wage a revolutionary struggle, make the policy of "land to the tillers" a reality and solve the peasant question, would become the leader of the Chinese revolution.

The national bourgeoisie in China could not possibly perform this task; only the working class could act as the leader of the peasants. "The national bourgeoisie is a vacillating class; it approves of the policy of land to the tillers because it needs markets, but at the same time many of this class are frightened by it because they are connected with landed interests. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the first revolutionary democrat in China who represented the revolutionary group of the national bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasants: he carried out an armed revolution and put forward his proposition of equalization of land ownership and land to the tillers. Unfortunately, he did not on his own initiative carry out agrarian reforms when he held political power."* It was only after his death, in 1926 and 1927, when the Chinese revolution was under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, that it really became possible to realize the policy of land to the tillers. But when it actually came to carrying out this policy, the national bourgeoisie took fright and eventually they betrayed and deserted the workers and peasants and sided with the counter-revolution of the big bourgeoisie. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, and under the most difficult conditions, the Chinese Communist Party alone led the peasants to carry out the agrarian revolution. The existing democratic parties generally favoured the reduction of land rents and interests on loans during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation but only a minority actually favoured the policy of land to the tillers. (After liberation, they took part in enacting the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China and supported the reform of the land system.) This is exactly what history records: "In China, as there is no political party exclusively representing the peasantry, and as the political parties of the national bourgeoisie have no thoroughgoing agrarian programme, the Chinese Communist Party has become the leader of the peasants and all revolutionary democratic forces because it alone has formulated and carried out a thoroughgoing agrarian policy, fought wholeheartedly for the peasants' interests and won as its powerful ally the mass of the peasantry."**

The peasant question is also a watershed separating the Marxist-Leninists from the opportunists inside our Party. Historically, the Right and "Left" opportunists had one point in common, that is, failure to recognize the peasants as the main force in the Chinese revolution and failure to understand that the worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the revolutionary united front. The Right opportunists regarded the bourgeoisie as the principal revolutionary force and the force determining the nature of the revolution. Chen Tu-hsiu (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 11), for instance, held that "without the aid of the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution, the revolutionary cause will have no class significance and social foundation." ("The Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie") That is why he put his main reliance on the alliance with the bourgeoisie and not with the peasants. In the early stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan,

the second Wang Ming line again made the same mistake; Wang Ming and his followers held that resistance against Japan must mainly rely on the Kuomintang, not on the guerrilla war (which was essentially a peasant war) led by the Communist Party in the enemy's rear. The "Left" opportunists, on their part, attached great importance exclusively to the workers' movement; they underrated the revolutionary fortitude of the peasants and the role of the peasant struggle which was decisive in the Chinese revolution and were even afraid that the power of the peasants might surpass that of the workers; they rejected the road of "first using the rural revolutionary bases to surround the cities and then taking the cities," but insistently held to the thesis of the cities being the revolutionary centres and insisted on taking the road "from the cities to the villages." Since neither of the two could correctly solve the peasant question — the question of the principal ally of the working class in the democratic revolution — both of them were incapable of correctly solving the question of the auxiliary allies. As a result both of them gave away the proletarian leadership.

Only the correct line, of which Comrade Mao Tse-tung was the exponent, was actually able to solve the peasant question and realize the proletarian leadership. During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War Comrade Mao Tse-tung already pointed out the importance of the peasant question and enthusiastically extolled the peasant movement, saying it was "very good indeed"; he also put forward a correct line for the peasant movement. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the agrarian revolutionary movement and the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas; he also opened up the revolutionary road of "surrounding the cities from the countryside and then taking the cities." During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, continued to solve questions concerning the peasant movement correctly. Thus, it was with the line the exponent of which is Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that our Party built up a worker-peasant alliance in China that turned the scales and transformed the epoch; with this line our Party, on the strength of the peasants' revolutionary war and the rural revolutionary base areas, was able to build up a mighty revolutionary force and seize cities which had for so long been firmly held by the counter-revolution. Our Party was thus also able, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, to unite effectively with the urban petty bourgeoisie and win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements.

In the "Report of an Investigation Into the Peasant Movement in Hunan" which he wrote in 1927, Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out three stands or three lines on the peasant movement: "To march at their head and lead them? Or to follow at their rear, gesticulating at them and criticizing them? Or to face them as opponents?" Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line is to march at the head of the peasant movement and lead the peasants resolutely forward. The basic points of this line are:

One, firm confidence in the fact that the peasant masses want to carry the revolution to the end and that their strength is inexhaustible, that "they [the peasants]

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 75-76.

** *ibid.*, p. 76.

will send all imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local bullies and bad gentry to their graves.”*

Two, firm confidence that the Party and the working class can lead the peasant masses forward; that “the revolution in semi-colonial China will fail only if the peasant struggle is deprived of the leadership of the workers and it will never suffer just because the peasants, through their struggle, become more powerful than the workers.”** By thoroughly implementing Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s line, our Party has all along been able to take its stand by the side of the peasant masses, breathe the same life-breath as they do and share their destiny and also give them working-class leadership, helping them see their long-term interests and the correct direction and leading them to march onward step by step.

With this line as its guide, our Party successfully led the peasant movement and the peasant wars, solved the peasant question and gained a store of very rich experience.

Here are enumerated the main points of experience which we gained in leading the peasant wars and establishing rural base areas during the period of the democratic revolution.

- (1) Arming the peasants, waging a revolutionary war and building up a revolutionary army.
- (2) Establishing the people’s democratic dictatorship, developing revolutionary base areas.
- (3) Carrying out the general line and general policy of the land reform, that is, relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers, uniting with the middle peasants, abolishing the system of feudal exploitation, step by step, and in a discriminating way, and developing agricultural production.
- (4) Carrying out the mass line principle of resolutely relying on the political consciousness and organizational strength of the peasants, mobilizing them to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, win back the land and defend the land themselves, and opposing the erroneous principle of “bestowing” land on the peasants.
- (5) After the reform of the land system, leading the peasants to organize mutual aid and co-operation on the basis of private ownership and in accordance with the principles of voluntariness and exchanges of equal values so as to facilitate the development of production and restrict any new differentiation in the economic status of the peasants.
- (6) Building up base areas, developing production and their economic and cultural undertakings and supporting the revolutionary war.
- (7) Setting up trade unions and the Youth League, emancipating women, young people and the children.
- (8) Building up the Communist Party and ensuring that the Party play its role as the core of the leadership.
- (9) Carrying out the united front policy of uniting with the urban petty bourgeoisie and winning over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements.

