

PEKING REVIEW

9

March 3, 1961

WHAT THE U.S. IS UP TO IN LAOS

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial and commentary expose the latest U.S.-inspired proposals and warn Washington against using remnant Kuomintang bandits in Laos (p. 6).

State-Monopoly Capitalism of Old China

An analysis of the nature of bureaucrat-capital and how it was handled in the Chinese revolution (p. 9).

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(p. 15)

"Foreign Legion" in Congo

Mercenaries from colonialist countries are being recruited to fight the Congolese people (p. 22).

Cinema, Round the Week and Other Features

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

March 3, 1961 Vol. IV No. 9

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ROUND THE WEEK

The Shanghai Way

A customer carefully examined a new sewing machine displayed in Peking's Hsitan Department Store. Then, with unconcealed admiration he asked the sales clerk the question that has been heard round the country for the umpteenth time—"Is this Shanghai made?"

This is an indication of the popularity enjoyed by many consumer goods produced in Shanghai, the quality and fine workmanship of which have earned the city a reputation that is not only nationwide, but extends far beyond the borders.

Recently Shanghai's light industrial goods again made news, as the quality of its more than a hundred items, including bicycles, enamelware, clocks and leather goods reached a new high.

This achievement is no "gift from heaven." It is the result of much strenuous effort on the part of its workers and a product of the socialist mutual help that exists between them and their colleagues in other parts of the country.

During the big leaps of the past three years Shanghai not only turned out an impressive number of new products and perfected many of its old lines but made new conquests in high quality field which calls for higher technical skill and finer workmanship. Shanghai's light industrial goods sold like hot cakes and the city was generally recognized as leader in the industry. This was an open invitation to emulation. Soon the slogan "Catch up with Shanghai!" rang in the workshops throughout the country and a nationwide inter-area emulation drive and extensive exchange of technical know-how and active co-operation between Shanghai and other areas followed. As a result, there was a general rise in the output and the quality of the country's light industrial goods.

Shanghai workers were of course elated by their own success, but soon realized that in this fast-moving socialist emulation no one would win hands down. In the national quality contest of fountain pens organized by

the Ministry of Light Industry in 1958, Shanghai pens easily swept the field in all three top honours. In the following year, Shanghai's "Hero" pen again ranked first. Nevertheless, "Golden Dragon," the product of Antung in the Northeast, and Peking's "Gold Star" moved up to wrest second and third places from other Shanghai pens. Then in the first contest in the first half of 1960, even the "Hero" lost its lead! Only after studying the techniques of some of the erstwhile emulators and putting in some extra effort of their own to improve their products did the workers of the Shanghai Pen Company stage a come-back and restore their "Shanghai" and "Hero 100" pens to first place by the year's end.

A major factor in Shanghai's success is the genuine modesty of its workers. Although theirs is the oldest industrial base in the country, and their technical level is quite high, they did not become "dizzy with success." Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's famous words "Modesty helps people make progress, conceit makes one backward," they sent "truth-seeking teams" to various parts of the country to learn from others wherever new techniques emerged. The Shanghai Bicycle Company is a case in point. Its "Forever" bicycle won first honours in the field in 1959. The workers and staff of the company, however, were realistic. Believing that nothing in the world was perfect, and their bicycle certainly no exception to this universal law, they sent people to pick up tips not only from the factories which had produced the second and the third best bicycles in the country, but also from the concern whose product stood at the very bottom of the list. (They discovered the two springs under the seat produced by that factory were better than theirs.) As a result of their untiring efforts to improve, "Forever" retained top laurels for 1960; and still has its bicycle "hitched to a star."

Acquiring technical know-how is, of course, no one-way street. Shanghai workers are likewise unstinting in helping their colleagues from other cities. Over the past few years light industrial plants in Shanghai have been host to a great number of delega-

tions from factories in other parts of the country. Watch-making factories and paper mills have, for instance, signed contracts of technical exchange with many others in the same trade. The Shanghai Watch Company, a new enterprise itself, regularly sends technical data to watch and clock factories in other provinces.

Watering the Fields

As the young winter wheat crop in the fields north of the Huai River begin to turn green, the eyes and minds of commune members turn to the problem of water. It is time for spring irrigation in that part of the land.

As a matter of fact peasants in the key winter wheat areas of Hopei, Honan, Shantung, Shansi and Shensi Provinces are already preparing to water the fields. In Peking's suburban areas commune members have extended their irrigation and drainage systems and sunk some 350 wells. Over a third of the irrigation machinery in Hopei Province requiring overhauling has been put into shape. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region the peasants are broadening their area of irrigation and storing water in ponds and reservoirs. By February 25 nearly two million *mu* in Shensi Province has already been irrigated. In many places the second watering has already begun.

There is good reason for getting an early start on irrigation, because, as in the previous year, last winter's rain and snow were extremely meagre in these northern provinces. Already there are signs of drought in quite a number of places and low moisture in the fields is a general phenomenon to be observed in these provinces.

Spring irrigation this year will further benefit by the reservoirs and other water conservancy works built over the past few years. These projects which played a major role in alleviating the damage of the serious droughts of the last two years, have been further perfected in recent months, and a greater amount of water has been stored than last year. The giant Sanmen Gorge Reservoir on the middle reaches of Yellow River is holding water for the first time.

Tachens Rise Again

What is happening to the Tachens, the coastal islands ravaged and razed by the retreating Kuomintang army six years ago? *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* (*China Youth Daily*) in Peking re-

cently sent reporters there for a close look. They brought back a dual epic — of the Tachens' recovery and of the dedicated youth whose selfless labour revived the once-dead islands and made them a thriving fishing and farming centre.

