

# PEKING REVIEW

12

March 23, 1962

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*Archaeology and Other Features*

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS



SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 23, 1962 Vol. V No. 12

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Focus on Farming

The nation's attention is focused on farming. As soon as the Spring Festival was over, rural people's communes stepped up preparations for the spring ploughing and sowing, while industrial, trade and other departments in the cities took an even keener look at how they were keeping to their plans for making and sending farm machines and tools, fertilizers and insecticides, consumer goods and all other necessary materials to the countryside as their share of aid to the agricultural drive.

Overall, work is going ahead steadily and systematically in the battle for a good harvest this year. The nation's press keeps this issue squarely in the centre of attention. A recent *Renmin Ribao* editorial reiterates the Communist Party's call to the nation to give all-out aid to agriculture. Reinforcing the agricultural front with manpower and materials, it writes, is an important aspect of this aid. In carrying through the policy of taking agriculture as the basis for the development of the national economy, much has been achieved over the past two years, but in order to garner a better harvest this year the agricultural front needs to be further strengthened. It calls on all departments throughout the country, in mapping out their plans, to give top consideration to whatever is needed to boost agricultural production, on which, in the final analysis, the realization of all their plans depends. The editorial repeats the dictum: "Strengthening the agricultural front means strengthening the foundation of the entire national economy." The bringing in of a good harvest this year, therefore, is the glorious task not only of the rural people's communes but of the whole people.

### Soldier Farmers

In every province throughout China, men and women of the People's Liberation Army are lending a hand to the rural people's communes. From generals to privates, they are hard at it, ploughing and weeding, repairing machines, digging ditches, doing veterinary work, setting up clinics and performing any of the hundred

and one tasks associated with life in the rural areas. Defence of the country is not the only job of the P.L.A.; assisting national construction is all in the day's work for China's soldiers.

In Kwangtung Province where spring ploughing and sowing is in full swing, army men have gone to the rural communes to build or repair small water conservancy works, cart manure to the fields, make compost, plough the land and transplant rice seedlings. In the Chaochow-Swatow area alone, P.L.A. units have over the past month contributed a labour force equal to 17,000 able-bodied men, concentrated mostly on water conservancy works. On the islet of Nanao just off the coast of Kwangtung, they have built a small reservoir capable of irrigating 600 *mu* of land for the islanders. Those on Hainan Island helped the Li and Miao people transplant rice seedlings. Their willingness to help and their skill are much appreciated by these minority peoples.

P.L.A. veterinary surgeons tour the countryside in teams. One team visiting the outskirts of Canton thoroughly examined the draught animals of the people's communes there and vaccinated them against rinderpest and other diseases.

Last year the P.L.A. contributed more than 22.5 million work-days to the nation's economic construction; over 80 per cent of these were given to the farms, most of the work being done during the busy seasons. The garrison in Shenyang in northeast China did the ploughing, sowing and harvesting on nearly 2 million *mu* of land for people's communes in over 50 counties in the area.

Specialized P.L.A. units give specialized aid to agriculture. Last year the P.L.A. air force made over 400 flights for making artificial rain or spraying insecticides on crops grown by the people's communes. Mechanized units made, overhauled or repaired farm machinery and trained large numbers of peasant technicians.

### Inter-Plant Mutual Aid

Socialist co-operation and mutual aid among industrial enterprises is, of course, nothing new in Shanghai, but its forms are constantly being



Putting More Land Under the Plough

Woodcut in colour. Collective work

perfected and adapted to suit changing circumstances. A recent example concerns 22 of the city's big engineering works which have put such relations between them on an organized basis. They have divided themselves into groups making similar products, so that the older, more advanced enterprises can give whatever help is needed to the newer, less experienced enterprises in the group.

This help is given in various ways. Some groups organize special forums to exchange experience between workshops or production teams; others hold regular meetings to discuss and study current production problems. Some older enterprises send out working teams made up of workers and technicians to help the younger plants study and solve their technical problems. Such aid, however, is by no means confined to the technical side; it's all-round help, ranging from workshop problems to business management and administration.

Some time ago the No. 3 Machine Tools Works, which only began making grinding machines a year or so ago, ran up against some snags in production which it could not solve. The Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, long noted for its precision grinding machines, at once came to its help. The team of technicians which it sent, working with men of the No. 3 Works, went over every aspect of the work-process and carefully analysed the quality of the parts going into the plant's grinding machines. They successfully located where the trouble lay and overcame the difficulty. They also helped the new plant train the technicians needed to do the job well.

Learning in these groups is not a one-way street. Many of the older enterprises have learnt invaluable experience from the new ones through

mutual assistance. It was in helping a new plant raise the quality of equipment for making chemical fertilizers that the Heavy-Duty Machinery Works of Shanghai itself mastered new methods of using simple equipment to process machine parts and accessories for big steel-rolling mills. This knowledge later came in handy for itself. It was also while helping a newly equipped boiler factory in its mutual-aid group to improve its work that the Shanghai Boiler Factory, one of China's main producers of big boilers for power stations and other industrial plants, learnt many advanced production techniques and management methods which it is now using to good advantage.

With the rising demand for a wider range of high-quality products, there has been an increasing need for technical mutual assistance, exchange of experience and collective action to solve production problems. These mutual-aid ties are being consolidated and gradually extended to embrace all the small and medium-sized enterprises in Shanghai.

Pre-liberation Shanghai was a "paradise for adventurers." Cut-throat industrial competition was its way of life. Today, in that great city the socialist spirit of mutual assistance and mutual advance prevails. Inter-plant co-operation to raise technical standards and improve the quality of products is part of the new order of things. Workers in Shanghai know well that "one flower does not make spring, only when all the flowers bloom is spring really here."

### For a Healthy Generation

Keeping the children in good health is an integral part of the work of New China's nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools. Regular health check-

ups are given each child and their training includes education in hygiene from the very start. Parents are kept in the picture at all stages. The health authorities and press are quick to pass on the experience of places which do best in this work.

**Pre-school.** Chungking, the upper Yangtse port city, has recently reported on its successful pre-school age health measures. Local child health protection centres, mother and child-care clinics, and hospitals there have just completed a medical survey of all pre-school children under seven in homes, nurseries and kindergartens. The teams of medical workers sent out checked over the health of all the children, studied their diet and general conditions and ended with advice to parents and others in charge of them on how to keep them in sound health.

**Eyes.** Bad habits in reading or lack of knowledge of how to guard their eyesight all too often hurt the eyes of growing children. To counter this, teachers in primary schools, doctors, health service workers and parents are co-operating closely to help the children take good care of their eyes. Among the various methods of education in eye care used are films and exhibitions, talks and demonstrations on how to prevent and cure such eye defects as short-sightedness. Schools have taken measures to improve lighting and the arrangement of desks to avoid excessive eye strain. Surveys show that these and other methods have yielded good results.

**Teeth.** Dental decay too is a common scourge of children and increasing attention is being paid to methods of preventing and rooting it out. In Shanghai, on the initiative of the local health departments, almost every one of the one million and more pupils in the 1,200 primary schools of the metropolitan area has been given four dental check-ups since 1958. In addition to their clinical work, dentists keep in close touch with parents and teachers, spreading information on oral hygiene and the prevention of teeth diseases. This has proved to be of immense help. Cases of dental decay among Shanghai's school children have been reduced to less than 5 per cent of the schools' enrolment. The valuable experience gained by the Shanghai public health authorities in the primary schools is now being popularized in the nurseries, kindergartens and secondary schools.

# Premier Chou En-lai Greet the Algerian People's Victory

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai in a letter to Algerian Premier Ben Youssef Ben Khedda on March 20 congratulated him and the Algerian Provisional Government and people on the occasion of the announcement of the Algerian-French ceasefire agreement. The letter, sent in reply to one received by the Chinese Premier from the Algerian Premier on February 9, reads as follows:

"I received with great pleasure Your Excellency's letter of February 9, 1962, and met on February 20 Mr. Abderrahmane Kiouane, head of your diplomatic mission in China. I have requested the head of your diplomatic mission to convey to Your Excellency the views of the Chinese Government. I sincerely thank Your Excellency for the profound sentiments of friendship expressed in your letter for the Chinese people, the Chinese Government and myself.

"On this occasion when the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria announces that it has reached a ceasefire agreement with the Government of the Republic of France and when the French Government is compelled to recognize the Provisional Government of Algeria and the right of the Algerian people to independence, I have the honour, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express my sincere congratulations to Your Excellency and through Your Excellency to the Algerian Provisional Government and people. The conclusion of the agreement between Algeria and France is the result of the armed struggle waged heroically by the Algerian people for more than seven years, and of their per-

severance in negotiations on an equal footing and on the basis of armed struggle. At the same time, I am deeply confident that the Algerian people, who have been tempered through prolonged heroic struggle, will certainly be able, under the leadership of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, to unite as one and win new and still greater victories in their just struggle for achieving complete independence, unity of the people and territorial integrity.

"The close and militant friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples is based on reliable foundations. In our common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, our two peoples have always given each other support and help. The Chinese people and Government have always regarded the struggle of the Algerian people as their own struggle, and the victory of the Algerian people as their own victory. We have unfailingly given our profound sympathy and resolute support to the Algerian people in their just struggle for independence and freedom.

"I sincerely hope that the relations of friendship and co-operation between the peoples and governments of our two countries will be consolidated and further developed.

"Please accept, Your Excellency, my best wishes for the Algerian people and the Algerian Provisional Government.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration."

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## The Algerian People's Great Victory

*Following is a translation of the full text of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial on March 20. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**O**N March 18, 1962, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government, after negotiations held on an equal footing, finally signed a ceasefire agreement putting an end to the war in Algeria. At the same time, Ben Bella and other leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, who were treacherously kidnapped in the air by the French colonialists more than five years ago, have regained their freedom.

The basic content of the Algerian-French agreement is that France recognizes and guarantees the Algerian

people's right to self-determination and recognizes Algeria's complete and full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the unity of its people. These principles are precisely what the French colonialists have hitherto refused to recognize. These are the very goals which the Algerian people have struggled for persistently and fought for in a protracted war of resistance. If this agreement can be carried out without being sabotaged by the French colonialists, Algeria's independence and peace will be basically assured. This agreement is thus an important victory on the road of national liberation for the Algerian people. The Chinese people, along with other Asian and African peoples and all the people of the world who cherish peace and uphold justice, warmly

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greet the Algerian people's victory and once again express their deep respect for the Algerian people, struggling heroically for the liberation of their country.

Algeria has been subjected to French colonial rule for one hundred and thirty years. The heroic Algerian people have never ceased their steadfast struggle for independence. The French colonialists have on many occasions given false promises of independence to Algeria but have never honoured their promise to "grant" independence. Immediately after World War II, the Algerian people, who had shed their blood to defeat Hitlerite fascism, had every right to demand that the French colonialists fulfil the obligation they had undertaken during the war to end colonial rule in Algeria. But the latter's answer to the Algerian people's just demand was the monstrous Constantine bloodbath—in which 40,000 Algerian patriots were butchered by French colonial troops. Like all other oppressed peoples, the Algerian people love peace. But reality taught them a profound lesson: unless they took up arms to oppose colonial oppression and resolutely smashed all the bloody colonialist attempts to suppress them, genuine independence and real peace were impossible.