Our experience shows that these formed the road that inevitably had to be followed in emancipating the peasants and in educating and raising them, mainly

* Mao Tse-tung, “Report of an Investigation Into the Peasant Movement in Hunan.”

** Mao Tse-tung, “A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.”

the poor peasant masses, step by step, so that politically they could closely approach the level of the working class.

The Urban Petty Bourgeoisie Were the Reliable Ally of the Working Class

The urban petty bourgeoisie were a broad mass of people next only to the peasantry in size. They were subject to imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist oppression; the great majority of them were very revolutionary; they were an important force of the new-democratic revolution and the reliable ally of the working class. The petty bourgeois mass occupied an important position in the struggles in the cities; the intellectuals and young students among them in particular often played the role of a vanguard and a bridge in the Chinese revolution. Obvious instances of this are the May Fourth Movement of 1919 (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 7), the May 30 Movement of 1925 (see No. 8, p. 11), the December 9 Movement of 1935 and the December 1 Movement of 1945 (see p. 15). It can be said that the alliance between the working class and the urban petty bourgeoisie was the basis of the struggle in the cities. This basis should be expanded and consolidated so as to win over and unite with the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements for the struggle against the common enemy.

The urban petty bourgeoisie are also a class in transition; it consists of many strata, forming a complete ladder between the working class at one end and the bourgeoisie at the other, and its members are constantly subject to bourgeois influence. They were not the main force of the revolution and it was impossible for them to grow into an independent political force, still less to have an independent future. Only under the leadership of the working class, and only by joining in with the struggle of the peasants could they play an important revolutionary role and achieve their own emancipation. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, “if the intellectuals do not become one with the masses of workers and peasants, then they will accomplish nothing. The ultimate line of demarcation between the revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intellectuals on the other lies in whether they are willing to, and actually do, become one with the masses of workers and peasants.”* This is as true of the mass of the rest of the petty bourgeoisie as it is of the intellectuals.

Our Party’s policy towards the urban petty bourgeoisie was to unite with them, to organize them to take part in the revolutionary struggle in the cities and send some of these forces to take part in the peasant war. We drew in large numbers of intellectuals to join our army, to work in our government, and in education and other cultural fields; we admitted to the Party those who fulfilled the requirements of Party membership, and gave them guidance so that through a long course of revolutionary struggle they could gradually overcome their weak points to become one with the older Party members and older cadres and live in harmony with them, become one with the masses of workers and peasants and live in harmony with them. “In the long and ruthless war of national liberation, in the great struggle for building up a new

* Mao Tse-tung, “The May Fourth Movement.”

The December 9 Movement The year 1935 witnessed a new upsurge of the people's nationwide patriotic movement. Students in Peking, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, organized a patriotic demonstration on December 9, under the slogans, "End the civil war!" "Unite against foreign aggression!" and "Down with Japanese imperialism!" In spite of the reign of terror imposed by the Kuomintang government in league with the Japanese aggressors, the movement immediately won nationwide support,

and has since been generally referred to as the "December 9 Movement."

The December 1 Movement On the evening of November 25, 1945, more than six thousand college and middle school students in Kunming, capital of Yunnan Province, assembled at the Southwest Associated University to discuss current affairs and protest against the civil war. The Kuomintang reactionaries sent troops who surrounded the assembly, fired on the students with light artillery, machine-guns and rifles and placed guards

around the university to prevent teachers and students from going home. Subsequently, students from Kunming's schools and colleges joined in a strike. On December 1 the Kuomintang reactionaries dispatched a large number of soldiers and secret agents to the Southwest Associated University and the Teachers' College where they threw handgrenades, killing four people and wounding over ten. This incident has been generally referred to as the December 1 Movement. It is also known as the "December 1st Massacre."

China," Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "the Communist Party must be proficient at drawing in the intellectuals so that it can organize a tremendous force for the resistance, organize millions upon millions of the masses of the peasants, develop the revolutionary cultural movement and expand the revolutionary united front. Without the participation of the intellectuals the revolution cannot achieve victory."* Our Party has carried out this policy successfully and trained large numbers of well-steeped Party and non-Party cadres who are intellectuals of petty bourgeois origin but have become valuable assets to the cause of communism.

The National Bourgeoisie Were an Important Auxiliary Ally of the Working Class; Win Over and Unite With the Enlightened Gentry

Under the conditions in our country, the national bourgeoisie (as we have shown again and again) are a class with a dual character. In the new-democratic revolution, the national bourgeoisie for a long time vacillated between the working class on the one hand, and the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie on the other, they not only lost their qualifications for leadership of the revolution but were no longer a progressive force in the democratic revolution. "They are part of the broad masses of the people," says Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "but not the main body, nor are they a force that determines the character of the revolution."** The national bourgeoisie, therefore, could only become the auxiliary ally of the working class. At the same time, however, it had considerable political influence and was fairly important economically and culturally; moreover, as long as we had a correct policy and were powerful enough, the majority, and even the great majority, of the national bourgeoisie could be won over to the side of the revolution. The national bourgeoisie were, therefore, an important, though an auxiliary, ally of the working class and it was necessary and possible for us to adopt the policy of winning them over and uniting with them. Winning them over

and uniting with them would not only augment the strength of the revolution and help isolate the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie but also help win over the petty bourgeois masses under the influence of the national bourgeoisie. It was, therefore, an important task in our struggle for leadership to win over the national bourgeoisie.