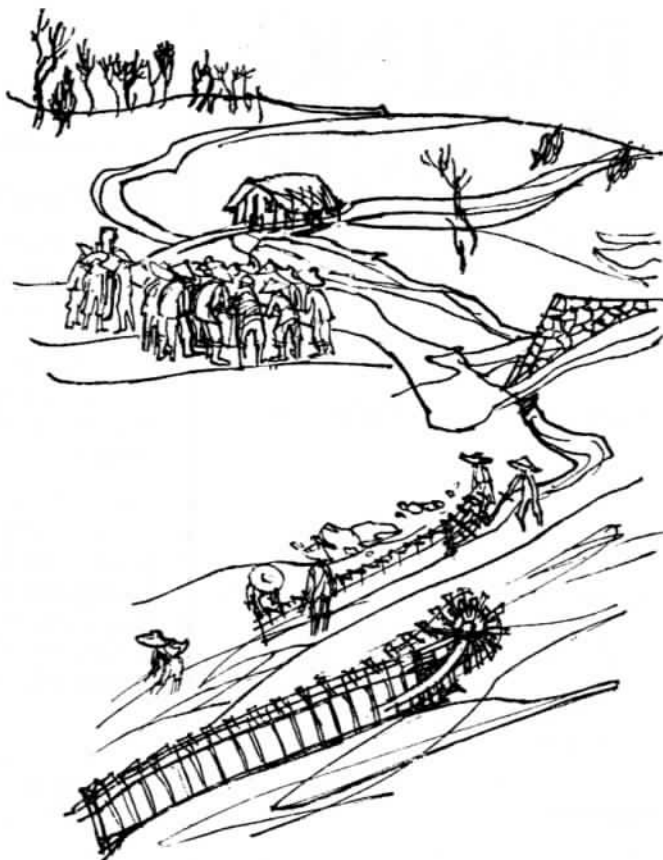
Thirty kilometres off the mainland, the Tachens were part of a major fishing base in Chekiang Province. After the Kuomintang fled the mainland, they turned the islands into an armed redoubt, from which they launched piratical forays of all kinds. In 1955, under the powerful blows of the People's Liberation Army, the Chiang Kai-shek troops were forced to flee, but not before they had levelled the islands and with the help of the U.S. 7th Fleet abducted all the local inhabitants to Taiwan.

At the call of the Government some 220 young volunteers from Wenchow, mostly workers and students, landed in the Tachens one year later. Their goal: to rehabilitate the islands.

There were difficulties on every side. Where previously there had been over a dozen villages the young settlers found not a living soul. Ruins were everywhere. For all intents and purposes the Tachens were as dead.

But with the confidence and energy of conscious exuberant youth they did not stop to count their troubles but went to work. Repairing the wrecked reservoirs and building new houses, they cleared the mined fields and set to planting as early as possible. Though green as farmers, they soon learnt the agricultural "ropes." A stirring slogan arose: "On the ruins wrought by the enemy, we will build an ocean garden!"

The hard work of the volunteers soon yielded dividends. With the help of the local garrison troops, life returned to the Tachens. Many fishermen and peasants also came to stay and in that same year the young volunteers celebrated their first harvest achieved despite an unusually fierce typhoon.



Spring Irrigation

Sketch by Lu Chih-hsiang

Today, five years later, the Tachens have changed beyond recognition. A people's commune has been formed there. From the mainland and nearby islands, fishermen make regular calls and unload their catches at Tachens' chief island port which is linked with the processing factories by a round-the-island highway. In several of the once-desolate islands, livestock breeding also prospers.

Farm output has grown from year to year. Total grain production shot up 30 per cent in 1960 compared with 1959. In addition, the Tachens now boast a power plant, a shipyard and a number of industries. There are also department stores, a post office, hospital, cultural centres, clubs, schools, kindergartens and creches, many built since the people's commune was organized.

And the young Tachen settlers, what of them? They have become farm experts, skilled livestock breeders and directors of the commune's workshops. 21-year-old Miao Chien-chien, for example, is now the vice-director of a livestock farm. A junior middle school graduate when she first landed in the Tachens, her one-time ambition was to become a nurse. As she told the reporters, "I am happy now because I

have helped nurse the islands back to health!"

Winter is a time of great preparations. Everywhere the islanders are overhauling boats and fishing equipment. More land has been opened up promising greater farm yields. The Tachens are literally and figuratively entering a new spring.

March on the Deserts

How to make use of the country's vast desert areas—hold back the encroaching sands and even transform them into farmlands—has long been a concern of China's scientists. Recently, members of the Desert Control Expedition under the Chinese Academy of Sciences returned to Peking to summarize a year of field work. They related to the public reports on some extremely interesting facets of their research.

During the past year, scientists of the expedition conducted extensive surveys in Inner Mongolia and the northwestern provinces. With the help of local peasants and herdsmen, they discovered large areas where conditions are favourable to converting the deserts into farmlands, forests and grazing grounds. In all these areas, they have found fairly abundant water and soil resources: there are extended stretches of water above and below ground waiting to be tapped and large expanses of wasteland which can be reclaimed.

Members of the expedition also report encouraging progress in experiments in desert cultivation. To achieve early ripening and high yields, they tried new techniques and used phytohormones with excellent results in several regions and on more than 100 types of plants and grains.

In the Ulanpuhe Desert in Inner Mongolia, they succeeded in growing cotton. In the Tengri Desert, also in Inner Mongolia, by using a variety of techniques to prevent the salt from rising to the earth's surface they obtained from a one-*mu* experimental plot of naturally alkaline land a yield of 8,500 *jin* of sugar beets. In Yulin County, north Shensi, where for generations before liberation the people had been forced to retreat southward in an unequal battle with the advancing desert sand, high pumpkin yields have been obtained.