### **The Path of Armed Struggle**

Developments in the past seven years and more have proved that the Algerian people are entirely correct in choosing the road of armed struggle. It was precisely the Algerian people's perseverance in their protracted national-liberation war that finally brought the Algerian-French talks to agreement and the recognition of Algeria's independence and sovereignty.

When the first shots were fired in the uprising in the Aures Mountains on November 1, 1954, only 3,000 Algerian guerrillas were there facing the tens of thousands of French colonial troops and police who had been mustered to suppress the uprising. In the eyes of those French colonial generals, the Algerian guerrillas were merely a "mob" which could be wiped out "in a battle or two." But the Algerian insurgent army crushed the enemy assaults and developed a protracted war of resistance against the French. Since then, the French colonialists have thrown the bulk of their country's military strength onto the Algerian battlefield. The number of colonial troops and police has increased from tens of thousands to more than 800,000. They have squandered nearly U.S. \$10,000 million, launched one savage offensive after another and built whole series of massive defence lines. Yet, in spite of all this, the Algerian National Liberation Army, far from being wiped out, has grown in the war. They have put out of action more than 100,000 enemy troops, liberated large tracts of their country, repeatedly broken through the defence lines of the French colonial troops and have switched strategically from the defensive to the offensive in vast areas of the country. This has compelled the French troops to retreat until all they were able to do was to hold on to the major cities, the main communication lines, the oilfields and the east and west border defence lines.

The colonial war has utterly exhausted French imperialism and has presented insurmountable political and economic difficulties for France. After de Gaulle assumed power, the military situation grew steadily worse. It

was only in these circumstances and under the pressure of the mounting discontent of the French people that de Gaulle was compelled to consider a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question and to negotiate with the Algerian Provisional Government on an equal footing.

The Algerian-French talks were long drawn out with many twists and turns. This fact clearly shows that imperialism will never of its own accord make concessions to the national-liberation movement. Even when armed suppression has failed and it has had to switch to political means, it still tries by every conceivable device to maintain its colonial rule.

After his accession to power, de Gaulle at first talked loudly about an "honourable peace," but he refused in any way to recognize Algeria as a state and a nation, nor would he accept the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic as the other party in negotiations. Later, he agreed to the holding of talks, but called unjustifiably for talks on the question of the ceasefire alone, without touching on political issues. And when he agreed to negotiations on both the political issues and a ceasefire, in the hope of partitioning Algeria, he arrogantly refused to recognize Algeria's sovereignty over the Sahara. So the Algerian-French negotiations dragged on for nearly two years—now on and now off—after they started at Melun in 1960.

### **Revolutionary Double Tactics**

To deal with imperialism's counter-revolutionary double tactics, the Algerian patriotic forces correctly used the revolutionary double tactics of combining armed struggle with negotiation. They adopted the policy of not refusing to talk while at the same time persisting in armed struggle. In the course of the negotiations, they not only did not relax their armed struggle, but went further and started a large-scale mass patriotic struggle in the French-occupied areas, thereby opening up a second front for the Algerian national-liberation movement. At the same time, the delegates of the Algerian Provisional Government at the conference table persisted in their principled stand of demanding guarantees for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Algeria and the unity of its people. This is why the Algerian-French talks have succeeded at last in overcoming the various obstacles erected by the French colonialists and have achieved positive results favourable to the national independence of Algeria.

The just struggle of the Algerian people has the profound sympathy and warm support of the people throughout the world, particularly the people of the socialist countries and of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic is now recognized *de jure* or *de facto* by the governments of more than 30 countries. In the past seven years and more, solidarity with and support for the Algerian war of national liberation have become part of the common struggle of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The moral and material support given by the people of various countries to the Algerian people has greatly inspired and fortified their struggle. On the other hand, the heroic struggle of the Algerian people is itself a positive contribution to the cause of the people of the

world in opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding world peace.

The democratic forces of France have also contributed to stopping the French imperialists from continuing this dirty colonial war. The French people held demonstrations and took other patriotic action against the French ultra-colonialists who clung to the reactionary stand of carrying on the colonial war. In this way they forced the de Gaulle government to negotiate with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic on the basis of recognition of Algeria's right to national independence. Because the unjust war waged by the French colonialists damaged the true national interests of France, it has met with fierce opposition from the French people. The present Algerian-French ceasefire agreement conforms both to the interests of the Algerian people and to French national interests. It therefore enjoys the universal support of the French people.

### **Ceasefire — Beginning of a New Struggle**

The objective situation makes it clear that so far as the Algerian people are concerned, the declaration of the ceasefire does not mean the end of their struggle but rather the very beginning of a new struggle.

Obviously the reaching of this agreement does not mean its implementation; for this it is still necessary to wage a complex and acute struggle. Under the hammer blows of the people's forces, the imperialists and colonialists, driven into a corner, are often compelled to accept peaceful agreements. But when they think they can get away with it, they will violate and even scrap these agreements. There have been innumerable examples and lessons of this in the past.

The Algerian people will definitely vote for the independence of their country, if the forthcoming "referendum" takes place in complete freedom and without any foreign interference or pressure. The important thing, however, is to be vigilant against sabotage by the French colonial and other reactionary forces. First of all, one must not lose sight of the terrorist activities of the O.A.S. (the fascist Secret Army Organization) of the French ultra-colonialists against the peaceful Algerian people both before and after the ceasefire.

In fact, the colonialists have by no means stopped their slaughter in Algeria and Algerian blood is still being shed. It is to be noted that the de Gaulle government is still conniving at the terrorist outrages now being committed by the O.A.S. in Algeria. As the Algerian side has repeatedly pointed out, the de Gaulle government must bear a serious responsibility for these outrages.

### **Danger of U.S. Neo-Colonialism**

Moreover, there is also the new, grave danger posed by the U.S. neo-colonialists to Algeria which must be considered. The United States has all along harboured secret designs on Algeria. Today U.S. imperialism pretends to be "concerned" about the peace and independence of Algeria. But it is well known that the dirty war carried on by France in Algeria would have ended long ago but for the military, economic and political support given by the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty bloc to the French colonialists. The

Algerian people will never forget that in the past seven years and more a large quantity of U.S.-made weapons have been used to massacre Algerian patriots and destroy peaceful villages in Algeria. On the other hand, the two military coups launched by the French ultras in January 1960 and April 1961 to overthrow the de Gaulle regime were engineered with the participation of Washington. As soon as the official announcement of the Algerian-French ceasefire agreement was made, "forecasts" were already being made in the U.S. Congress that the O.A.S. would lodge "violent protests" and "might well attempt to overthrow de Gaulle." It is well known that the French O.A.S. in Algeria has the active support of U.S. imperialism. Nor is it a secret that the U.S. neo-colonialists are trying to extend their colonial influence into all newly independent African countries to replace the old colonialists. U.S. imperialist penetration into the Congo is a profound lesson for all African peoples.

Premier Ben Youssef Ben Khedda of the Provisional Government of Algeria has, therefore, stressed: "The transition period is one which demands great vigilance. The ceasefire is not peace, the danger is great." He urged that "so long as independence has not been proclaimed, so long as the state has not been restored, so long as the government of free Algeria is not established on the nation's soil, the people, the *moudjahidines* (fighters — Tr.) and the militants must be in a state of mobilization."

Meanwhile, the vigilance of the French people has been aroused by the frantic efforts of the French ultras to wreck the agreement. The French Communist Party in its statement on the French-Algerian agreement warned that Salan and the O.A.S. fascist elements would try by every conceivable means to obstruct the implementation of the Evian agreement. It called on the French people to strengthen their unity and maintain their vigilance so as to guarantee the correct implementation of the agreement.

### **China Supports Algeria's Struggle**

The Chinese people, who have won their own liberation, have all along supported the Algerian people's national-liberation struggle. We not only unreservedly support the Algerian people's just war for national liberation, but also hold that this war has made positive contributions to world peace. At the same time, we also support the Algerian people in their political struggle in negotiating with the French colonialists while carrying on armed struggle. Both the armed struggle and the negotiations are aimed at winning Algeria's independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and the unity of its people. Therefore, the Chinese people rejoice with and congratulate the Algerian people on their achievements in the talks which are beneficial to the cause of Algeria's national independence. The Chinese and the Algerian peoples have always been and will continue to be brothers and comrades-in-arms sympathizing with and supporting each other in the fight against imperialism and in the cause of building up their own countries. We firmly believe that the Algerian people who have been steeled in revolutionary struggle will, in the new situation, continue to strengthen their unity, maintain their vigilance, achieve new and greater victories and realize Algeria's complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the people's unity and solidarity.

# Algeria's National-Liberation War

by SHIH FANG

THE armed uprising started by the Algerian patriots in over 30 different places in Algeria more than seven years ago wrote a new and brilliant chapter in the history of the Algerian people's revolution.

## Growth of Revolutionary Armed Forces

The revolutionary armed forces of the Algerian people have been steeled in the seven years and more of heroic struggle and grown steadily stronger. In the early stages of the rising in 1954, they were without adequate training and equipment. The only weapons they had at first were old rifles and handgrenades. They even used hunting guns. Today the Algerian National Liberation Army (A.L.N.) has become a powerful, highly organized regular army of more than 100,000 men under a unified command; it is far better equipped and has a certain number of heavy weapons. In addition, large numbers of guerrilla forces have taken part in its military operations.

The Algerian liberated areas have also developed rapidly and grown along with the A.L.N. At first the Algerian armed forces controlled only the mountain areas of Kabylie and Aures in the east and the north, later, large new tracts of territory in the north and vast oil-producing areas in the south were brought under their control. A democratic state power combining political and military affairs was established in many liberated areas. Some fairly well-consolidated base areas were created.

In the initial stage of the armed struggle, the A.L.N. mainly used the tactics of small-scale guerrilla warfare, fighting scattered engagements. Subsequently, as its forces grew stronger, well-organized and large-scale guerrilla warfare was gradually developed. Since October 1957, the A.L.N. has ever more frequently taken the initiative in mounting attacks.

The Algerian National Liberation Army today has quite a considerable capacity to attack strong enemy fortified positions. In an attempt to cut contacts between the A.L.N. and the outside world, the French troops built the so-called "Morice and Challe lines" on the Algerian-Tunisian border. But in January 1959, the A.L.N. broke through these lines at one blow and has repeated the feat many times since.

One victory after another won by the A.L.N. gave a big impetus to the patriotic movement of the Algerian people in the French-occupied areas. Since December 1960, there have been mass demonstrations against French colonial domination in such key cities as Algiers, Oran, Orleansville and Constantine. Co-ordinating its operations with those of the A.L.N., the Algerian people's armed underground organizations have frequently carried out military activities in the French-occupied areas. Thus another front was formed against French colonial rule.

Punch-drunk from the hail of heavy blows dealt it by the armed forces of the Algerian people, French imperialism today finds itself in a military, political and economic quagmire.