It was also important to win over the enlightened gentry. The enlightened gentry were individuals with capitalist leanings who had become differentiated off from the landlords and rich peasants. Their political attitude was about the same as that of the national bourgeoisie, but they were not so politically influential as the national bourgeoisie and, economically and culturally, did not play a part such as the national bourgeoisie did. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, they, nevertheless, gave us considerable help in reducing land rents and interests on loans. Again, after the war they favoured the reform of the land system. This played a considerable role in splitting the small and middle landlords and neutralizing the rich peasants, in winning over the national bourgeoisie (most of whom have ties with the land) and the intellectuals (most of whom come from landlord or rich peasant families). And these all helped us isolate the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie. In dealing with the enlightened gentry, it was also necessary, therefore, for us to adopt a policy of winning them over and uniting with them. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"It is a very important task in the period of the anti-Japanese united front to win over the middle-of-the-road forces, and that task can be accomplished only under certain conditions. The conditions are: (1) that we have ample strength; (2) that we respect their interests; and (3) that we win victory after victory in our resolute struggle against the diehards. Without these conditions they will vacillate or even join the diehards in attacking us, since the diehards are also striving their best to win them over and isolate us. The middle-of-the-road forces carry considerable weight in China, and can be the decisive factor in our struggle against the diehards: we must therefore handle them with great care."*

* Mao Tse-tung, "Draw In Large Numbers of Intellectuals."

** "On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 208.

* Mao Tse-tung, *Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 7.

The conditions which Comrade Mao Tse-tung mentioned here for winning over the middle-of-the-road forces were also the conditions for winning over the national bourgeoisie because at that time they formed the main element of the middle-of-the-road forces. It was thanks to these conditions that we won over the great majority of that class during the War of Resistance Against Japan and particularly during the War of Liberation.

The national bourgeoisie was won over beyond doubt after repeatedly uniting with them and struggling against them. But this unity with and struggle against them were not the same as uniting with and struggling against the big bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie was not so reactionary and antagonistic as the big bourgeoisie and it had practically never held political power or controlled armed forces. Accordingly, in our relations with the national bourgeoisie there was practically no unity nor struggle between armed forces, but mainly political unity and struggle. The main means of struggle with them were criticism and education while the aim of such criticism was to educate them and unite with them. This has been discussed repeatedly in the previous sections of this article. What needs to be added here concerns the policy of looking after the interests of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-Japanese base areas and later, in the Liberated Areas. This consisted mainly of the following two points:

(1) Carrying out the economic policy of "developing production, promoting economic prosperity, giving consideration to both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital." This means, on the one hand, to protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie, to encourage their initiative in developing production and promoting economic prosperity, and see to it that they can make some profit. On the other hand, this means to actively develop the state-owned and co-operative sectors of the economy, improve the workers' living standards to an appropriate extent, and see to it that private capital does not monopolize the national economy and exploit the labourers excessively. This is a policy of simultaneously protecting private capital and restricting its development, that is, permitting and protecting the development of private capital on condition that it is to the advantage of the national welfare and the people's livelihood. This was the economic policy which we adopted in our dealings with the national bourgeoisie as a whole, including its Right-wingers. During the War of Liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The few Right-wingers among the national bourgeoisie who attach themselves to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and oppose the people's democratic revolution are also enemies of the revolution. . . ." "As long as their reactionary tendencies can affect the masses, we should unmask them before the people under their political influence, attack this influence and liberate the masses from it. But political attack and economic annihilation are two different matters, and we shall make mistakes if we confuse the two."** To achieve the aim of winning over the majority

of this class and isolating the minority, we "in principle . . . adopt a blanket policy of protection"* in dealing with its economic position. This policy remained in force after the founding of the People's Republic of China and right up to the time when the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce was basically completed by means of state capitalism.

(2) Establishing a coalition government under working-class leadership, i.e., a united front political power. Observing the condition that the leading position of the working class was ensured and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, democratic personages, including enlightened gentry, were drawn in on a broad scale to take part in the people's political power and good co-operative and collaborative relations were established with them. In the anti-Japanese base areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan, a "three-thirds" system was adopted governing the proportions of the personnel taking part in this political power; that is, Communists and non-Party progressives and the middle-of-the-roaders (who represented the national bourgeoisie and enlightened gentry) each constituted about one-third. This political power, after the People's War of Liberation and the victory of the great people's revolution, has developed into a state of the people's democratic dictatorship—the People's Republic of China—which is led by the working class (through the Communist Party), based on the worker-peasant alliance and embracing all the various democratic classes.

Correct Tactical Line for Work in the Cities

The working class' united front work in the cities comprises both uniting with the urban petty bourgeoisie and winning over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements; all such efforts must rely on the workers' movement. The development of the workers' movement is at all times a fundamental task of the Party; without this it is impossible to win over other classes. The workers' movement and united front work encompass all work and struggle in the cities. Following the failure of the first great revolution the Chinese revolution embarked on the road of advance from the villages to the cities; generally speaking, the armed struggle in the villages was primary while the struggle in the cities was waged in co-ordination with it. "However, to emphasize armed struggle does not mean giving up other forms of struggle, with which armed struggle must be co-ordinated if it is to succeed. To emphasize the work in rural base areas does not mean giving up our work in the cities and in the vast rural districts under the enemy's rule, which must be kept up if the rural base areas are not to be isolated and the revolution is not to suffer defeat. Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is to capture the cities which now serve the enemy as his main bases, and this objective cannot be achieved without adequate work in the cities."*** During the prolonged period in which work and struggle in the rural

* *ibid.*, "On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," p. 209.

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 28.

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 208.

** *ibid.*, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," pp. 167-168.

districts were the central task, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung never relaxed efforts in the workers' movement and in the work in the cities in the Kuomintang-controlled areas and a correct tactical line of which Comrade Liu Shao-chi is the exponent was formed for work in this field. Owing to the different conditions existing in the cities and the countryside, and especially owing to the fact that the enemy concentrated its efforts on controlling the medium-sized and large cities as well as the important communication points, the struggle in the cities was clearly different from that in the rural districts. The tactics of the struggle in the rural districts and in the peasant war could not be applied in the cities where the policy should be one of "concealing our identity and simplifying our structure in organization and struggle, which includes also lying low for a long period, building up our strength and biding our time."* Here, instead of revealing the identity of the red organizations, we had to be adept at combining the work done secretly with that done in the open, and illegal activities with legal ones. The structure of the Party organizations had to be simplified; they had to keep strictly to themselves and be adept at concealing their identity; at the same time, they had to carry on work among the masses by all possible open and legal means; they also had to make their way into various mass organizations, such as the yellow trade unions, the students' unions, educational organizations, art and literary organizations, industrialists and businessmen's organizations, religious bodies, etc., and conceal their identity in these organizations, carry out the united front work there and win over the masses. There, it was impossible to propagandize all the demands put forward in the Party programme or to put every one of them into force as they were propagandized and carried out in the rural base areas; what had to be done was, "according to the existing situation and prevailing conditions of a given place at a given time and the degree of the political consciousness of the masses, [to] propose slogans, demands and forms of struggle of a limited nature acceptable to the people in order to arouse them to action and then, on the basis of the changes brought about thereby, either gradually push the fight to a higher stage or call a halt at the right moment and conclude it temporarily to prepare for greater and more advanced struggle in the future."** There, the class relations were extremely complicated and bourgeois influence quite heavy, so it was necessary to combine properly the work among the lower strata of the masses with the united front work among the middle and upper strata, to win as far as possible the sympathy and approval of those of the middle and upper strata for the struggle, and to get them to join the struggle so as to unite with them and the masses under their influence and isolate the principal enemy. Such were the main points of the correct tactical line of which Comrade Liu Shao-chi is the exponent, and which our Party followed in our work in the cities. Our Party's work in the cities had for a long time been