The fight against the deserts is part of the general battle the Chinese

people have been waging against the ravages of nature. Many initial achievements have been registered in this field. Among them are such outstanding feats as the creation of oases from barren wasteland in Sinkiang and the assurance of regular and safe traffic across the Tengri Desert along a section of the Paotow-Lanchow Railway by means of sand anchoring measures.

The People's Choice

Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province, has just elected popular local engineering worker Liu Ching-hsiang one of its vice-mayors. This is the way its people show their love for and trust in 43-year-old Liu—a man after their own hearts.

Liu Ching-hsiang's outstanding qualities were recognized soon after liberation. Apprenticed at an iron works at the age of 12, he not only knew his job inside out but was well steeped in the hard lot of the worker grinding out long hours for a bare subsistence. He loved the new society which first recognized him as a human being and showed unbounded initiative, talent and concern for his mates. These qualities elected him vice-chairman of the trade union at the big Tsinan No. 2 Machine Tools Plant.

In 1953, Liu was promoted to the post of plant vice-director. Here his flair for production and management was further demonstrated. He devised one of China's first precision grinding machines. His office hours were usually spent in the workshops, thrashing out technical problems with the workers, giving "tips" here and there and helping to try out innovations.

Liu Ching-hsiang became director of Tsinan's Municipal Labour Bureau in 1959. In charge of planning, allocation and protection of labour force in local mining and industrial enterprises, Liu retained his old working style. He kept close ties with the masses by constant trips to the mines and mills to learn the workers' needs at first hand. Last summer, he visited many metallurgical and chemical plants and kilns. There, in consultation with the local leadership, technicians and workers, many notable improvements in working conditions were registered. More and better air-conditioning equipment for high-temperature workshops was installed at his suggestion.

Liu had only two years of schooling before liberation. This deficiency he more than made up by hard work and

spare-time studies. In 1954, he was sent by the Party organization for a year's intensive study at the China People's University in Peking.

Tsinan's workers are fond of describing Liu Ching-hsiang as "one of us," and Liu speaks of them and his work in these terms: "As a cadre, my first job is to know what is in the hearts of the workers."

Of Lanterns and Riddles

The fifteenth day of the first lunar month—the lantern festival—this year fell on March 1. It was, as always, the happy climax to a Spring Festival marked by joyful music, acrobats and jugglers, displays of multi-form and variegated lanterns, guessing riddles and eating sweet sugar-centred glutinous rice-flour balls known as *yuan hsiao*.

Dumplings, riddles and lanterns were not always an inseparable threesome. The lanterns made their appearance as part of the festivities only when an Early Han Dynasty emperor who embraced Buddhism ordered that they be lit and displayed as part of the general festivities. Since then the occasion has always included a show of gorgeous lanterns.

Lanterns come in all shapes and sizes. There are toy lanterns in a riot of colours, forms and kinds, wall lanterns, big, small and globular, cylindrical lanterns and revolving lanterns. The palace lantern regarded as aesthetically and practically the perfect lantern has its six sides covered with silk or satin on which are paintings and calligraphy. This was the beginning of the popular pastime of guessing riddles and thereby hangs a tale.

Legend has it that during the time of the Warring States a visitor uttered the three words "sea, great, fish" to his princely host and then left without another word. The reticent caller was warning the prince that if the city's dykes were not promptly tended the people would soon be swimming like fish in the sea and the prince with them. Such cryptic talk became common among the literati which in turn led to riddles. The scholars being also proficient calligraphists began to write riddles on the lanterns to be admired and pondered. These brush-stroke conundrums lent added beauty to the lanterns and the custom of guessing riddles during the lantern festivities became widely and firmly established and is enjoyed even to this day.

Oppose New U.S. Interventionist Plot Against Laos

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of February 25. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

FOR some time, particularly since Kennedy's assumption of power, the U.S. Government, while stepping up its aggression against Laos, has time and again declared that it would adopt "political measures" to solve the Laotian question. These projected "political measures" have been trumpeted by many American newspapers as a new policy of the Kennedy administration. Now, when the United States and its followers, Thailand and south Viet Nam, are giving active support to the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group to step up attacks on the Plain of Jars and are doing everything they can to extend the civil war in Laos, and when the United States and the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group have established contact with remnant Chiang Kai-shek brigands who have penetrated into Laos and are instigating these brigands to join the civil war there—a matter of particular and grave concern to the Chinese people—the United States' long-heralded "political measures" to solve the Laotian question have finally made their appearance. They come in the form of a declaration containing specific proposals by the Laotian King on February 19, issued at the request of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group.

In his declaration, the Laotian King reiterated Laotian willingness to maintain peace and neutrality and non-participation in any military blocs. He specifically proposed that Cambodia, Burma and Malaya form a commission to establish that Laos aspires to peace and to denounce all foreign intervention. In the declaration, the Laotian King also asked the U.N. Secretary-General to inform U.N. member states of the contents of this declaration and expressed the hope that all countries in the world would approve the proposals.

The Cat Is Out of the U.S. Bag

The declaration and proposals put forward through the Laotian King are nothing but a U.S. intrigue. As early as February 4, *The New York Times* disclosed that "the possibility of sending a commission composed of other states, preferably those in a clear position of neutrality, has been considered" by Kennedy and that "one combination that has been discussed would include representatives of Burma, Cambodia and Malaya." UPI in a dispatch from Washington on February 18 disclosed that new moves to solve the Laotian question would be made by Kennedy within the next 24 hours and that they would include "a proclamation of the King of Laos' neutrality coupled with an offer to form a revamped-broadened government. . . . A renewed offer by the King to accept an international good offices mission to arrange a cease-fire. . . . The King was willing to receive an alternative group, probably com-

posed of Malayan, Cambodian and Burmese officials." It is little wonder that the United States gave warm support to the declaration of the Laotian King immediately after its publication. What it supports is its own plan.