Up to the autumn of 1956, the French strategy was to launch offensives based on the idea of large-scale "encirclements" and "mopping-up" operations and nothing else; they were most aggressive at that time. On one occasion they stormed the two main strongholds of the A.L.N. in the mountain areas of Great Kabylie and Aures with some 50,000 men of their crack forces. This was an attempt to force the A.L.N. out of the mountains and forests and then wipe them out at one stroke. The A.L.N., on their part, countered this with flexible, mobile guerrilla warfare. The French troops, constantly harassed, ambushed and raided, suffered heavy defeats. Thanks to this mobile guerrilla warfare, the A.L.N. made advances in the eastern theatre of war, in the border areas adjoining Tunisia and in some of the coastal areas. This gave immense support and inspiration to the popular resistance movement and eventually led to the defeat of the all-out "encirclement" and "mopping-up" plans of the French colonial troops.

## French Colonialists Hamstrung

Following this the French army gradually lost the advantages they previously enjoyed in launching offensives and turned to a new strategy of "encirclement of key points" and "mopping up at key points." In co-ordination with this new strategy, they chose a number of strategic areas in Algeria which they tightly blockaded so as to cut them off completely from the outside world. By means of these "forbidden zones," they hoped to encircle, starve out and smash the A.L.N. forces. It was a vicious move, but failed in face of the popular resistance.

In the last two years, the French colonial troops have again been forced to change their strategy to one of "holding strategic points and all-out blockade." The A.L.N., however, had grown in strength and skill, it gave the enemy no rest, constantly raiding his positions where he tried to hold his ground and dealing counter-blows against the "blockade." The French colonialist troops literally ran off their legs.

The policy of military suppression pursued by the French colonialists has gone completely bankrupt; this is shown by the French imperialists' change over from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive in their armed suppression of the Algerian people.

The Algerian people, after many years of armed struggle, have won their victory at last. Their victory, as Ben Khedda, Premier of the Algerian Provisional Government, has pointed out, has exploded the myth of the invincibility of imperialism. Their victory will have a far-reaching and profound influence on the further development of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.



# CONFERENCE IN BAGUIO

“RENMIN RIBAO” COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation, slightly abridged, of a “Renmin Ribao” commentary published on March 16 under the title: “Baguio Conference Tells of New U.S. Plots for Aggression in Asia.” Subheads are ours.—Ed.

A SO-CALLED Far East Regional Operations Conference of the United States was held between March 10 and 14 in Baguio, the Philippines. Though it met in closed session, it is not difficult to discover its purpose from what has leaked out through various sources. The American news agencies reported that it had discussed the following questions: how to suppress the national-liberation struggles in south Viet Nam, in Laos and elsewhere in South-east Asia; U.S. military policies and projects; U.S. “aid” programmes; the “food for peace” programme; and trade and “its impact on U.S. operations in the Far East.” This was again confirmed in Bowles’ statements made in Manila and Tokyo after the conference. The United States, he said, is planning to set up a “military shield” as a solution to the Asian “communist menace.” What he meant is crystal clear: under the smokescreen of hackneyed anti-communist slanders, the Baguio Conference worked out plans for Washington’s new offensive in Asia.

This was the background to the conference: In Laos, the United States is giving increasing aid to the rebel troops to attack the patriotic forces and is sparing no efforts to prevent the formation of a coalition government. In south Viet Nam, U.S. armed intervention has become still more blatant and, in actual fact, U.S. forces are taking a part in Ngo Dinh Diem’s war to suppress the south Vietnamese people. Under Washington’s instructions, now that the “Japan-south Korea talks” have officially started, Japan and south Korea are colluding with each other more closely than ever to rig up the Northeast Asia military alliance. In a recent joint statement, the U.S. Secretary of State and the Thai Foreign Minister announced that the United States would initiate independent action in Asia and “this obligation of U.S. does not depend upon the prior agreement of all other parties to the treaty”; in so doing, Washington hopes to go ahead with its aggression with a free hand without having the European member states of SEATO stand in its way.

It is not difficult to understand that the secret deliberations at the Baguio Conference were directly connected with recent U.S. acts to extend its aggression in Asia.

## “Special Warfare” Strategy

All available information indicates that one of the important subjects discussed at the conference was to push forward the U.S. strategy of “special warfare” designed to suppress the national-liberation struggles. According to the *Washington Post*, Kennedy, speaking at a meeting of the National Security Council in mid-January, made it

clear that national-liberation war is what “most needs to be feared” by the United States at present, that is why it was necessary, he said, “to develop and improve the special forces for underground and guerilla fighting.” Washington is now engaged in setting up new “special forces” centres and is sending reinforcements to Asia for training in so-called “anti-insurgency” tactics. Early this month, speaking at a Senate Appropriations Sub-Committee hearing, Decker, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, told those present that the U.S. Army is expanding its “capability to support . . . para-military operations in critical areas of the world where communist-inspired subversion, insurgency, or guerilla warfare exists or may develop.” The United States is also ordering the Philippines and Thailand to establish so-called “guerrilla forces” so that Asians may be used to fight Asians.

It is quite clear that the Baguio Conference discussions on the creating of this “military shield” were in fact deliberations to embark on “special warfare” against the



Very “Special Force”

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

Asian peoples who are fighting against imperialism and to win and safeguard their independence. The United States hopes in this way to gain experience in this field and so prepare the suppression of national-liberation struggles in other parts of the world. In an article carried in its March 9 issue the Washington *Evening Star* says quite frankly that "we [the U.S.] have at last found the means to make our military assistance programs really effective in guerilla and semi-guerilla warfare"; "if we genuinely have found out how to do it in Southeast Asia, this should mean that we have developed a pilot-model for this kind of warfare which would be adopted anywhere in the world where need may develop."

The aggressive plans hatched at the Baguio Conference also include measures for intensified U.S. infiltration into Asian countries in the political, economic and cultural fields. Even before the conference opened, Bowles had been harping on the establishment of a "regional economic bloc" in Asia while a stream of high-ranking officials of the Kennedy Administration has been showing up in

Asia, all busily engaged in all sorts of activities. All this is part of the underhand schemes cooked up in Baguio.

### Heavier Bets in Asia

The meeting at Baguio and the various clandestine U.S. moves made both before and after that conference show that the Kennedy Administration contemplates gambling with heavier stakes in the Far East and Southeast Asia and extending its intervention and aggression there. On March 10, Kennedy declared that in areas stretching "in a great half-circle" from Berlin to south Korea, the United States is the "sentinel at the gate." He evidently already fancies himself the overlord of Asia and regards these vast areas as U.S. possessions. In face of this arrogance of the Kennedy Administration, the peoples in Asia have no alternative but to take serious action. Kennedy and his ilk have rejoiced too soon. No matter what tricks and intrigues the United States may resort to, the peoples of the Asian countries will eventually throw the aggressive U.S. forces out of Asia.

### Indian Survey

# What the Results of India's General Elections Show

by HSIAO LENG

THE Indian general elections, which take place every five years, were held from February 16 to 25. In this campaign, the third since India achieved independent nationhood in 1947, 494 seats were contested in the Lok Sabha (House of the People) and 2,930 seats in 13 Vidhan Sabhas (state legislative assemblies). In Kerala and Orissa mid-term elections for state legislative assemblies took place in 1960 and 1961 respectively; therefore, only Lok Sabha members were elected in these two states. All told 16 political parties, including such national ones as the Congress Party, the Communist Party of India, the Swatantra Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh were approved by the Election Commission to take part in this campaign.

### Preliminary Election Results

According to the March 7 issue of *India News* published by the Indian Embassy in Peking, counting of votes in elections to the Lok Sabha had been completed in 485 constituencies. Results are as follows:

	Seats Won in the Present Election	Seats Held Before the Election	Gains(+) or Losses(-)
Congress Party	353	376*	-23
Communist Party	29	30	-1
Swatantra Party	18	9	+9
Jan Sangh	14	6	+8
Praja Socialist Party	12	16	-4

Of the 2,904 state legislative assembly seats already declared, the Congress Party won about 1,800 seats; the

Communist Party of India, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh and the Praja Socialist Party each won more than 100. Compared with the number of seats held before the election, the Congress Party lost several hundred seats; the Communist Party gained nearly 50; the Jan Sangh gained around 70 and the Praja Socialist Party lost about 40.

### Weakened Position of Congress Party

The Congress Party lost ground in both the Lok Sabha and the various state assemblies. This is because of the growing discontent of the people at large with the party that has held power since India's independence. Neither the use of the huge election funds it had at its disposal nor the tremendous effort it made before and during the campaign could prevent this. A British newspaper estimated that the Congress Party spent 15 million pounds sterling during the second general elections. This equals the total amount of 55 million rupees spent by India's state treasury in running this election. The foreign press commented that Nehru, leader of the Congress Party, set "a world record in canvassing for votes" in this campaign. In 31 days he visited 88 cities and towns in 14 states, covered 17,800 miles and spoke for 76 hours in the course of his 91 public speeches. Thanks to such efforts the Congress Party managed to win a majority in the Lok Sabha and most of the state legislative assemblies. But despite its strenuous electioneering, it still lost more than 20 seats in the Lok Sabha and several hundred in the various state legislative assemblies. In Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan it holds less than half the legislative assembly

\* Including ten M.P.s nominated by the President.

seats. Its position has been markedly strengthened only in Gujerat and Maharashtra, two new constituencies formed when the former Bombay state was divided in a move to weaken the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, a united front organization made up of parties opposing the Congress. In six other state legislative assemblies the Congress Party lost quite heavily. In Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, it won only by a slim majority. One Congress Party minister of the Central Government, another Congress Party chief minister of a state council and scores of Congress Party ministers of the various state councils lost their seats. Nehru himself won much less votes in this election than he did in the second general elections.

### **Growth of Progressive Forces**

In spite of temporary setbacks in some electorates there was a marked growth of the progressive forces in India represented by the Communist Party of India. The results show that the Communist Party of India increased its votes and won more seats than in the second general elections in places like West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala where the peasant movement and mass struggle have made vigorous progress. On the contrary, in places where mass movement is relatively weak and feudal communal forces and reactionary organizations have succeeded in exploiting the people's discontent, the Indian Communist Party got less votes and seats than before.

The Communist Party of India, with 29 seats, retains its position as the second largest political party in the Lok Sabha. In the state legislative assembly elections, the Communist Party strengthened its position in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh as the biggest opposition party there. It has also strengthened its position in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Mysore. In the Kerala elections, it polled 46 per cent of the total votes cast and won ten of the total of 18 seats. It will be recalled that in the 1957 general elections, the Indian Communist Party came to power in Kerala by polling 36.5 per cent of the votes cast. The Indian Communist Party has further strengthened its position in Kerala and is now the biggest single political party in Kerala's legislative assembly.

In Gujerat, Maharashtra, Assam and Madras, however, the Communist Party of India has lost some seats. In Madhya Pradesh, it lost one seat. S.A. Dange, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party, who in the last Bombay election polled more votes than any other candidate in the country and won his seat, was defeated by the Congress Party candidate in the same constituency in this election.

### **Merging and Growth of Feudal, Comprador Forces**

The results of the third general elections in India have shown a very important trend in Indian politics. In places where the prestige of the Congress Party is waning and the progressive forces are relatively weak, the feudal and comprador forces, taking advantage of popular discontent, are strengthening their position. They do this by fomenting language disputes and disputes between various communal organizations.

In the recent Lok Sabha elections, the Swatantra Party, founded less than three years ago and representing

the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords, became the third biggest party in the country, while the Jan Sangh, a Hindu communal group, which suffered heavy losses in the previous election, in this election increased the number of its seats three and a half times to become the fourth biggest party in the country.