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

** From "Eliminate Sectarianism and Adventurism" by Liu Shao-chi, quoted in the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party," an appendix to *Our Study and the Current Situation* by Mao Tse-tung, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 74-75.

dominated by "Left" opportunism. The main features of the "Left" opportunists were adventurism and sectarianism, as opposed to the correct tactical line expounded by Comrade Liu Shao-chi. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, they continued to stick to the theory of launching armed insurrections in the key cities; they refused to organize necessary retreats and defence, they refused to make use of the possible open and legal means of struggle; they recklessly mobilized and even forced the masses to wage adventuristic struggles and insisted on struggling to the end, "never making compromises." They turned away all possible allies, giving no support to, or even opposing, the struggles of other factions against the enemy as long as the programmes and slogans of these factions were not exactly the same as their own; they insisted on expelling members of other factions with influence, or enjoying prestige in, the mass organizations until there were only "Bolsheviks" "all strictly of one colour" left or until these organizations were "transformed" into red organizations. During the period of the dominance of the third "Left" line (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 10), these adventuristic and sectarian tactics caused the loss of practically all our forces in the cities. It was only after 1935, when, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the "Left" opportunist line was rectified and overcome and the tactical line of which Comrade Liu Shao-chi is the exponent was adopted and implemented in the work in the cities that our work in the cities won great successes. The complete correctness of this tactical line is proved by facts both positive and negative.

(To be concluded.)

PEOPLE'S CHINA

A Monthly Magazine

Japanese, French and Indonesian speaking readers who are interested in China will find PEOPLE'S CHINA, a monthly published in Peking in these three languages, just the magazine they have been looking for. It contains China's views on important international events, articles on political, economic and cultural developments in New China, background material on China's history, geography, cultural heritage and traditions. Its regular columns include "Revolutionary Memoirs," "History," "Cultural Life," "Folk Tales," "Sports," and a "Miscellany" on Chinese revolutionary relics, new folk songs, popular art, etc. There is always a 4-page pictorial, and reproductions of paintings by Chinese artists. Philatelists will appreciate its stamp-collectors' inserts with illustrations in colour. For readers interested in literature there are short stories and other literary pieces. Rich material here for research and a deepened understanding of China.

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GUOZI SHUDIAN P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

MILKING THE PUBLIC

SPEAKING in Washington at a recent National Conference on Milk and Nutrition, the U.S. chief executive declared that milk is so delicious and nutritious that he has ordered it served at all White House meals. Making a contemporary point, he tried to reassure the American public that milk offers no hazards from radioactive fallout, and, as the cameras clicked to record the historic moment, concluded his oratory by drinking a glass of milk.

This high-level sales-talk was prompted by lagging milk sales. According to Kennedy's own figures, U.S. milk consumption dropped by nearly 3,000 million pounds last year. And this despite the fact that in the same period, the U.S. population increased by 1.7 per cent and milk production went up only 0.5 per cent. "Milk producers now face a serious setback," declared the U.S. President in his farm message this year.

Kennedy tried to put the blame on the fallout scare which he himself had done so much to whip up when he wanted to sell fallout shelters. "It is unfortunate," he said, "that there has been an identification in the minds of some between fallout and milk." But it is clear that the causes for the drop in milk consumption are far more deep-seated than that. On the one hand, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is spending hundreds of millions of dollars every year to support the prices of dairy products by buying up, storing and exporting the "surpluses," while on the other, because of declining incomes and rising living costs and taxes, more and more American housewives are having to cut down their spending on milk or simply go without it in favour of more indispensable fare. A situation, in fact, thoroughly symptomatic of the sickness of the entire U.S. capitalist economy.

Kennedy, of course, as the tool of monopoly interests trying to get consumers to drink more milk even at the

current inflated price, cannot call a spade a spade. The day after the "I Like Milk" talk, an enquiring newspaperwoman taxed him with this question at a press conference: "You said yesterday that more people ought to drink milk. None of the young married that I know lay off it on account of radioactivity. They lay off it because they hardly buy enough for the children and themselves on account of the price. Now, how is it, with the butter priced off the table and milk so high that they can't buy it, we have surpluses that we [U.S.] buy up and give away?"

The President answered and we quote verbatim: "The price of milk is not — well, I don't have the latest figures here — in the last twelve months, overall consumer prices have not materially increased. Perhaps — so that I'm not sure that the whole explanation of the drop within the last twelve months, which has been quite sharp . . . even though I recognize that this is an important element, I don't believe it can be explained by price alone."

In other words, what we're talking about here can be described as a milk shake down.



Kennedy, Salesman for U.S. "Freedoms"

Cartoon by Chiang Fan

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Greetings to Fraternal Parties

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party warmly greeted the congresses of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (A.K.E.L.) and the Communist Party of Ecuador.

In a message of March 5 greeting A.K.E.L.'s 10th Congress, it said that the Chinese Communist Party and people have at all times supported the Cypriot people's just struggle for complete independence, a struggle in which A.K.E.L. is playing an increasingly important role. It expressed the hope that the congress would make new contributions in the struggle to abolish all foreign military bases in Cyprus and to realize the country's complete independence, and in the common fight of the world's people in defence of peace and against imperialism.