What exactly does the United States want this commission composed of Cambodia, Burma and Malaya to do in Laos? The declaration said that this commission would go to Laos to establish that Laos threatens no one and aspires solely to peace and that it would have as its mission the denunciation of all foreign intervention. But as is generally known, the present state of affairs in those areas of Laos under the rule of the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group has been caused by U.S. armed intervention in co-operation with Thailand and south Viet Nam. Hundreds of U.S. military personnel are directing the war operations in Laos; thousands of Thai troops supported the rebel group in taking Vientiane. This group of interventionists is launching attacks on the Plain of Jars controlled by the legal Laotian Government. What would be the meaning of affirming this state of affairs as conforming to Laos' status of peace and neutrality? If as a pre-condition, the U.S. puppet, the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group, were recognized as the legal government, what would denunciation of all foreign intervention mean? Obviously, what the United States wants is to use the prestige of the peaceful and neutral nations taking part in this commission to legalize the situation brought about by U.S. intervention in Laos, and to enable the United States and its followers to continue their intervention.

The United States publicizes these three nations as all peaceful and neutral nations. In the words of the declaration of the Laotian King, their "impartiality in the sphere of foreign affairs" and their "devotion to the cause of universal peace are recognized and respected by all countries." These words are undoubtedly correct as applied to Cambodia and Burma. These two countries, in their foreign policies, have consistently pursued a peaceful and neutral policy and have always supported the peace and neutrality of Laos. The Chinese Government and people strongly endorse this policy and position of Burma and Cambodia. However, Malaya can hardly be regarded as a state strictly abiding by a peaceful and neutral policy. Although it has not joined the Manila military bloc, it has consistently followed the line of the Western countries in international affairs. As is generally known, Malaya took the lead in initiating in the United Nations a resolution on the question of Tibet—a resolution which interferes in the internal affairs of China. Furthermore, it has recently been preparing to organize a so-called "Association of Southeast Asian Nations" with Thailand and the Philippines—member nations of the Manila military bloc. From this it is clear that the U.S. proposal to bring Cambodia and Burma together in a commission with Malaya is by

no means an indication of respect for truly peaceful and neutral nations.

U.S. intrigue is not limited to utilizing the prestige of consistently peaceful and neutral countries to cover up its intervention and aggression against Laos. It is also doing everything in its power to tie the Laotian question to the United Nations. An inkling of this is contained in the declaration. A UPI dispatch from Washington of February 21 disclosed that "some observers also saw a possibility that a commission of neutrals would be linked with the United Nations, resulting in a U.N. declaration of the neutrality of Laos." This demonstrates even more clearly U.S. intentions. As everyone knows, it is none other than the United Nations which the United States is using to carry out its aggression and intervention against the Congo. The murder of Premier Patrice Lumumba of the legal Congolese Government and many other Congolese patriots was a consequence of this criminal policy of the United States. Despite the fact that as a result of the murder of Premier Lumumba, the U.S. imperialist policy of using the United Nations to carry out aggression and intervention against other countries has become the object of universal condemnation, the United States still persists in its outrages in the Congo; and what is more it is attempting to turn Laos into another Congo. This calls for serious public attention and vigilance.

The new U.S. intrigue is presented in the name of guaranteeing the peace and neutrality of Laos. Yet, as is generally known, the 1954 Geneva agreements are just such solemn international agreements guaranteeing peace and neutrality there. The Geneva agreements explicitly stipulate that the countries participating in the agreements undertake to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and should in no way interfere in its internal affairs. The United States too declared that it undertook not to use force or threats of force to impair the implementation of the Geneva agreements. Therefore, if the United States is really sincere in its desire to respect peace and neutrality in Laos, it should not oppose the reasonable proposal made on January 1 by Prince Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia, for the convocation of an enlarged Geneva Conference of countries concerned. However, the U.S. Government has all along taken a negative attitude towards Prince Sihanouk's proposal. Now it has brushed aside the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, which is clearly stipulated in the Geneva agreements, and instead proposes the formation of a three-nation commission to ensure Laos' peace and neutrality. By so doing, the United States actually wants to use this proposal to prevent the convocation of an enlarged Geneva Conference and bury the Geneva agreements completely.

The above is the very essence of the United States' new intrigue. It is only natural that the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, a participant in the Geneva agreements, which consistently follows a peaceful and neutral policy, should have declared its rejection of the proposal put forward through the Laotian King.

Why does the United States have such a strong dislike for the Geneva agreements? It is because it is against the pursuance of a policy of peace and neutrality by Laos. In the nearly seven-year-long period after the Geneva Conference, whenever the relevant provisions of the Geneva agreements were put into practice in Laos, the United States instigated its puppets there to sabotage them, each

action being more flagrant and unrestrained than the last. The present Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique was shored up by the United States in collaboration with Thailand and south Viet Nam at the point of the bayonet. Without U.S. support, the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel clique would not last for a single day in Laos. The U.S. plan for the so-called revamping and broadening of the Laotian government is nothing more than an attempt to provide a legal camouflage for the puppet clique it has itself single-handedly fostered by exploiting the prestige of Premier Souvanna Phouma of the legal Laotian Government among the broad masses of the Laotian people.