A similar trend also showed up in varying degrees in Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Madras. The Swatantra Party captured 36 out of the 176 seats in the Rajasthan legislative assembly and became the biggest opposition party in that state. The Jan Sangh has also increased its seats from 6 to 15. In Bihar, the Swatantra has become the second biggest party, holding 50 of the 318 seats in the legislative assembly. In Madhya Pradesh, in the past two years, the membership of the Jan Sangh grew from 15,000 to 50,000 and it has captured 41 of the 287 seats in the legislative assembly. This is more than a fourfold increase, compared with the last election. It has replaced the Praja Socialist Party to become the biggest opposition party in that state. In Uttar Pradesh, the Jan Sangh, holding 48 seats, nearly treble its former number, has become the principal opposition party in the state. In Punjab and Madras, the Akali, a communal organization, and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.), captured many new seats and have become the biggest opposition group in the respective states.

This concentration and rise in recent years of the feudal, comprador forces in India is, to a very large extent, due to the Congress government's compromises with and concessions to these forces. Since India gained its independence, the Congress government has allowed the maharajas in various states to retain their titles, their palaces and various prerogatives. It has also paid them large annual allowances. The Maharaja of Hyderabad, for instance, receives 10 million rupees from the government in annual allowance and other payments. Quite a few of them even became state governors for a while. Many of them have joined the Congress Party, the Swatantra Party or organized their own political parties, and become members of state legislative assemblies or the Lok Sabha. Before this election campaign, the Congress Party did its utmost to win the support of the maharajas in Rajasthan. To please the feudal forces in Madhya Pradesh, the Congress Party restored to the big landlords their grazing rights on nationalized land. It also allowed them to transfer their land to people of their choice during the two years before the legislation on holding ceilings comes into force. Naturally this policy helped the feudal forces. In recent years, with India's increasing dependence on foreign aid and capital, the Indian Government has relaxed restrictions on and made concessions to foreign capital. As a result, a social stratum, strongly comprador in nature, made up of those in partnership with, or acting as agents of foreign capital, is growing in India. The founding and growth of the Swatantra Party is a reflection of the rising strength of such comprador forces.

### **The Anti-Chinese "Warriors" Lost Out**

Another notable result of these latest general elections in India was that both the politicians who have been most energetic in stirring up anti-Chinese feeling in recent years and the Praja Socialist Party which made election

capital of its anti-Chinese stand, have suffered heavy losses. In this campaign they were almost obliterated.

All the notorious anti-Chinese "warriors" without exception lost their seats. They include Asoka Mehta, leader of the Praja Socialist Party; A.B. Vajpayee, leader of the Jan Sangh group in the Lok Sabha; Rama Rao, the Jan Sangh leader; N.G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party; and Kripalani, ex-leader of the Praja Socialist Party. Minoo Masani, another ringleader of the anti-Chinese group and General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, hoping to make sure that he would not be defeated, chose snow-bound Himachal as his constituency, where his only opponent was a Congress man. He thought he would be able to exploit the strong anti-Congress Party sentiments among the local inhabitants. The elections there will be held this coming April. But seeing the fate of other anti-Chinese "warriors" he got cold feet and on March 6 withdrew from the election.

The Praja Socialist Party, which staked everything on its anti-Chinese activities, suffered disastrous defeat in this election. In the first general elections, its predecessors, the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (which later fused to form the Praja Socialist Party), polled three times as many votes as the Indian Communist Party to become the most powerful opposition party in the Lok Sabha. After the second general elections, however, it was only the third biggest party. In this election, it lost nearly one-third of its seats in the Lok Sabha and some seats in most of the state legislative assemblies. As a result, it is now one of the lesser political parties in India.

#### Enter U.S. Imperialism

U.S. imperialism has shown a keen interest in India's general elections. In recent years by dumping farm produce on the Indian market the United States has

accumulated a huge amount of Indian currency amounting to more than 1,000 million rupees. With this money it is engaged in buying over the big bourgeoisie in India and is carrying on a variety of political activities. The Indian and American press have clearly revealed that the United States meddled directly in the elections in some of the constituencies in the recent general elections in India. For instance, aiming to influence India's policies after the elections, it was especially interested in the northern electorate in Bombay city, the constituency of India's Defence Minister, Krishna Menon. Quite a few U.S. newspapers were very much interested in the campaigning of Menon and Kripalani and made no secret of their wish to see Menon defeated. U.S. officials even took a direct part in canvassing the electorate. *Blitz*, an Indian weekly in English, reported on February 17 that "it can be stated with confidence that the Government of India have reasons to believe that the money which is poured in North Bombay to scuttle Nehru is AMERICAN MONEY." In Kerala, the Catholic bishops who are under U.S. control urged their congregations not to vote for the Communists.

In assessing these elections it must be remembered that about 80 per cent of India's population is illiterate. In the Indian countryside, furthermore, many peasants find it difficult to exercise their right to vote freely because of the feudal land relations and the reactionary caste system. Furthermore, because there are sharp differentiations in economic and political status between the various classes and political parties in India, money, propaganda facilities and other material equipment for conducting an election campaign are not equally available to all parties. The results of the general elections in India, therefore, cannot truly reflect the will of the voters. But they have to some extent reflected the relative strength of the various classes in India today and the major political trends in that country.

### Theory

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

by LI WEI-HAN

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

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

bourgeoisie and win over the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic elements; 5. Distinguish between leader and allies; develop the independent political strength of

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

## 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

In the united front the working class will influence and win over the other classes and strata, while the latter will also exercise their influence on and sway the working class. In the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply drew attention to this: "In the united front, is it for the proletariat to lead the bourgeoisie or vice versa? Is it for the Kuomintang to draw the Communist Party to itself or vice versa? In relation to the specific political task of today these questions mean: Should we raise the Kuomintang to the level of the Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation (see p. 15) and of total resistance as advocated by the Communist Party, or should we allow the Communist Party to sink to the level of the Kuomintang's dictatorship of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and its partial resistance?"\* Under different historical conditions, struggles involving who draws whom to itself and who leads whom differ in their specific content and in intensity, but there is no doubt that they exist in the united front all the time. The struggle to establish proletarian leadership implies, in fact, the maximum possible effort to raise its allies politically to the level demanded by the current revolutionary struggle. In the united front the working class should certainly not be influenced and swayed in any way by other classes and strata and as a result fall back to the level of its allies; on the contrary, it must make energetic efforts to influence the other classes and strata and draw them to itself and do its best to raise their political level. In order to do that, we must develop the independent political strength of the working class; fundamentally speaking, there must be a matured, Marxist-Leninist party.

### Both Distinguishing and Uniting; First, Distinguishing and Then Uniting

It is a question of both distinguishing and uniting; first, distinguishing and then uniting. To preserve its independence in the united front and raise the level of its allies politically step by step to approximate to that of its own current political position, the working class and its vanguard must first of all draw a clear class line of distinction with regard to all its allies—it must draw a line between itself and both the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, then carry out joint actions with them under certain conditions. Politically speaking, this means, in the main, having its own independent programme and slogans, and then, on the basis of a part, the greater part of or the whole of this programme and slogans, discovering what common points it has with the other

classes or groups, and so establish a united front of a certain scope and in various degrees with them, at the same time preserving its own independent stand and activity on all points of difference, and raising the level of its allies gradually. Otherwise, co-operation will be transformed into amalgamation, and capitulationist mistakes or errors of "tailism" will inevitably be committed in the united front.

When two or more classes or political parties form a united front, they must have a common political programme as a basis and only then can there be united action. The common programme, generally speaking, always reflects the relative strength and common demands of the classes under the current historical conditions, but it is impossible to reflect all their demands; each class will still maintain its own independent demands. Their common programme represents their unity and their independent demands reflect their contradictions, so there are both unity and struggle. The different classes and political parties cannot have a completely identical attitude even towards the common programme, so that it is inevitable that there should be both unity and struggle. The leading class of the revolution—the working class—must, therefore, have its own independent programme—this, during the stage of China's democratic revolution, was the minimum programme of the Chinese Communist Party, the new-democratic programme; it must also be adept at reaching agreement on a common programme with other classes and political parties and, through this common programme and by both uniting with and struggling against them, raise their level gradually up to the level of its own minimum programme. This combination of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie and its political parties was applied by the working class and the Communist Party during China's new-democratic revolution, and this was a complex and tortuous process.

### Raising the National Bourgeoisie to the New-Democratic Level

The new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese working class (through the Communist Party) was a continuation and development of the bourgeois democratic revolution which Dr. Sun Yat-sen initiated. The programme adopted by Sun Yat-sen in leading the Chinese revolution was originally the old Three People's Principles (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 7) that reflected the old bourgeois democratic revolution. In 1924, in a new historical period and under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, Sun Yat-sen adopted the three cardinal policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists and assistance to the peasants and workers;

\* Mao Tse-tung, *The Situation of the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan and Our Tasks*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 8.

furthermore, the manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang gave a new interpretation of the Three People's Principles. These policies and the manifesto in the sphere of foreign relations advocated alliance with the Soviet Union and other nations that treated us as equals to wage a joint struggle against imperialism; at home they advocated co-operation with the Communist Party, awakening the people, assistance to the workers and peasants, the establishment of a state power of the common people, the carrying out of the policies of "land to the tillers" and "regulation of capital," national equality, etc. These were the new Three People's Principles. As a general political programme these propositions of the new Three People's Principles basically agreed with the corresponding platforms in the Chinese Communist Party's new-democratic programme, therefore, they became the common programme of the first co-operation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang from 1924 to 1927. But, actually only the leftists in the Kuomintang, i.e. the revolutionary democratic group, firmly supported this programme. Its right-wing group who represented the landlord and comprador classes and the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, resolutely opposed this programme. With these exceptions the middle-of-the-roaders who represented the majority of the national bourgeoisie wavered in their attitude to the programme, and severe struggles were needed to raise them to the level of this programme. At that time, relying on a close co-operation between the Communists and the Kuomintang's left wing, a sharp struggle was waged against the right-wingers and this programme was firmly realized, the broad masses of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie were mobilized and organized and the revolution was carried forward in an unprecedented upsurge. This was the first great revolution marked by the May Thirtieth Movement (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 11) and the Northern Expeditionary War. This situation brought the struggle between the left wing and right wing to white heat; the middle group wavered still more. At the same time, this was also a very favourable situation for relying upon and developing the forces of the revolutionary masses so as to stabilize and win over the middle-of-the-roaders, thoroughly isolate and split up the right-wing groups and fully implement the new Three People's Principles. Unfortunately, things turned out entirely differently because the capitulationists represented by Chen Tu-hsiu (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 11) gave up the struggle.