In its congratulatory message dated March 6 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party said that at the present time, when the struggle of the Ecuadorian and other Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism is intensifying daily, the convening of the 7th Congress of the Ecuadorian Communist Party is of great significance. The message praised the achievements of the Ecuadorian C.P. in recent years in the struggle to rally the Ecuadorian people to oppose the U.S. imperialist aggression, in defence of national sovereignty and democratic freedoms and in support of the Cuban revolution. It wished the Ecuadorian C.P. new victories in the future.

Fraternal Assistance

A 75-kilometre 110-kilovolt high tension line between Dong Anh and Thai Nguyen in Viet Nam has been completed with Chinese help. Five kilometres longer than the one erected between Viet Tri and Dong Anh last year, it links up with other lines to form a powerful grid in north Viet Nam.

At a meeting summarizing the experience of the work, the Vietnam-

ese Vice-Minister of Water Conservancy and Power Phan My stressed that the new line is a great victory of socialist construction in his country and symbolizes the eternal friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples. Praising what the Chinese experts had done, he expressed gratitude to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party and Government.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Peace Committee and other people's organizations recently received a cable from the Provisional Central Committee of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam thanking the Chinese people for their support of the south Vietnamese people's just struggle for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and the unification of their country.

Denouncing U.S. armed intervention in south Viet Nam, the cable pointed out that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious and most dangerous enemy of the people in the southern part of Viet Nam as it is of the Chinese people.

With Southeast Asian Neighbours

A Chinese trade delegation led by Yeh Chi-chuang, Minister of Foreign Trade, returned home on March 7 after a one-week visit to Burma. During its stay, Yeh Chi-chuang had talks with Brigadier-General Aung Gyi, Minister of Trade Development and Industries, on questions of trade and economic and technical co-operation between the two countries.

At the farewell banquet given by the Chinese delegation, both Minister Yeh Chi-chuang and Brigadier-General Aung Gyi expressed the wish for further development of Sino-Burmese friendship on the present existing foundation.

A new wing, built with Chinese economic aid at the Takeo College at Preah Outey in Cambodia, was opened by Prince Sihanouk recently. This is one of a number of Chinese aided projects built in Cambodia. Describ-



The Chinese ballet troupe's performance of *Swan Lake* in Rangoon. It has just concluded a 7-week tour of Burma

ing the new building as a monument to Sino-Cambodian friendship, Prince Sihanouk praised China's assistance to his country, saying that it was help not in words only but in deeds as well.

Chinese Vegetables Flourish In Cuba

Cuban agricultural workers, working in co-operation with a team of Chinese vegetable-growing specialists, have just harvested a good crop of vegetables in Pinar Del Rio Province.

Experiments on increasing vegetable output using different kinds of Chinese seeds were carried out at the famous Los Pinos People's Farm. Thanks to the method of intensive and meticulous farming, they achieved an average of twice the usual output. Over 40 young peasants from various parts of the country have been taking part in a short-term training class at the farm.

The Cuban Institute for Agrarian Reform attaches great importance to these experiments. It has invited the Chinese specialists to join leading members of the Antonio Maceo People's Farm in Havana Province in researches for popularizing further the Chinese methods of vegetable growing.

Briefs

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on March 10 sent a message of greetings to King Frederik IX of Denmark on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday and Denmark's National Day.

A Chinese government delegation headed by Wang Kuo-chuan, Chinese Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, has arrived in Leipzig to attend the 1962 Spring Fair which opened to the public on March 4.

PAINTING

The Art of Szutu Chiao

The recent exhibition of drawings and paintings by the late Szutu Chiao was arranged by the Union of Chinese Artists on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of his death. It vividly recalled the story of the creative path taken by this talented painter. I saw many works which I have long been familiar with, and I was reminded of what he had told me, speaking with his characteristic zest, of how he had come to paint them and his mood at the time.

Born in 1902 in a small village in Kwangtung, Szutu had a passion for drawing even as a mere boy. Later, with the help of some relatives he got an education. He tried to reflect reality in his paintings as early as 1924 when he was still a student at Yenching University. About young Szutu's sketches, Lu Hsun had this to say in his essay "Szutu Chiao's Paintings" (1928): "I first heard Szutu Chiao's name four or five years ago in Peking, where I learnt that he cut his classes and had no teacher, but spent his whole time sketching on his own — old temples, bare hills, tumble-down huts, poor folk, beggars. . . ."



Three Overseas Chinese Workers
Sketch by Szutu Chiao

At his first art exhibition in 1925, someone paid more than the asked price for his two sketches, *At a Store Selling Steamed Bread* and *Five Policemen and a Woman*. He found out later that the buyer was none other than Lu Hsun whose writings he had always loved. This event was a great encouragement as well as an inspiration to Szutu at the age of 23.

Szutu's earlier works, done in the 12 years between 1924 and 1936, were all destroyed by fire in the early stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Only three survived — *Portrait of Lu Hsun*, *The Dead Lu Hsun* and *Five Policemen and a Woman*, all of which are in the collection of Peking's Lu Hsun Museum. The last is a charcoal drawing showing five policemen beating up a pregnant woman. Though far from being a mature artistic work, nevertheless, with its sparse, vivid strokes, it gave vent to the author's seething anger at the brutality of the old reactionary regime. It was precisely this social awareness in the young artist that Lu Hsun discovered and valued. Lu Hsun's portrait can be ranked a successful work even today. It is clear that in painting this portrait, the artist had no intention of merely trying to catch a simple physical likeness, but sought without hesitation to express

the very spirit of the great writer. *The Dead Lu Hsun*, done with incisive lines that evoke the deep tranquillity of death, imparts a sense of profound reverence for the great writer, the reverence of an upright man. These few earlier works speak eloquently of their author's temperament — brave, passionate and militant. Lu Hsun wrote that in Szutu's paintings he "saw the artist's expression of the Chinese soul with its defiance of Nature."

In 1927 Szutu left Peking for Wuhan where he worked in revolutionary organizations. During this time he drew many posters calling the people

to revolutionary action. Following the defeat of the revolution, he went to Shanghai and in a small rented room, set up his "Chiao's Little Studio." He held several exhibitions of his works in Shanghai, but unfortunately none of these have come down to us. A catalogue of "Chiao's Little Studio" compiled in March 1928 lists many landscape paintings and other subjects like *Daughter of an Unemployed Worker* and *The Departed One*. That list, however, does not include a single portrait of any of the "big shots" of the official world or of any of the reactionary warlords, the painting of which was quite the vogue at the time among some "get-ahead" artists.