Upholding Geneva Agreements

The present grave situation in Laos is caused by the United States reneging on its promises, violating the Geneva agreements and crudely interfering in the internal affairs of Laos. Hence, in order to remedy the situation, the principles and spirit of the Geneva agreements must never be forsaken. This is possible only by speedily convening an enlarged Geneva Conference of all countries concerned on the basis of recognizing and respecting these principles and spirit to draw up new provisions in the light of the new circumstances so that international obligations may seriously be undertaken by these countries, and these provisions be carried out under the direction of an international commission for supervision and control in Laos unanimously agreed upon.

Cambodia and Burma will undoubtedly play a big role in promoting the peace and neutrality of Laos. But facts in the past have shown that peace and neutrality were not realized in Laos, not because Cambodia and Burma did not approve of them, but because the United States and certain neighbours of Laos interfered in its internal affairs and obstructed the realization of peace and neutrality there. The countries wishing Laos to preserve its peace and neutrality can, therefore, play an effective role only if all countries concerned reach definite international agreement through consultations on the basis of respect for the principles and spirit of the Geneva agreements, and assume joint obligations.

The Chinese people have consistently directed their efforts to safeguarding the Geneva agreements, the peace and neutrality of Laos and peace in Indo-China. Vice-Premier Chen Yi solemnly declared, at the National Day reception given by the U.A.R. Ambassador on February 22: "The Chinese Government holds that the sole correct way to peacefully solve the Laotian question and to ensure the peace and neutrality of Laos lies in convening an enlarged meeting of the Geneva Conference, as proposed by Prince Sihanouk, with the Geneva agreements as its basis and reactivating the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos so as to curb intervention in Laos by the United States and its accomplices, and giving firm recognition to and actively co-operating with the legal Government of Laos headed by Prince Phouma."

The new U.S. scheme for intervention in Laos is doomed to failure. The U.S. proposal put forward through the King of Laos has been exposed and condemned by the legal Government of Laos. Prince Phouma, in one single sentence, revealed the heart of the matter when he pointed out on February 22 that "it is the Americans who have hindered the carrying out of a policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony in Laos." He also solemnly de-

clared that there could be no compromise with the saboteurs of Vientiane. Chairman Souphanouvong of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat Party has pointed out that the declaration made by the King of Laos under duress of the rebels was completely null and void and that this was merely a scheme of U.S. imperialism to conceal and step up its policy of intervention and aggression against Laos.

The Chinese people warmly welcome and fully support this stern and just stand of the people and Government of Laos. The Chinese people are fully convinced that as long as the Laotian people remain united and persist in struggle, they will, with the support of the peace-loving countries and peoples, surely smash all the schemes and tricks of U.S. imperialism and realize the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos.

U.S. Must Immediately Stop Using Remnant Kuomintang Bandits to Invade Laos

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

The following commentary appeared in "Renmin Ribao" on February 27.—Ed.

THE United States has of late made increased use of remnant Kuomintang bandits to enlarge the civil war in Laos. According to a communique issued on February 24 by the Laotian National Military Council, remnant Kuomintang bandits who had been entrenched in north Burma fled to and infiltrated the northwestern part of Laos early in February this year. About 3,000 of them have already entered Houi Sai Province. Two battalions of remnant Kuomintang bandit troops, disguised as Phoumi-Boun Oum troops, occupied Naun Tha, capital of Houi Sai Province. Before the entry of these bandit troops into Houi Sai Province, the Phoumi-Boun Oum group had dispatched Boun Leut Sanichanch, commander-in-chief, and Ouan Ratikoun, chief-of-staff, of the rebel troops, together with the U.S. military attache in Laos, to Houi Sai to confer with representatives of the remnant Kuomintang bandits. They signed an agreement on the entry into Laos of the remnant Kuomintang bandits and the use of part of them to extend the civil war there. Moreover, the United States and the Phoumi-Boun Oum traitorous group also allowed the Kuomintang bandits to expand some airfields in Houi Sai. The crime of U.S. imperialism and the Phoumi-Boun Oum traitorous clique in using remnant Kuomintang troops to invade Laos cannot but evoke serious concern and tremendous indignation among the Chinese people.

Supporting the remnant Kuomintang bandits for the purpose of keeping them entrenched for a long period on China's borders with Burma, Laos and Thailand has been a sinister and dangerous plot of U.S. imperialism to threaten China, disrupt relations between China and its friendly neighbours and disturb peace in Southeast Asia. In the past decade and more, the United States has been supplying remnant Kuomintang bandits with arms and ammunition from its bases in Thailand and other vassal states. The Burmese paper *Reporter* has revealed that aircraft constantly engaged in delivering arms and other supplies to the remnant Kuomintang bandits take off from Chiangmai, Lam Pang, Bangkok and other U.S.-Thai air force bases in Thailand.

Remnant Kuomintang bandits entrenched on the Sino-Burmese border have, in the past few years, made cease-

less harassing attacks and become a major scourge to the border inhabitants of Burma. Of late, the Burmese Government, with the object of upholding Burma's sovereignty, protecting the peaceful life of the Burmese people and preserving the tranquillity of the Sino-Burmese friendship border, has launched mopping-up operations against the remnant Kuomintang bandits and dealt them a heavy blow. Large quantities of arms supplied them by the United States were captured in battle. Under the sweeping attacks of the Burmese troops, these remnant Kuomintang troops, finding it difficult to hold on any longer, infiltrated Thailand and Laos in large numbers.