After 1927, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang completely betrayed the Three People's Principles and the three cardinal policies and the Chinese Communist Party alone persisted in waging the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Generally speaking, the policies we carried out during this struggle fundamentally conformed with the new Three People's Principles and the three cardinal policies advocated by Sun Yat-sen. At the same time, our Party overcame the limitations that stemmed from the class basis of the Three People's Principles and the three cardinal policies and the lack of thoroughness which they exhibited due to this; it carried out the agrarian revolution in practice and established the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the revolutionary base areas and thereby profoundly transformed the features of the Chinese revolution. But, prior to

the Party's Tsunyi Conference in 1935 (see p. 15), as a result of the three periods of "Left" opportunist dominance in the Party (see p. 15), work to win over the national bourgeoisie was given up. In the period after the September 18 Incident in 1931 especially (see reference notes, *Peking Review*, No. 8, p. 9), when the call for a united front, a government of national defence and an anti-Japanese allied army gradually became the common demand of all classes, strata and groups who supported resistance against Japan, the "Left" opportunists still firmly adhered to their policy of isolation, they were not adept at getting agreement on a common programme with the other groups on the basis of these slogans which conformed to the revolutionary demands of the time, they were not adept at establishing the anti-Japanese united front and further educating their allies and raising their political levels. Thus, in effect, they gave up the struggle for proletarian leadership.

Following the Party's Tsunyi Conference in 1935, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung enormously developed and perfected its own new-democratic programme in theory and policy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," "On New Democracy," "On Coalition Government," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," and other important related writings are classic works elucidating the new-democratic programme in theory and policy. On the other hand, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were adept in reaching agreement on a common programme with other classes and groups and in developing the people's democratic united front. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Party officially declared that it would take the afore-mentioned new Three People's Principles as the political basis and common programme for the second co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and for the National Anti-Japanese United Front. The Party carried out this programme independently and thoroughly in the anti-Japanese base areas, and at the same time waged a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang diehards who opposed and undermined this programme; in this way it strengthened and expanded the progressive forces on an unprecedented scale, it raised the left wing of both the national bourgeoisie and other middle forces to the level of the new Three People's Principles, and to a certain extent and degree it raised the middle-of-the-roaders of the national bourgeoisie and other middle forces close to this level, isolated their right wing and still more isolated the big landlord and big bourgeois diehards.

During the period of the Liberation War the tide of people's revolution surged to a height and the new-democratic revolution approached its final victory; this meant that not only the new Three People's Principles but the complete new-democratic programme would soon be fully realized. Our united front with the national bourgeoisie and the other middle forces therefore implied not only that they should be raised to the level of the new Three People's Principles, but that they should be raised further to the level of the complete new-democratic programme. This, of course, necessarily involved continued attempts to educate them and even acute struggle. This struggle was waged around the major issues of opposing U.S. imperialism, overthrowing the entire reactionary regime

**The Ten-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation** In August 1937 just after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proposals, put forward this programme. It called for: 1. the defeat of Japanese imperialism, 2. general military mobilization throughout the country, 3. general mobilization of the people of the whole country, 4. reform of the government structure, 5. a foreign policy to combat Japanese imperialism, 6. a financial and economic policy for the War of Resistance, 7. improvement of the people's living conditions, 8. an educational policy directed against Japanese imperialism, 9. rounding up of collaborators, traitors and pro-Japanese elements in order to consolidate the rear, and 10. national solidarity for resisting Japan.

**The Tsunyi Conference** In the course of the Red Army's Long March, the Chinese Communist Party convened an enlarged meeting of its Political Bureau in January 1935 in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province. At this meeting a new leadership headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung

was established in place of the former "Left" opportunist leadership.

**The Three Periods of "Left" Opportunist Dominance in the Party Before the Tsunyi Conference** This means the following three "Left" lines:

1. The first "Left" line. After the defeat of the revolution in 1927, the "Left" sentiment in the Party developed in November 1927 into a "Left" line of reckless action or adventurism and for the first time brought the "Left" line to a dominant position in the Party's central leading body. However, this mistaken line from the very beginning met with criticism and objections on the part of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and many other comrades and since it caused a great deal of damage when actually carried out, by April 1928 it virtually ceased to be followed in practical work throughout the country.

2. The second "Left" line (Li Li-san's line). In June 1930 the "Left" line put forward by Comrade Li Li-san prevailed in the leading body of the Party. Because the Party and the revolutionary forces suffered losses wherever this line was put into practice, great num-

bers of cadres and members demanded that it be abandoned. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in particular, never supported this line, but on the contrary, patiently corrected the "Left" mistakes found in the First Front Army of the Red Army. The Central Committee's plenary session (the third since the Sixth National Congress) held in September 1930 put an end to the characteristic mistakes of Li Li-san's line. At this plenary session Comrade Li Li-san admitted his mistakes and subsequently gave up his leading position in the Party Centre.

3. The third "Left" line. See reference note "The Line of Wang Ming in the Period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War," *Peking Review*, No. 9, p. 10.

**San Fan and Wu Fan** *San fan* (three anti-s) is the abbreviated name of the campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy; *wu fan* (five anti-s) is the abbreviated name of the campaign against capitalist bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information from government sources.

headed by Chiang Kai-shek, the policy of "land to the tillers" and especially around the issue of the leadership of the revolution by the working class. The most concentrated expression of this struggle was the question of the middle road which we have analysed above. The struggle ended with the majority of the national bourgeoisie and other middle groups announcing their abandonment of the middle road, i.e., the old-democratic road, and acceptance of the new democracy advocated by the Chinese Communist Party. Following the liberation of the country, the middle-road ideology on these questions was further and relatively thoroughly eliminated during the movements to resist U.S. aggression and to aid Korea, for land reform, to suppress counter-revolutionaries, for democratic reforms in the cities, the *san fan* and *wu fan* (see above), for ideological remoulding of the intellectuals.

### The Major Differences Between the New-Democratic Programme and the New Three People's Principles

Why was it necessary not only to raise the national bourgeoisie to the level of the new Three People's Principles but to raise them gradually to the level of the complete new democracy? This was because the new-democratic programme of our Party not only had fundamental similarities with the new Three People's Principles, but also radical differences in principle with them. The following are the major differences:

(1) The working class is the leading class of the revolution. Sun Yat-sen advocated alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists and assistance to the peasants and workers, but who was going to make the alliance and render the assistance? Sun Yat-sen stood for the creation of a state power "shared by all the

common people," but who was to be the leader of this state power? He obviously had in mind the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. The new-democratic programme of our Party clearly laid down the advance from a people's democratic revolution led by the working class (through the Communist Party), to the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party). Speaking of the relationship between the people's democratic dictatorship and Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Democracy, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"In 1924 a famous manifesto was adopted at the Kuomintang's First National Congress, which Sun Yat-sen himself led and in which Communists participated. The manifesto stated:

"The so-called democratic system in modern states is usually monopolized by the bourgeoisie and has become simply an instrument for oppressing the common people. On the other hand, the Kuomintang's Principle of Democracy means a democratic system shared by all the common people and not privately owned by the few." Apart from the question of who leads whom, the Principle of Democracy stated above corresponds as a general political programme to what we call People's Democracy or New Democracy. A state system which is shared only by the common people and which the bourgeoisie is not allowed to own privately—add to this the leadership of the working class, and we have the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship."\*

(2) The peasants are the main force of the revolution and the worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the

\*"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 420.

revolutionary united front. We have dealt with this point previously.

(3) The revolution must be carried through to the end, i.e., the revolution must be of a thoroughgoing nature. This meant giving a free hand in mobilizing and arming the common people, especially the workers and peasants, using what Marx designated as the "plebeian way" to completely overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China, and thoroughly establish the people's authority and carry out the agrarian revolution. These things could not be carried out by the advocates of the Three People's Principles, who did not recognize the working class as the leading class of the revolution, the peasants as the main force of the revolution and the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the revolutionary united front.

(4) The socialist future must be prepared for. Proceeding from the concrete analysis of classes in Chinese society, the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward a plan charting the historical course of the Chinese revolution. That is, the division of the Chinese revolution into two stages of a different nature, with its consequent division into two steps: first the new-democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. The different tasks of these two stages should not be confused; furthermore, the two revolutionary stages must be mutually connected without an intervening bourgeois dictatorship. Thus our whole programme includes the minimum programme (the new democracy) and the maximum programme (socialism and communism); the new-democratic programme already includes preparations for the development of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, which mainly consist in establishing and consolidating the proletarian leadership of the revolution, thoroughly mobilizing and arming the mass of workers and peasants, establishing and developing the state-owned economy and the co-operative economy of the working people, a thorough carrying out of the revolution, etc. On this question, even the most revolutionary advocates of the Three People's Principles, for example, Sun Yat-sen himself, only harboured utopian illusions, holding that once the Three People's Principles were put into practice, both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution could be accomplished at one stroke and that there was no need for specially waging the socialist revolution.

These differences between the new democracy and the new Three People's Principles stem from different world outlooks. This is the basic starting point of the political differences in principle between the Communist Party and all revolutionary democrats. Sun Yat-sen was a great revolutionary democrat, and under the conditions existing in the nineteen-twenties and faced with common revolutionary tasks, he and we, the Communists, reached practically similar conclusions on several fundamental points; but owing to different world outlooks and different stands, viewpoints and methods in examining and dealing with questions, Sun Yat-sen differed from us in principle.

We have dealt above with the differences between the new Three People's Principles and the old Three People's Principles, with the common points and differences between the new democracy and the new Three People's Principles as well as how our Party step by step

raised the political level of the national bourgeoisie and its political parties and groups. During the stage of the democratic revolution, our Party, generally speaking, not only had to raise the national bourgeoisie from the level of the old democracy to that of the new Three People's Principles, but in addition had to raise them gradually to the level of the minimum programme of the working class, i.e., the new-democratic level. After waging a struggle for 28 years, we basically accomplished this historical task with the founding of the People's Republic of China. Under the conditions of the people's democratic dictatorship, i.e., the proletarian dictatorship, we have in the past ten years or so introduced socialist remoulding among members of this class, so that politically under the leadership of the Communist Party and by following the working class, they can enter socialist and communist society step by step. It seems now that with prolonged hard work this arduous historical task can also be gradually accomplished. All this shows that this raising of national bourgeois elements politically to the level of the working-class programme is and can only be the result of a protracted and complex process of gradual development, a process that may even have many twists and turns. During this process, there are always common points and differences, unity and struggle, co-operation on the common points and struggle on the points of difference; and these struggles are waged so as to raise their political level. As the groups differ, the content and extent of their common points and differences change, as do the content and extent of their unity and struggle. It is through this process of uniting and struggling that we are able to raise our allies gradually to the level of our own programme, and to integrate and unite a principled stand and flexibility, and the independence of the working class and the broad united front.

#### **The Working Class Drew a Line of Distinction Between Itself and the Petty Bourgeoisie and Raise the Latter Gradually to Its Own Level**

The process in China by which the working class drew a clear line of distinction between itself and the petty bourgeoisie and raised the latter gradually to its own level was likewise an extremely complex one; this was reflected not only in the united front but in struggles within the Party.