His open-minded and optimistic character also found expression in his use of bright colours in his paintings. His later works such as *In a Third-Class Compartment*, *Seaside of Penang*, and *Roadside Foodstall at Night*, done in Burma and elsewhere abroad, prove that he was an expert in the use of light and brilliant colours to express his feelings.

He arrived in Paris in 1928. Later he went from there to the United States. He wanted to get a regular education in the arts but was too poor to afford it. He did arrange to get a part-time job, painting murals for a restaurant run by an overseas Chinese, so that he could spend the rest of his time studying, but the U.S. Government threw him into jail on a charge of violating the immigration law. Shortly afterwards he was deported. He was in Southeast Asia in the 1930s. His famous picture, *Put Down Your Whip*, was painted in Singapore in 1940, four years after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan. *Put Down Your Whip* was the name of a short play widely performed by agit-prop troupes in villages and at street corners in China; it played a worthy part in stirring the people to greater efforts in the national salvation movement. Later it was taken abroad by a troupe and its performances helped the great campaign among overseas Chinese to contribute funds for their motherland's defence. Szutu painted this picture with the help of Ching Shan, today one of China's leading actors and directors, who played the part of the old father and

acted as his model. Szutu uses strong contrasts of light and shade to give a moving portrayal of a father and daughter made homeless by the invaders.

During the latter period of the war Szutu was in Chungking. Like many other intellectuals, he found life in Chungking, misty both politically and climatically, intolerably depressive. Finally he decided to go to Sinkiang. Here in the northwestern lands he sought that light and colour for which he had always thirsted. He made many paintings of the land and people of Sinkiang. More than 20 of these were on show at the recent exhibition. Done in crayon or water colour they show him as a passionate painter with a remarkable sensibility to light and colour. He worked tirelessly despite his poor health (he suffered from tuberculosis) and the tough climate of the Gobi desert regions. His love for people, for our fraternal nationalities shines in these paintings and sketches. They also testify to the progress he made after years of indefatigable study.

After the war was over, he travelled extensively in the five provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh and Honan—sketching on his way. Poor folk, beggars, refugees . . . here again were the people whom he painted more than 20 years ago, but the condition of these people was now even worse as a result of the reactionary misrule of the Kuomintang. His *Picture of Refugees*, his long scroll, *Forsaken People*, and other pieces at the exhibition recall these heart-breaking sights. These were drawn with a bamboo stick, for, he said: "The brush is too soft, the pen too fine. Only this fiery bamboo stick can give expression to the indignation of the people. I hope that every stroke I make can become a flash of light piercing the darkness."

These are Szutu's representative works. They were shown publicly in Shanghai and Nanking in July 1946, and evoked a unanimous feeling of indignation among the thousands who went to see them. The outstanding poet and historian Kuo Mo-jo commented after seeing this exhibition: "What a pity it is that those enthu-



Put Down Your Whip

Oil painting by Szutu Chiao

siasts for civil war have not come to take a look!"

Despite many difficulties and obstacles Szutu in 1950 returned to Peking from the United States. The drawing *Three Overseas Chinese Workers* was sketched while on board the ship *President Wilson*. In a note the author put on the picture, he described these men as being three of the nine survivors of 600 enticed from China by fraud and taken to work in Kauai of the Hawaiian Islands where they led a hellish life working in the sugar-cane fields at starvation wages. In September 1950 they returned to China, their fares paid by an overseas Chinese organization. They were almost blind and deaf, the last drop of life seemed to have been squeezed out of them. On board ship, they were greatly delighted to hear news of the liberation of their motherland; they were bitter in their condemnation of the criminal treatment meted out to overseas Chinese workers by the U.S. imperialists. "I happened to travel on the same ship as these men," wrote Szutu, "and I tried to sketch their likenesses. It is my deepest regret that I didn't succeed in showing one-thousandth part of their anger, nor of my own."

In this piece, we see Szutu again wielding his charcoal pencil as if it were a sword. Although the lines are

not as vigorous as those in the *Portrait of Lu Hsun*, they are firmer and stronger. His fine lines, like "wrinkles of tangled hemp" as painters of the traditional school call them, not only give the authentic feel of the quality of the skin of those who have suffered deep hardships in life, but also "express the Chinese soul with its defiance of Nature." In this "light wrinkle technique"—charcoal lines sketched at high speed—Szutu has here made use of expert craftsmanship to give expression to the agony of the people and their bitter protest against the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists. In the faces of these three overseas Chinese one can unmistakably read the anger in their hearts.

Szutu's art has always been inspired by his sense of justice. After his return to New China he worked as an art teacher and in the meantime created many works in praise of the new society. He spent four years on a historical piece dedicated to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in 1952 in Peking, but this was still unfinished at the time of his death. His inexhaustible love for work and his militant spirit will always remain an example to his students, his colleagues, and those who love his art.

—YU FENG

SIDELIGHTS

Minority Women Make Their Mark.

Women of the national minorities in China celebrated March 8, International Working Women's Day, with special gusto. And no wonder. These women suffered under a particularly heavy burden of oppression. Liberation brought them emancipation. Gone for all time are those days of indignity and contempt for women.

In Sinkiang, Buniyatsesali, daughter of a poor Uighur peasant, was before liberation forced to become one of the many wives of the local landlord. She spent her days joyless and numb, with no hope of happiness in life. After liberation, Buniyatsesali was absolved from her loathsome marriage, became literate and is now an activist in her work of leading agricultural production in the countryside.

Aisha Imunova is another of the many among the new generation of minority women who received an education and is now making notable progress. She graduated from the Peking Teachers' Institute only in 1956 and in six years has become the vice-department head of the bio-chemistry department of the Sinkiang Teachers' Institute.

Countless women like Buniyatsesali and Aisha Imunova are now taking a full share in the busy life of New China. In this multi-national Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region where Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongolians, Uzbeks, Sibos, Tadjiks and other peoples live, 40 per cent of the cadres above district level are women. The autonomous region has sent three of its Uighur women to seats in China's highest organ of state power — the National People's Congress. One out of every five deputies to the county people's congresses in the region is a woman.