That the Kuomintang bandits have infiltrated Laos in large numbers is no accident. It is part of U.S. imperialism's aggressive scheme to subvert the Phouma government of the Kingdom of Laos. *Chen Pao*, a Kuomintang daily in Hongkong, disclosed early in January 1961 that high-ranking officers of the Kuomintang brigands flew to the lair of these remnant bandits last December and drew up a plan for the dispatch of "an



Moving the Pawn

Cartoon by Jack Chen

advance unit of some 3,000 men as 'volunteers' to aid Laos [read: to aid Laotian traitorous clique — *Commentator*].” Under this plan, the Kuomintang brigands also plotted to extend the base they now occupy in the Thailand-Laos-Burma border areas to “other places on the Indo-China Peninsula” in order to seize every chance to invade “Yunnan and Tibet and use them as bases for the recovery of the entire Chinese mainland or at least for guerrilla warfare.”

The Chinese people are closely following the moves of the remnant Kuomintang bandits who have penetrated into Laos. The Kingdom of Laos is China's close neighbour. Should U.S. imperialism go so far as to drive the remnant Kuomintang bandits into joining the Laotian rebel troops to extend the civil war there and implant them inside Laos to set up new bases, this would seriously threaten not only the independence and security of Laos but also the security of China's southwestern border and would become a pernicious source of unrest on the Sino-

Laotian border and in Indo-China. And this will absolutely not be tolerated by the peoples of Laos, China and all other peace-loving countries. Prince Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong have issued a joint statement strongly protesting against the United States' use of remnant Kuomintang bandits to invade Laos. Captain Kong Le, Chairman of the National Military Council of Laos, has issued a statement demanding that these Kuomintang bandits who have infiltrated Laos pull out of the country at once. The statement warned that should they refuse to get out and, instead, bring more Kuomintang bandit troops into Laos, the legal Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma would, as the Burmese Government had done, take the most effective measures to eliminate them. The Chinese people fully support this solemn statement of the Royal Laotian Government. To uphold the independence and sovereignty of Laos and safeguard peace in Indo-China, it is imperative that the United States halt at once its new venture of using remnant Kuomintang bandits for the invasion of Laos.

The State-Monopoly Capitalism of Old China

by HSU TI-HSIN

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THE new-democratic revolution of China was a revolution of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In his report “On Coalition Government” made in 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the bureaucrat-capital of old China was the capital of the big landlords, big bankers and big compradors. In his writings during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, collected in his *Selected Works*, Volume IV [Chinese edition], basing himself on the situation at the time, he clearly expounded the distinction between bureaucrat-capital and the capital of the national bourgeoisie — the two sectors of China's capitalist economy, and elucidated the question of opposing bureaucrat-capitalism. He pointed out: “During their twenty-year rule, the four big families, Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, have piled up enormous fortunes valued at ten to twenty thousand million U.S. dollars and monopolized the economic lifelines of the whole country. This monopoly capital, combined with state power, has become state-monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. Such is the economic basis of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism oppresses not only the workers and peasants but also the urban petty bourgeoisie, and harms the middle bourgeoisie. This state-monopoly capitalism reached the peak of its development during the War of Resistance [against Japan] and after the Japanese surrender;

it has prepared ample material conditions for the new-democratic revolution.”*

At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the three major economic policies of the new-democratic revolution were: To confiscate the monopoly capital of the four big families and turn it over to the new-democratic state; to confiscate the land of the feudal class and turn it over to the peasants; and to protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie.

I

The state-monopoly capitalism of old China differed from that in developed capitalist countries. The latter, by and large, reached the stage of state monopoly after passing through the stage of monopoly in general on the basis of the expansion of industrial production and the development of capitalism. It was different with the state-monopoly capitalism of old China. Old China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country with an extremely backward economy. As a result of imperialist aggression, capitalist economy in general could not develop. State-monopoly capitalism did not come into being on the basis of the expansion of production and the growth of capitalist economy in general; it did not reach the stage of state monopoly after passing through the stage of monopoly in general; it emerged full-blown by relying on imperialism, working hand in glove with the feudal forces and using state power directly to plunder the worker and peasant masses and other small producers as well as oppress the national bourgeoisie.

Originally, the wealth of the four big families — Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen — was nothing extraor-

*“The Present Situation and Our Tasks.”

dinary. After staging the counter-revolutionary coup on April 12, 1927, seizing state power and becoming the new political representatives of the big compradors and big landlords, they used that state power to develop gradually into a monopoly capitalist group. The formative process of the monopoly capital of the four big families in China was therefore one which involved the establishment and strengthening of their bloody, fascist military dictatorship. Under the conditions obtaining in old China, there was little chance for the capital of the national bourgeoisie to develop; it was likewise difficult for it to concentrate and expand production. It was only bureaucrat-capital, combined with state power, which within a short period could become state-monopoly capital.

RELYING on state power, the four big families enlarged the scope of their monopoly activities by every possible means to embrace every sector of the national economy from finance, commerce, industry and agriculture to productive undertakings in the cultural field.

Finance and commerce were the principal sectors where bureaucrat-capital had the monopoly and where it first began its activities. After establishing his fascist dictatorship, Chiang Kai-shek at once used state power to seize control of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications—the two big financial pillars of the former Northern Warlords' governments; later he set up in succession the Central Bank of China and the Farmers' Bank of China, which were said to belong to the "state," and organized the "Joint Administration Office of Four Government Banks," with Chiang Kai-shek himself as chairman of its board of directors. The four big banks [the Central Bank of China, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank of China.] were the headquarters of the four big families in carrying on their monopoly operations; organizations of these four big banks directly controlled the Kuomintang regime and, through it, directly manipulated the economy of old China. Chiang Kai-shek invested his so-called "state banks" with such prerogatives as acting as the national treasury, issuing notes, minting and issuing coinage and handling domestic bonds and foreign loans. The issuance of "*fabi*" (legal tender) was a step of decisive significance by means of which the four big banks achieved their financial monopoly. In 1935, the Chiang Kai-shek government established the bank-notes issued by the Central Bank of China, the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications as legal tender and also carried out the "nationalization of silver." By the use of this worthless paper money, the four big families not only robbed the people of their wealth but also seized for themselves the silver which was the crystallization of the hard labour of the people of the whole country. Enjoying the prerogative of issuing "*fabi*," the four big families recklessly issued bank-notes; this resulted in a vicious inflation that continued for more than ten years. This vicious inflation was a sort of frenzied, ruthless plundering of the people; it led to the daily depreciation of the currency the people held in their hands and finally even made it completely valueless. The four big families also used currency inflation to engage in speculation, hoarding and cornering the market, black marketing, gobbling up other enterprises, and so on. The Chiang Kai-shek government got large foreign loans to support its "*fabi*" policy, but the foreign exchange thus obtained was also, in fact, pocketed by the four big