Semi-colonial and semi-feudal China was a country with an enormous urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. But historical conditions in China, and especially the historical development of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, determined that she could not have a powerful petty bourgeois political party. The Chinese Communist Party, the political party of the Chinese working class, became the only party that truly represented the interests of the entire nation, and especially of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie who accounted for the overwhelming majority of the nation's population. That is why not only the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie were able to take part in the revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party, but large numbers of revolutionary democrats from among the petty bourgeoisie came to join the ranks of the working class to look for a way to the future. Because the Chinese working class suffered under the triple oppression of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, there was no economic



basis for social reformism; furthermore, since appearing on the political stage the working class has been led by the Chinese Communist Party and it never had the tradition of a social democratic party; for these reasons, it was very deeply imbued with the spirit of revolutionary thoroughness and determination. The working class, however, was fairly small in numbers and relatively young in years as a class, and most of its members were former bankrupt peasants and other poor labouring people, having natural links with the peasants and other petty bourgeois masses. These historical conditions, on the one hand, facilitated the establishment of a close alliance between the working class and the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, they also made it necessary and possible for the Chinese Communist Party to absorb large numbers of advanced elements of petty bourgeois origin, remould them into working-class fighters and build a party which as a mass party could preserve its links with the labouring masses on the broadest scale. On the other hand, this not only led to our Party being surrounded by the vast ocean of the petty bourgeoisie, but resulted in the fact that the majority of its members were petty bourgeois in origin, who carried with them a greater or lesser "tail" of petty bourgeois ideas. Under such circumstances, even many workers and Party members of working-class origin were also apt to be tinted with a petty bourgeois hue.

Our Party has proved itself able to remould and steel and temper the advanced elements of the petty bourgeoisie and transform them into resolute working-class fighters. The vast numbers of fine cadres and members of our Party are mostly remoulded petty bourgeois elements. But such remoulding is not easily done; judging from our Party's experience it needs a long process of practice and education. During this process, these comrades' petty bourgeois ideas inevitably find expression inside the Party, in the form of Right or "Left" errors. It is especially when they have not yet acquired the class consciousness of the proletariat, i.e., a Marxist-Leninist consciousness, that they often regard themselves to be perfectly correct, "hundred per cent Bolsheviks," and not only refuse to accept remoulding by the Party but seek to remould the Party according to their own image. "If advanced proletarians do not firmly draw a clear line of distinction between Marxism-Leninism and the old ideology of the Party members of petty-bourgeois origin, and if they do not educate them and struggle against them in a serious but appropriate and patient manner, then such members will keep their petty-bourgeois ideology and even try to mould the Party's features, the features of the vanguard of the proletariat, in their own image and to usurp leadership in the Party, thus damaging the cause of the Party and the people. The greater the size of the petty bourgeoisie outside the Party and the more numerous the Party members of petty-bourgeois origin, the more strictly should the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat watch over its purity for otherwise it will be subject to fierce attacks by petty-bourgeois ideology and suffer more serious damage."\*

\* Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party." See appendix to *Our Study and the Current Situation* by Mao Tse-tung, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 96-97.

The several mistakes of Right or "Left" lines in the history of our Party reflected the usurpation of Party leadership by petty bourgeois ideas.

Petty bourgeois ideology reflects the economic instability and isolation of small producers and it is inclined to vacillate; at the same time our Party has for long periods either been in a united front with the bourgeoisie or split away from it. It was owing to this economic position and these historical circumstances that petty bourgeois ideas inside the Party developed to the Right at one time and to the "Left" at another time. Historical experience shows that it was during periods when our Party was in a united front with the Kuomintang, that Right deviations were likely to occur in the Party. It was in these periods that some comrades, as a result of unity, tended to disregard in various degrees the boundaries of principle between the working class and the bourgeoisie and regarded the programmes, policies, ideas and practices of the working class and the bourgeoisie as being identical; because of the emphasis on unity, they tended in varying degrees to neglect struggle. This was especially so with those having petty bourgeois ideas in the Party, who, during these periods, were easily affected by bourgeois influence and displayed Right sentiments and the Right standpoint of trailing in the wake of the bourgeoisie. Chen Tu-hsiu-ism in 1927 and the second Wang Ming line during the War of Resistance Against Japan were expressions of the fact that the petty bourgeois elements in the Party accepted the ideas of the liberal bourgeoisie and even of the big bourgeoisie.

In historical periods when there was a split between our Party and the Kuomintang, "Left" deviations were likely to occur in the Party. During these periods, hatred of the Kuomintang's policy of murder and massacre tended to rouse an impatient desire to wage a desperate struggle against the enemy; betrayals by the bourgeoisie tended to arouse the tendency to disregard allies. This was especially true with regard to petty bourgeois ideology in the Party which was characterized by a lack of stubbornness and toughness in carrying on protracted, bitter revolutionary struggles; in these periods it easily found expression in adventurism and "close door-ism" characterized by the attempt to overthrow everyone. The three "Left" opportunist lines which occurred during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War were "Left" developments of petty bourgeois ideas.

In view of all this, during periods of uniting with the bourgeoisie we had to pay special attention to drawing a line of distinction between ourselves and the bourgeoisie and guard against Right deviations in the Party, during periods when we were split off from the bourgeoisie, we had to pay special attention to drawing a line of distinction between ourselves and the "Left" ideas of the petty bourgeoisie and guard against "Left" deviations in the Party.

### **Ideological Origin of the Mistaken Right and "Left" Lines of the Petty Bourgeois Elements**

Considered as a way of thinking, these mistaken Right and "Left" lines of the petty bourgeois originate

in their subjectivism, including doctrinairism and empiricism. "Petty-bourgeois intellectuals detached from the practical processes of production have a tendency to doctrinairism, which we have already mentioned, because they have only book-learning and lack practical knowledge. Petty bourgeois associated with production have a tendency to empiricism which we have also mentioned, for although these people are not without perceptual knowledge, they suffer from the narrowness, indiscipline, isolation and conservatism characteristic of the small producer."\* But whether it is doctrinairism or empiricism, they both stem from subjectivism and are against the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. That is why they can co-operate with each other. In the history of our Party, empiricists have often become the captives of the doctrinaires because the latter could gabble off Marxist-Leninist phrases, impressing some people with their claptrap and scaring the empiricists. At the same time it was only with the co-operation of the empiricists that the doctrinaires could succeed in poisoning the whole Party because the empiricists as a rule took up practical work and when they accepted doctrinairism they could put it into practice. Doctrinairism on occasion took bourgeois things as dogmas and so became Right opportunism. For instance, Chen Tu-hsiu and his like, under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and copying the old patterns of the Western bourgeois revolution, built a "Great Wall" between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and handed over to the bourgeoisie the leadership of the democratic revolution and the united front; they denied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and completely discarded the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism. Doctrinairism on occasion also took proletarian things as dogmas and so became "Left" opportunism. For instance, the advocates of the third "Left" opportunist line during the Second Revolutionary Civil War regarded Marxism-Leninism not as a guide to revolution but as a dogma and, without considering China's specific features, mechanically and inflexibly applied certain experiences of the proletarian revolution in foreign countries. They confused the distinction between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and negated the united front. In both cases, empiricism could become the captive and assistant of doctrinairism.

### Everything Depends on Having a Politically Matured Party

That was why the overcoming of all these subjectivist ideas in the Party and the establishment in the Party of the idea of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution was the most fundamental question—a question of decisive significance—in building the Communist Party. It was only by so doing and by seeing to it that this was done in the core of the Party, that Right and "Left" mistakes could radically be overcome and that a politically matured party could be created. It was only with such a

party that proletarian leadership could be realized and consolidated and the victory of the Chinese revolution ensured.

Our Party traversed a long and tortuous road but with the convening of the Tsunyi Conference in 1935, it finally ended the dominance of mistaken lines and established throughout the Party the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In the decade following the Tsunyi Conference, the Party, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, made another step forward: in ideology and practice it gradually overcame subjectivism among Party cadres and the mass of Party members, especially the doctrinairism which did the most serious harm over the longest period, and established the orientation and working style of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. On the one hand, Comrade Mao Tse-tung guided the Party cadres in their work to implement a working method and style of work based on making investigations and studies, seeking truth from facts, and coming from the masses and going back to the masses; he himself set a good example in this respect. On the other hand, he guided the cadres in studying the history of the Party to draw lessons from the Party's rich historical experience in doing things right and doing things wrong, in success and failure, and to raise historical experience to the level of theory. "Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War," "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Introductory Remarks to *The Communist*," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and other works written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at that period are brilliant examples in this respect. Between 1942 and 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung initiated and led the rectification campaign throughout the Party to carry out intensive Marxist-Leninist education among Party cadres and the broad masses of Party members and, using the methods of "taking warning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the illness to save the patient" and "clarifying our ideas and uniting our comrades," thoroughly liquidated the mistakes resulting from the several wrong lines in the past and their ideological origins, particularly the third "Left" line that brought the most serious harm during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War and its ideological origin—doctrinairism. In this way, in the decade from 1935 to the Seventh National Congress of the Party in 1945, an unprecedented unity was finally established throughout the Party on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This was a major historical turning point in the building of our Party and a mark of our Party's maturity. The working method and the style of work characterized by making investigations and studies, seeking truth from facts, coming from the masses and going back to the masses, criticism and self-criticism and the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, that were established by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the Party, and the unity of the whole Party built on this basis were of far-reaching significance. They not only decided the victorious development of the ensuing War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation, but the victorious development of the socialist revolution in our country; they will continue to ensure that our Party will be ever victorious in the future.

\* *ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

# SIDELIGHTS

**Knives, Scissors and Ladles.** Ordinary household utensils indeed, but they were one of the topics of discussion during a six-day conference in Harbin. Responsible cadres, old handicraftsmen from all the city's handicraft workshops and well-known cooks met to appraise a score of locally made knives, scissors and ladles.

First the conference examined the merits of each kitchen knife submitted. The big kitchen knife is an indispensable piece of equipment for any cook particularly here in China. Nearly all food, fish, meat and vegetables are sliced or chopped, often very fine, before cooking. The experts carefully handled each knife, noting its weight, shape, balance, workmanship and finish. The cooks tried the knives on meat and vegetables, looking for the one that is easy to handle, cuts without crushing, slices cleanly and effortlessly leaving no ragged edges, and a host of finer points. After this the conference turned to scissors and ladles, putting them all through rigorous tests for quality.

The knives, scissors and ladles that were favourably judged turned out to be those which the public generally bought. The craftsmen who made them were invited to address the conference, to explain and at times to demonstrate how the utensils were made. When the meeting closed every craftsman present had learnt something new and useful. This will be reflected in even better locally made handicrafts.

**At the Flower Shop.** Shanghai's many florist shops are places of lively interest for all. Along with the tubs of in-season and out-of-season cut blooms, the exquisite bouquets, the potted flowers and shrubs, both the popular and the rare, are plants for the home aquarium and the miniature landscape garden, goldfish and gorgeous vari-coloured tropical fish and caged birds of many kinds. Amateur builders of miniature gardens may select pieces from a wonderful array of tiny, colourful porcelain figures, animals, bridges, temples, pagodas and houses and an endless variety of decorative objects.

The customers are factory and office workers, dockers and teachers, housewives and professional people who, among them buy 200,000 stems of flowers every day. During festivals, the number leaps to 600,000. All these flowers are grown in greenhouses covering an area of 70,000 square metres on the outskirts of the city. From these greenhouses and nurseries, cut flowers and plants are supplied to the people of Shanghai all the year round.

**Marine Salvage Engineer.** The elderly Shanghai diver Shen Ah-szu had that day been made an engineer, an event climaxing many changes in his life since 1949.