In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, over 4,000 women of the Mongolian, Dahur, Manchu, Korean and Olunchun nationalities are holding important jobs. Over 100 are secretaries of the Party

committees of the different banners, chairmen or vice-chairmen of communes and secretaries of commune Party committees. Five hundred are leading the work of production brigades in the communes.

Among women of the national minorities there are now engineers, scientific and medical workers, school teachers and artists. They are making a big contribution to the advance of their regions as well as of the whole country.

Adding Spice to Life. Chinese food, it is known, can be prepared according to 5,000 recipes. The chicken alone is served in 300 different ways. Each is an artistic achievement, the acme of taste, colour and appearance. The "Lotus Flower Chicken" prepared by famous Peking chef Chen Sheng of the Peace Hotel opens at a touch of the chopsticks like a big lotus blossom with a delectable fragrance. The preparation of this and other dishes, the quintessence of China's culinary art, is taught as part of a course at a newly set up school — the Peking Services School.

The school also teaches photography, hairdressing, dry cleaning, dyeing and other trades. It aims to train specialists in the domestic arts and other service professions. Its 440 students spend two to three years there. During part of that time they do an "internship" at the capital's famed restaurants, photographic studios and other relevant departments. Besides special courses under the tuition of well-known cooks, photographers and others at the top of their trade or profession, students study the regular high school curricula.

Free room and board and monthly allowances and subsidies are given the students by the school. In blue cadre's uniform and specs, Chen Sheng of "Lotus Chicken" fame is one of the teachers. He likes to tell his students some things that aren't found in the textbooks. "When I was young, I was apprenticed to an old cook. The first few years I spent as an errand boy and received nothing but blows and kicks—I hardly ever got near the kitchen. You know how I finally learnt to cook? In the dead of night when my 'master' was asleep!"

Lost and Found. The place is as well stocked as a department store with its neatly displayed cameras, watches, fountain pens, cigarette cases and lighters, clothes of all descriptions, hats, handbags, gold bracelets, rings and brooches — there are even a cackling hen and a live rabbit. But it isn't a store. It is the lost and found department set up by the Shanghai Pedicab Management Committee. The things shown were either left by the customers in the cabs or found by the drivers on their route.

The Shanghai people, like people the world over, often lose things. But an army of pedicab drivers, red-scarved Pioneers, workers, peasants, office cadres and housewives find these articles and hand them in at the nearest police station from whence they are eventually sent to the many lost and found departments in the city. Finders go to great lengths to seek out the absent-minded owners. When a Shanghai office worker, Pao Ming-chi, got home, she discovered she'd lost her wallet containing cash and some important papers. Just as she was wring-



By Teng Erh-lung

ing her hands in despair, a knock was heard at the door — the pedicab driver, Chou Fu-hai, had found it in his cab and brought it back.

At a recent meeting of the Pedicab Management Committee, awards were given to 511 drivers who had made particular efforts in this respect during the last two years alone.

The Fruit That Yields Lard. A lush green creeper sprawls up the walls and over the roofs of most of the cottages belonging to the Yao and Chuang people living in the mountain regions of western Kwangtung Province. There is a good reason for this climber's popularity. The seeds of its fruit provide enough cooking oil for the family's needs the whole year round.

Full grown, this vine, the fabulous "lard fruit" (*hodgsonia macrocarpa jogn*), bears some score or so fruits

the size of water-melons every year. Each of the six to eight seeds from a fruit is bigger than an egg and has an oil content of 70-80 per cent, which is rich in vitamins, tastes like good-quality lard and is as good for cooking. In fact, it is said that when a housewife of Hsishuangpanna, Yunnan Province, where the fruit abounds, wants to do some frying, she only has to cut a seed and rub it on the bottom of the pan to get all the oil she needs.

Scientists have succeeded in establishing it in the botanical gardens in Yunnan and Canton. It is fruiting in its new surroundings quite well.

One-Man Show. From behind a small screen set on the stage came the voices of 11 different characters. The audience listened intently as an absorbing drama on the cupidity of the ruling classes in the old society unfolded. At

the end of the 30-minute play, however, only one man came out to make his bow. He had played all 11 roles.

The actor was 43-year-old master-impersonator Lo Chun-lin, whose one-man show is a perennial hit on the stage at Chengtu (Szechuan Province). Only one role, that of the young girl, was not expertly portrayed. The actor had specialized in this part once, but in 1948, when Kuomintang officers, for a bet, made him go on for hours, his voice was injured and never recovered sufficiently for him to play this part well.

Lo Chun-lin has a repertoire of 40 plays, mostly compiled since liberation. He is the only well-known Chengtu man to carry on this age-old Chinese art often mentioned in ancient books. But since he is teaching many young people, the future for this form of theatre is bright.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

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

PEKING OPERA

▲ **IRON-CAGE MOUNTAIN** An episode from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. General Chiang Wei of the Shu Kingdom defeats the Wei General Szuma Yi and encircles him in the Iron-Cage Mountain. Later Szuma is rescued by his faithful retainer and together they defeat Chiang Wei. Produced by the visiting Wuhan Peking Opera Troupe.

▲ **PUNISHING TZU-TU** During an expedition General Kungsun Tzu-tu of the ancient Chou court, because of his jealousy, treacherously kills another general Ying Kao-shou. Returning triumphant he says that Ying Kao-shou was killed by the enemy. However, Ying's spirit appears before the court and tells the truth. The murderer is punished. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** How Queen Wu Tse Tien, China's first woman ruler of the early Tang Dynasty, brings peace and progress to the country by her wise statesmanship. The Experimental Peking Opera Troupe of the Chinese Opera School.

▲ **VISITING WEST LAKE** Story of Li Hui-niang, a chaste and courageous girl who is killed by the evil Prime Minister Chia Szu-tao, when she refuses to submit to him. After her death, her spirit helps the man she loves escape from Chia. The Experimental Peking Opera Troupe of the Chinese Opera School.