families. The floating of domestic loans was another source by which the four big families amassed wealth. The amount of the domestic loans floated by the Chiang Kai-shek government was far greater than that floated by the Ching Dynasty and the successive governments under the Northern Warlords. The amount of domestic loans floated by the Chiang Kai-shek government in the nine years from 1927 to 1939 was four times as much as that of the governments under the Northern Warlords in the 15 years from 1912 to 1927. These large domestic loans were needed by the four big families to carry on their protracted counter-revolutionary civil war; at the same time, these loans greatly speeded up the concentration of financial capital in the hands of the four big families. At that time, it was mainly the four big banks that bought these domestic bonds which were issued not at their face value but usually at a 50 or 40 per cent discount. Repayment of the principal and interest of these domestic loans, however, was made at their full face value, interest being at 6 to 8 per cent. The banks belonging to the four big families that subscribed these domestic loans thus raked in a 40 to 50 per cent profit at one stroke. The domestic loans were secured on taxes. So the greater these loans became the more numerous became the taxes and the heavier grew the burden on the people. The real significance of floating large amounts of domestic loans was simply to speed up the transformation of the wealth of the people of the whole country—mainly that of the peasants—into the private property of the four big families. By craft or force the four big banks got control of banks throughout the country. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, they seized the financial organizations of the Japanese and their puppets, and further developed their power of financial monopoly with the wealth which the Japanese and their puppets had plundered. Statistics show that in 1946 the number of banks belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek government in the various provinces and cities accounted for more than two-thirds of the total in the country.

THE monopoly capital of the four big families was, in effect, mainly a kind of speculative commercial capital. While building up their financial monopoly, with the aid of special political privileges and by relying on their great financial power, the four big families were actively engaged in large-scale commercial speculation; they squeezed productive enterprises. War, foreign and domestic loans, foreign exchange, gold, real estate, hoarding of commodities, currency depreciation, etc., were all means by which monopoly capital conducted its large-scale speculations. Statistics show that in the five years from 1937 to 1942, as regards the special loans and discounts approved each year by the "Joint Administration Office of Four Government Banks," industrial and mining enterprises received only a little over 19 per cent of the total; the greater part was used for commercial speculation. By using state power, the four big families monopolized the country's foreign exchange, foreign trade, the dumping of foreign goods in China and the export of Chinese native products to other countries. The four big families set up, under the "Trade Adjustment Commission" of the Chiang Kai-shek government, various corporations (such as the China National Tea Corpora-

tion) monopolizing important export goods. In 1941, the Chiang Kai-shek government instituted a monopoly system, under which the sale of all articles (such as sugar, salt, matches, wine, tobacco and tea) over which it exercised monopoly were all handled by the four big families. Through such monopolies and the Kuomintang government's trade control policy, the commercial organizations of the four big families controlled large quantities of commodities and acquired a monopoly over market prices; in buying, they arbitrarily forced down prices to plunder producers by purchasing goods at prices lower than the cost of production, while in selling they arbitrarily raised prices to plunder consumers. The use of state power to maintain a commercial monopoly was one of the principal means employed by the four big families to squeeze the people and amass a vast wealth.

IN the final analysis, the four big families made their fortunes mainly by plundering the peasants, and this plunder was mainly carried on through the use of state power. The reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government mercilessly robbed the peasants by means of countless exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies, particularly through the collection of the land tax in kind, through food debentures [vouchers for future payment] and compulsory government purchases of food at fixed prices. Take the collection of land tax in kind in Hunan Province for example. An investigation showed that in 1942 the Chiang Kai-shek government made off with 52.7 per cent of the harvest from every *mu* of ricefield in Hunan. The collection of land tax in other provinces in the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas was about the same. Nominally, the landlords shouldered the burden of paying the land tax in kind and of the food debentures; actually the burden fell on the peasants. Since "tax came from rent," the landlords, big and small, raised rents as high as possible on the plea that the land tax had increased. The rule of the four big families pauperized the peasant masses and forced them to eke out a living by borrowing money and foodstuffs. Taking further advantage of their difficulties, the four big families actively engaged in financial activities usuriously exploiting the peasants. The Farmers' Bank of China and the Central Co-operative Treasury were the chief organizations through which the four big families conducted their usurious operations. In 1941, of the total amount of farm loans in areas under Chiang Kai-shek's rule, 51 per cent was extended by banks belonging in the main to the four big families. Exploitation of the peasants by the four big families resulted in a drastic drop in agricultural production in the Kuomintang-controlled areas; famine became a common occurrence there, hunger-stricken people could be seen everywhere, and the agricultural productive forces were seriously damaged.