Before that, before Shanghai was liberated, he had spent 30 years scavenging the Whangpoo River and harbour bottom, diving and retrieving. It was a hard, dangerous and poorly paid life. Later he took even greater risks, forcing himself to stay underwater a little longer to earn a little extra to feed his family. Many pre-liberation divers lost their lives that way, staying below just a little too long. This would be his fate, too, he thought, as life got more difficult. It was getting harder for others too. He was finding more and more corpses in the harbour.

Then one day, in 1949, the People's Liberation Army marched victoriously into Shanghai. Soon a man in uniform came looking for Ah-szu. The man asked him to train divers and to help clear the harbour and its approaches of sunken ships scuttled by the Japanese and the Kuomintang in an effort to blockade the country's biggest industrial city. Ah-szu eagerly agreed. It was work close to his heart and a really important job. Complete up-to-date diving equipment, the like of which he had never been able to afford, was provided making the work quite safe. The best medical at-

tention was his for the asking and he earned enough to cover all his family's needs and to spare.

In short order, with the help of Shen and the young divers he'd trained, the harbour was open to shipping. They not only demolished underwater obstructions but also put many sunken ships back into the country's service. Within three short years Ah-szu had personally had a hand in salvaging 144 ships. At the same time he furthered his education and theoretical knowledge of diving and salvage work. His practical experience, backed by a decade of thorough part-time study, has put him into the ranks of the highly skilled in marine salvaging. Shen Ah-szu, the diver-turned-engineer, is at the moment working to refloat yet another ship off the seabed, one of the biggest he has so far worked on.

**Evergreen.** "Come on all you over-forties and meet us on the court," challenged middle-aged Sun Lo-yi, Vice-Mayor of Canton and captain of the triumphant "Yizhuang" men's basketball team, last week. The invitation was addressed to all the middle-aged of Kwangtung Province. Sun Lo-yi's team of senior government officials, all over forty, had that evening trounced a team of high-ranking army officers, also in their forties, before 2,000 cheering spectators.

"We won [51:37] because of our numerical strength," the vice-mayor confided with a smile to Major-General Hsu Chi-hai, captain of the defeated "Laobing" team. "We put 16 men on and still had more in reserve."

"Next time I'll muster more than that," promised the general, a veteran of the Long March and a keen all-round sportsman despite his limp. "We're mobilizing officers over 40 in Kwangtung. . . ."

The match was refereed according to the latest international rules by veteran basketballers, 52-year-old national basketball judge Cheng Yen-su and Lu Han. An exception to the rules however was made permitting the teams as many members as they could enrol. The aim being to get more people, especially the older generation, to take an active part in sport. The two team names, "Laobing" and "Yizhuang" mean "old soldiers" and "grow older and stronger."



# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## Fraternal Greetings

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has warmly greeted the 12th Congress of the Chilean Communist Party and the 4th Congress of the Irish Workers' League.

In its message of March 9 to the Chilean Party, the Chinese Communist Party wished it still greater successes in rallying the Chilean people in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, to defend world peace, support Cuba, uphold the national independence of Chile and achieve complete democratic freedom.

In a cable of congratulations on March 15, the Chinese Communist Party wished the Irish Workers' League new and greater successes in uniting the people of Ireland in the struggle to achieve complete national liberation, to defend the democratic rights and vital interests of the labouring people, and in the struggle to safeguard world peace and oppose the policies of war and aggression of U.S.-led imperialist countries.

## Between the Socialist States

**China-Mongolia.** Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent a message to General Z. Lkhagvasulen, Minister of the Mongolian People's Army Affairs and Commander of the People's Army, warmly greeting the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Army which was celebrated on March 18.

The 14th Congress of the Revolutionary League of Youth of Mongolia, held between March 12 and 16, was attended by delegations from 15 countries including the Soviet Union, China, France and Finland.

In his address to the congress, Li Chun, head of the Chinese youth delegation and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, spoke of the traditional and deep friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples and their youth.

Pointing out that the international situation is developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism, he said that the U.S. imperialist plots of war and aggression are meeting one setback after another at the hands of the world's people. U.S. imperialism, however, is stepping up its policies of war and aggression aimed to enslave mankind and dominate the world. This, he stressed, has brought the world's people to realize that U.S. imperialism is their most vicious enemy.

Describing unity of the countries of the socialist camp as the fundamental guarantee for the defence of world peace and human progress, Li Chun declared that in line with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, all the Chinese people and their youth regard the safeguarding and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp as their sacred, internationalist duty. They will strive tirelessly to uphold and strengthen that unity which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

**China-Bulgaria.** Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council sent a message of greetings to the Bulgarian leaders, Dimitar Ganev and Anton Yugov, on their re-election respectively as President of the Presidium of the National Assembly and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

The message wished them new successes in building socialism, strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and safeguarding world peace.

## Trade News

Lu Hsu-chang, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade and Hussein Khaled Hamdy, head of the U.A.R. trade delegation and Under-Secretary of the U.A.R. Ministry of Economy, on behalf of their governments, signed on March 17 in Peking a trade agreement, a payments agreement and a trade protocol for 1962. The trade agreement stipulates that the two countries will continue to develop their trade relations on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi received and had a cordial talk with the delegation while it was in Peking.

In accordance with the renewed trade agreement concluded between China and Iraq last October, a contract was signed in Baghdad, Iraq, on March 11, under which China will buy 24,000 tons of Iraqi dates this year.

## Briefs

Under a protocol signed on March 18 in Taiz between China and Yemen, China will send ten experts and an interpreter to Yemen to help in the maintenance of the Sana-Hodeida Highway built with Chinese assistance. The Chinese experts will work there for one year to direct the technical maintenance of the road and train Yemeni technicians.

Recent guests to China include Masa H. Ismail Galaal, Chairman of the Linguistic Committee of the Ministry of Education of the Somali Republic; the Burmese writer Daw Aye Ma, Editor of *Ludu* (The People); Algerian writers Mustapha El Ashraf and Malek Haddad and the Cuban singer Ignacio Vila Fernandez (Bola de Nieve).

A Chinese women's delegation has arrived in Vienna to attend the World Rally of Women for Disarmament to be held on March 23-25. A delegation of Chinese writers having concluded its visit to Ghana, is now spending two weeks in Guinea. A Chinese journalists' delegation is at present touring several Latin American countries, including Cuba, Ecuador, Chile and Brazil.

The Chinese delegation to the Sino-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee presented an eight-month-old male Manchurian tiger and two pairs of swans to the Government of the Union of Burma recently. This young tiger has been named "Friendship." It will be a companion for a female Manchurian tiger "Peace" which was a gift to the Burmese Government from the Chinese Government in 1956. Not long ago, Brigadier-General Aung Gyi, chief Burmese delegate to the Joint Boundary Committee, presented a rare antelope to China.

A pictorial exhibition on public health and medical services in China was opened on March 15 for a one-week showing in Bamako, Mali.

# ARCHAEOLOGY

## Szechuan's Bronze Age

It was once thought that Szechuan in China's southwest "did not pass through a true bronze age." But recent archaeological finds have now proved conclusively that on the contrary, it has its own highly developed and distinctive ancient bronze culture.

One of the most important of these finds was made in the winter of 1959 when a spectacular hoard of archaic bronzes was discovered at Chuwachieh, in Penghsien County near Chengtu during the building of a new railroad. Digging about two metres below the surface workers came across a huge reddish brown urn of coarse ware containing eight bronze vessels and thirteen weapons. The former are all ceremonial wine vessels of the types commonly found in tombs of late Yin-early Western Chou times (c. 14-11 centuries B.C.) in north China, and include five *lei* for storing wine, two *chih*-cups and a *tsun*-beaker. The largest *lei* with its cover is an impressive 68 cm. in height and has a pair of large handles in the form of rams' heads projecting from the shoulder. Except for six whorls in high relief on the shoulder and four on the cover and the four vertical rows of projecting flanges dividing it into four identical parts, the vessel is otherwise plain. Of particular interest, however, are the decorations found on the covers of two small *lei*. Each has an odd *tao tieh* (ogre) monster with horns, perched with two forelegs outstretched in front of it in a most vivid manner at the centre of the cover. The monster's long serpent tail curls around the rim. And its ferocity is further accentuated by a short row of powerful flanges projecting along the ridge of its back, covered all over, like the serpent tail, with a cowrie-like motif. Two dragon-shaped handles with *tao tieh* heads divide the body of one of the vessels into two identical parts, both dominated by a pair of confronting dragons with striking spiral-shaped bodies on the shoulder and a big *tao tieh* mask over the belly. Another interesting feature is that one of them has a pair of small elephants in the spaces above the heads of the confronting dragons which are usually filled with the "thunder pattern," a kind of square

meander. The space behind each of the confronting dragons is decorated, moreover, with a graceful, long-crested bird facing in the opposite direction to the dragon.

The two *chih*-cups and the single *tsun*-beaker also have the same typical late Yin-early Western Chou shape and decoration. That they probably all belong to this early date is further indicated by the archaic script of the inscriptions found on the bottoms of the cups; these give the tribal insignias and the names of the persons for whom they were made.

Among the thirteen weapons are a large spearhead (l. 32 cm.), a plain socketed adze and eight *ko*-halberds. The latter are all similar in shape to those of the late Yin-early Western Chou and one of them is even decorated with the typical *tao tieh* motif. The spearhead has a long leaf-shaped blade, divided by a prominent midrib running along its whole length. Its socket is decorated with a pair of life-like lizards. But typologically, the most interesting of these weapons are a rather advanced two-piece *chi*-halberd of fine workmanship and a pair of huge tongue-shaped axes called *yueh* (l. 34 cm.). Each of the two blades of the former is adorned in relief with an exquisite profile of a bird with long wings. The two *yueh*-axes have a rather rounded blade and a deep socket which is cut in the centre by a unique triangular opening. While scatter finds of such archaic-looking *ko*-halberds have been reported previously, the *yueh*-axe, spearhead, *chi*-halberd and socketed adze are the first of their kind ever excavated by scientists in Szechuan. In this connection, the unique shape and somewhat cruder craftsmanship of the *yueh*-axe might well be an indication of their local origin.

Ancient historical sources mention that when King Wu Wang of the Western Chou led his expedition to overthrow the last king of Yin at Anyang and established the Chou Dynasty, he had the support of some barbarian tribes from Szechuan, including the Shu people. But up to re-

cent years, however, no dwelling sites or tombs of a definite late Yin or early Western Chou date had been discovered in the province to confirm these written records. The possibility of this present find having been buried at a later date cannot, of course, be ruled out completely, but it constitutes to date the most weighty archaeological evidence pointing to contact between Szechuan and the archaic bronze culture of north China at that time. Its evidence is reinforced by other finds.

It is known that in Chou times the area around Chengtu was the centre of the kingdom of the Shu people named in these historical records. In 1957-58, excavations conducted at the site of Shuikuanyin, Hsinfan County, in this area brought to light the remains of a settlement and many burials belonging to this period. The tools uncovered—mainly chipped stone implements—and the negligible amount of bronze objects seem to indicate that the province had probably just entered the Bronze Age at that time. On the other hand, pottery-making, characterized by wheel-made vessels like bowls, basins and narrow-



Bronze *lei* for storing wine (c. 14-11 century B.C.), found in Penghsien, Szechuan, in 1959

bottomed vases, appears to have been already highly developed. Contact with neighbouring cultures is suggested by the presence of the characteristic spouted pottery *kuei*-tripod and high-stemmed *tou*-saucer reminiscent of those found in north China in the Lungshan Culture sites and the Chuchialing Culture of Chinshan, Hupeh. The discovery in tombs of bronze *ko*-halberds similar in type to those unearthed at the Shang-Yin sites of Erhlikang in Chengchow, Honan, and Huangpi in Hupeh, also poses a problem: Was the art of bronze-casting first introduced to Szechuan from these sources? Archaeologists are seeking the answer.