SHAOSHING OPERA

▲ **THE DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER** Adapted from the great 18th century Chinese novel. A tragedy of youth among the upper classes in feudal China. Produced by the visiting Tientsin ShaosHING Opera Troupe.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **PRINCESS HUNDRED FLOWERS BESTOWS A SWORD** A political rival gets a young warrior drunk and puts him into Princess Hundred Flowers' chamber expecting that the princess will kill him. But the princess falls in love with him and gives him a sword as a token of her affection. Also **AT THE CROSSROADS** Three conspirators meet in the darkened room of an inn. Before a light is brought and they discover that they are all of one party they get into one of the finest of acrobatic fights on the stage. North Kunqu Opera Theatre

MODERN OPERA

▲ **RED GUARDS OF LAKE HUNGHU** The dramatic story of a Red Guards detachment led by a woman Communist in the fight against reactionary forces during the Second Revolutionary Civil War. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **HSIAO ERH-HEI'S MARRIAGE** Adapted from Chao Shu-li's short story. A young couple in the countryside wins happiness in a struggle against feudal ideas. 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.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ See the Tibetan version of **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** performed by Tibet's first modern drama troupe. Story of the Han-Tibetan marriage between Princess Wen Cheng and the Tibetan king Sron-tsan Gampo during the Tang Dynasty. Despite the plots of traitors, this happy union strengthens the fraternal ties between the two nationalities.

▲ **TSAI WEN-CHI** A five-act historical play by Kuo Mo-jo. Tsai Wen-chi, woman scholar of the 3rd century, is captured and married by a noble Hun invader. Twelve years later, with peace restored, she is asked to return to her homeland to continue her scholar-father's work. For love of her homeland she sorrowfully bids farewell to her family and the Huns, but is happily instrumental in thwarting a spoiler of relations between the two peoples. At play's end she is reunited with her children. Peking People's Art Theatre.

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

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

FILMS

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

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

▲ **HATIFA** A G.D.R. film. It depicts the tragic life of the slave-maid, Hatifa, and her people's struggle against the slave-owners.

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

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF SHELL WORK ART** Over one thousand beautiful objects made from sea shells. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At the Round City at Beihai Park.

▲ **EXHIBITION OF BOOK COVERS AND ILLUSTRATIONS** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till March 25. At Beihai Park.

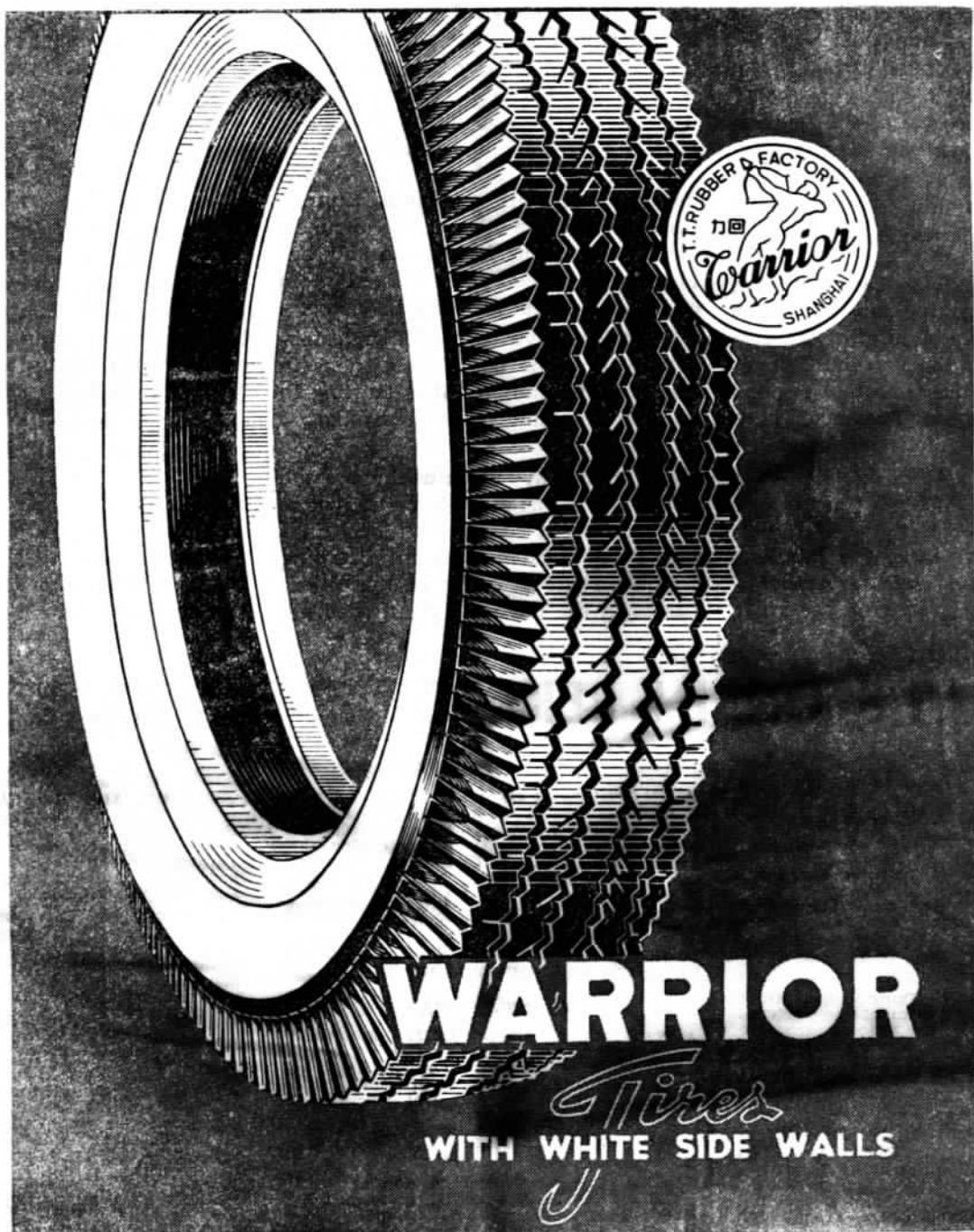
▲ **EXHIBITION OF SKETCHES FROM TIBET** Over a hundred sketches by the artists Tung Hsi-wen, Shao Ching-kun, Wu Kuan-chung and others. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till March 25. At Artists' Union Gallery.

(Above exhibitions closed on Mondays.)

BOATING

Spring is here! Boating on the lakes at Beihai Park, Shih Cha Hai and the Summer Palace.





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