Probably belonging to the same period or somewhat later is the site of Chingyangkung in the western suburb of Chengtu. Excavations conducted there in 1958 revealed a bottom layer containing pottery cauldrons, vases and high-stemmed *tou*-saucers resembling those excavated at Shuikuanyin. Here too were a few bronze implements such as knives.

Finds dating back to the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) make even more clear the influence of the bronze culture of north China on the tastes of the ruling class of nobles in Szechuan. A good example is provided by the large wooden-chambered tomb excavated in 1955 at Yangtzesan near Chengtu. The rich finds of exquisitely made bronze, lacquer and jade objects uncovered here are very similar in shape and decoration to those found in the tombs of nobles of that period in other parts of China, particularly those of the Chin and Chu kingdoms. The only feature distinguishing them from the latter, in fact, is the style of the rather primitive pictorial script found in the inscriptions on some bronzes and the late appearance of a *ko*-halberd with *tao tieh* design similar to the one found in the above-mentioned hoard at Penghsien and reminiscent of those unearthed in the Yin tombs at Anyang.

#### Boat-Coffin Burials and Bronzes

It is also known that the area around Chungking in southeastern Szechuan was the centre of the Kingdom of Pa in the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States times. In 1954, archaeologists from the museums of both Chungking and Chengtu

joined their forces first at Paolun-yuan, Chaohua, in northern Szechuan and then at Tungshunpa, Pahsien, near Chungking, and brought to light a total of over seventy tombs which range in date from the Warring States to the end of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.). The earliest tombs at both sites, numbering thirty in all, are marked by a unique feature: in each case a boat of *nanmu* wood (*Marchilus nanmu*) is used as the coffin. Most conspicuous among the grave furnishings found are the large numbers of bronze weapons with very unique shapes and decorations. Chief of these are the characteristic leaf-shaped swords with a perforated tapering tang and the socketed shouldered *yueh*-axes with a rounded blade. These two types of weapons are found in almost every tomb and usually bear a cast or incised inscription of some unusual pictorial scripts or symbols, particularly the tiger or "heart and arm" designs. In this connection, it is interesting to recall that the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih*, a Tsin Dynasty (265-420 A.D.) gazetteer, connects one of the Pa tribes of Szechuan with a myth about a white tiger. Other characteristic finds from these tombs include the bronze *tseng*-steamers and single-looped *mou*-cauldrons, both distinguished from the common Chin (221-206 B.C.) and Western Han types by the unique cord-shaped loops or loop. On the other hand, the shapes of the L-shaped bronze *ko*-halberd, spearhead and knife, as well as those of the pottery *hu*-vase and high-stemmed *tou*-saucer, all bear a close resemblance to those found in the Warring States tombs in Szechuan and elsewhere. It may be safely assumed therefore that those odd-looking bronze weapons and vessels were cast locally by the Pa people themselves.

Apparently, the conquest of the province by the Chin state towards the end of the 4th century B.C. brought about a closer contact between the indigenous culture of the province and that of the rest of China. The finds in the other forty tombs of a slightly later date reveal a gradual but steady assimilation by the Pa people of the more advanced Chin and Han cultures from the north. Thus, although the local tradition in design of bronze weapons lingered on for some time, the unique boat-shaped coffin was soon merely used as an outer coffin and later entirely superseded by the con-

struction of the same sort of wooden outer coffin commonly found in tombs of that time. It was not so long before even the characteristic Pa leaf-shaped sword and *yueh*-axe were discarded in favour of the more conventional ones found elsewhere in China. In a few cases, the native leaf-shaped sword was refashioned into a sword of the typical Warring States or Western Han style. Meanwhile, such items of purely Warring States or Western Han origin or style as the bronze belt hook, seal, double-looped *fu*-cauldron, as well as the pottery *hu*-vase, *ting*-tripod and eared cup, also began to make their appearance, and in some cases, became very common in the tombs of the late stage so far found, indicating that by then the Pa people had almost become completely assimilated with the Han people.

Mention must also be made of the fact that the blade of many of the leaf-shaped swords unearthed from these tombs bears a cast or incised decoration of the so-called "tiger skin" pattern, strikingly similar to those found on the weapons excavated from the Chu tombs of Changsha, Hunan Province, and elsewhere.

That the Pa people might have had some contact with the magnificent bronze culture of the contemporaneous State of Tien in Yunnan (see *Peking Review*, No. 2, 1960) is hinted at by the presence among these finds at Pahsien of the peculiar bronze axe with an asymmetrical crescent-shaped blade which had hitherto only been found in Yunnan.

Excavations of these Szechuan tombs have also presented us with a vivid picture of the province's gradual transition to the Iron Age during the few centuries from the end of the Warring States to the end of Western Han. In the later group of tombs which still had boat-shaped coffins, we saw iron make its first appearance in the form of small knives or axes, often alongside their bronze prototypes. These were then followed by cast iron *mou* and *fu* cauldrons which soon drove out their bronze prototypes. Later even bronze weapons were replaced by iron ones and, finally, farming implements of iron also came into wide use and were buried with the dead.

Before liberation, practically no scientific excavation was done in Sze-

chuan. Nothing was known about its early history archaeologically; in particular it was not known what links it had with the rest of China in the Bronze Age. Thus, as late as 1957 *Archaeological Studies in Szechuan* by Cheng Te-kun (The Cambridge University Press, England), using questionable data, still alleged that "... Szechuan, like many marginal areas in Asia, did not pass through a true bronze age." These recent finds show conclusively that in fact the province not only had a true bronze age but a rather highly developed bronze culture with its own script and many distinctive local features and that this played an important role in the development of material culture in ancient Szechuan.

—WANG CHUN-MING

## SHORT NOTES

### Folk Literature of Chinghai

Teachers and students of the Chinghai Teachers' College have collected more than two thousand narrative poems, folk tales and songs of the Tu nationality in Chinghai Province in the northwest. These will be translated and published in the Han language as the *Tu*, numbering more than 20,000 people in this part of the country, have as yet no written language of their own.

Among the epics is one which deals with the origin of the Tu people, their land and customs. It is of great interest not only as literature but also as a unique source for the study of the social development and history of this nationality.

Studies of the art and literature of the Huis, Kazakhs, Mongolians, Tibetans and other minorities living in this multi-national province have also been conducted in the past few years.

### Beethoven Anniversary

The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in Peking and the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra both gave performances of Beethoven's Seventh (A Major) Symphony in commemoration of the 135th anniversary of his death. The Peking orchestra was playing this for the first time but under the baton of its young conductor Chang Kung-fan it caught the gay and sprightly spirit of the music well and gave a most satisfying rendering. The Shanghai performance was conducted by Lu Hung-en.

# WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

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

## PEKING OPERA

▲ **LEAVING THE THATCHED HUT** An episode from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. After being asked three times by Liu Pei to enter his service, Chuko Liang, the renowned scholar and military strategist, consents and ends his hermit life. At his first attempt he defeats the Wei forces, thus proving his ability. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **A HAPPY AND UNEXPECTED RE-UNION** Li Kuei-chih, wife of the magistrate, Chao Chung, learns that an old prisoner is none other than her own father, a victim of her stepmother's intrigues. When she appeals to the new viceroy for a review of the case she finds that he is her long lost brother. There is a happy reunion and the wicked are duly punished. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **MISTAKES AT THE FLOWER SHOW** Liu Yu-yen, charming daughter of a rich man, is given permission to choose her own husband at a flower show. But, instead of the handsome young man she falls in love with, the maid-servant brings home one of the ugliest men alive. With the help of Lu Chih-shen, a famous gallant, the real bridegroom is found; all ends happily. The Experimental Peking Opera Troupe of the Peking Opera School.

## PINGJU OPERA

▲ **THE JADE GARDEN** A Ming noble determines to drive a poor but stubborn scholar from his homestead to take the land for a pleasure garden. The scholar is jailed on a false charge, but later cleared—and the noble duly punished—with the help of a plucky maiden-peddler. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

## KUNQU OPERA

▲ **SEEING OFF CHING-NIANG** One of a series of stories about Chao Kuang-yin, who later became the first Sung emperor. In this episode he rescues the ill-fated Chao Ching-niang from the hands of gangsters. The girl, grateful for this chivalrous act, falls in love with him. But Chao Kuang-yin, busy on a political errand, can only bid farewell to Ching-niang. Also **A NUN SEEKS LOVE** A romantic one-act opera about a nun who, sick of monastery life, flees to find happiness. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

## HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

### QUYI OPERA

▲ **YI HO TUAN** A new historical quyí opera about the patriotic anti-imperialist uprising in 1900. Peking Quyí Opera Troupe.

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **THE WHITE-HAIRED GIRL** One of China's most famous modern operas. A peasant girl, forced to flee to a mountain wilderness to escape from landlord tyranny, returns dramatically to her village after liberation. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

### CONCERTS

#### \* Cuban Singer in Peking \*

The well-known Cuban singer, Ignacio Vila Fernandez (Bola de Nieve) during a two-week visit to China will give two recitals in Peking on March 25 and 26 at Shoudu Theatre. The programme includes songs from Cuba and other Latin American countries and famous Spanish, French, Italian and American songs. Fernandez will play the piano accompaniment himself. Don't miss it!

#### \* \* \*

The Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra presents:

Sitson Ma: *Voice of the Forest* (from the symphonic suite *Forest*)

Mozart: Concerto for Flute and Harp

Berlioz: *Symphonie Fantastique*

Conductor: Han Chung-chieh

### MODERN DRAMA

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

▲ **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

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

▲ **A RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN** A colour film about the women guerrilla fighters of Hainan Island in the 1930s. Shanghai Tienma Studio.

▲ **ARTIFICIAL WINGS** A G.D.R. colour film. How a veteran Communist re-educates his mis-guided young son, a pilot, and fits him to play his part in the socialist construction of his country.

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

▲ **RICHARD THE THIRD** A British colour film adapted from Shakespeare's play. In English with Chinese subtitles.

### 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.)

### SPORTS

▲ **1962 MEN'S AND WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS CHAMPIONSHIPS** March 28 to April 1 at Peking Workers' Gymnasium.

### BOATING

Boating on the lakes at Beihai Park, Zhongshan Park, Shih Cha Hai and the Summer Palace.



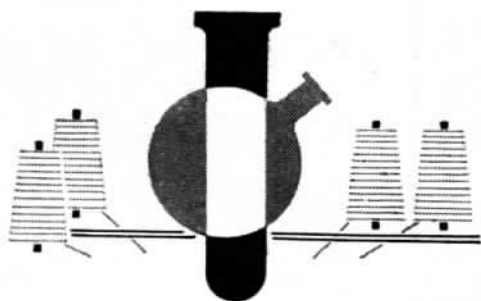
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