The four big families' monopoly over industry was similarly effected wholly by means of state power. In this field, they made use of the so-called "National Resources Commission" and the "Industrial and Mining Adjustment Administration," both under the "National Military Council" of the Kuomintang government, and such-like organizations. The main task of the "Industrial and Mining Adjustment Administration," for instance, was to assist the industries of bureaucrat-capital in gobbl-

ing up the industries of the national bourgeoisie by such methods as the take-over or acquiring control through the purchase of a fresh issue of shares. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, taking advantage of the crisis confronting industries owned by the national bourgeoisie and relying on foreign capital and political power, the four big families openly robbed the national bourgeoisie of its industries. After victory was won in the War of Resistance, once again they robbed the people of the fruits of victory in the name of "taking over"; 2,411 Japanese and puppet factories were taken over and nominally nationalized (only 10 per cent of these were returned to their owners or auctioned off), but actually they were seized by the four big families themselves. This extended the four big families' monopoly over industry to astonishing proportions. On the eve of the liberation of the country, exclusive control of various branches of industry under monopoly capital represented by the four big families was as follows: electricity, 67 per cent; coal (output), 33 per cent; cement (output), 45 per cent; spindles (equipment), 40 per cent; looms (equipment), 60 per cent; sugar (output), 90 per cent. Their monopoly in communications and transport was: steamships (tonnage), 45 per cent; railways, highways and airlines, 100 per cent. In short, the four big families' state-monopoly capital accounted for 80 per cent of the entire capitalist economy of old China.

In its 22 years of rule, the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship concentrated the greater part of the wealth of the country — in finance, trade, industry, transport, posts and telecommunications, agriculture, estates and productive undertakings in the cultural field — under the control of the bureaucrat-capitalist system headed by the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen. Facts prove that this bureaucrat-capital was truly "combined with state power" and "has become state-monopoly capitalism."

This monopoly capital, which grew through the use of state power for ruthless extortion and to feather its own nest, was not a reflection of the growth of China's national economy and capitalist economy but, on the contrary, a reflection of the bankruptcy of China's national economy and the stagnation and decline of the national capitalist economy.

II

The state-monopoly capitalism of old China, besides having the general characteristics of being monopolistic, parasitical and decadent, had, as its main attribute, a deeply comprador and feudal character. From the very beginning, China's bureaucrat-capital was closely linked up with foreign imperialism and native feudal forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "To serve the needs of its aggression, imperialism created the comprador system and bureaucrat-capital in China."* At the same time, "in addition to the comprador class imperialism makes the Chinese feudal landlord class a prop of its rule over China,"** so as to facilitate its exploitation of the broad

* "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle."

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 15.

masses of peasants and other people. China's bureaucrat-capital was precisely a mongrel of the comprador and feudal systems of modern China and the product of the economic bonds between the big compradors and big landlords. The process of its formation was the process of the imperialist aggression against China and the reduction of old China to the status of a colony. When the four big families came to rule over China, this comprador and feudal character of bureaucrat-capital manifested itself even more markedly.

THE formation of the monopoly capital of the four big families and the monopolistic activities they engaged in showed the all-pervading comprador character of this monopoly capital. The four big families were the chief comprador of imperialism and particularly U.S. imperialism and a lackey in its service. They monopolized finance, trade, transport, posts and telecommunications, industrial and mining enterprises, and agriculture; which aspect of this monopolization did not directly or indirectly serve imperialism and particularly U.S. imperialist policy of turning China into its colony? Without the support of imperialism and foreign monopoly capital, how could the capital of the four big families have turned into the state-monopoly capital of old China, how could they have plundered the Chinese people and the national bourgeoisie and carried out their various reactionary policies? The Kuomintang's *fabi* policy and the domestic and foreign loans it raised all directly depended, as mentioned above, on support from British and U.S. monopoly capital. The four big families at first linked the Chinese "*fabi*" with the sterling bloc, taking pound sterling as its standard; later they linked it with the dollar bloc, taking the U.S. dollar as its standard. The basic feature of the Kuomintang's "*fabi*" as a comprador currency was marked by the fact that foreign exchanges were taken as its standard and its credit was determined by foreign exchange prices. To prop up its *fabi* policy the Kuomintang government raised large sums of foreign loans. As a result of this, China's currency and finances fell into the hands of foreign monopoly capital and became its adjunct. Both the commercial capital and industrial capital of the four big families were comprador capital relying on foreign countries and used to engage in comprador activities. In the industrial field, the four big families first relied on German capital and then on U.S. capital. The overwhelming part of the monopoly capital of the four big families was used for commercial speculation. This too was mainly decided by the fact that it was comprador in character, and served the needs of imperialist economic plunder. This characteristic was shown up in still bolder relief after the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the United States used the four big families to turn China into its monopoly market in an attempt to transform China, in fact, step by step into a U.S.-monopolized colony.

The formation of monopoly capital, under prevailing conditions in old China, similarly had to and could only take the feudal production relations in agriculture as its support. As it developed this monopoly capital always made use of the state machine and banded together with the landlord class and the old-type rich peasants to carry on pre-capitalist plunder and plunder by extra-economic

means. Many bureaucrat-capitalists were at the same time big owners of land and estates. This monopoly capital of the four big families not only plundered the peasants directly by means of extra-economic, political force; their banking, financial and commercial activities were all heavily tainted with feudal usurious exploitation. The four big families were the biggest serf-owners and usurers in old China.

This comprador and feudal state-monopoly capitalism was also heavily militarist in nature. The four big families served imperialism and the forces of feudalism, and owed their rise to power to counter-revolutionary civil wars. They used the ever more frequent civil wars to create conditions for speculation on the market and to carry out "legitimate" and open robbery. The more extensive and the more prolonged the military activities of the Chiang Kai-shek clique became, the bigger became its military expenditures, the bigger the taxes and the more domestic and foreign loans were needed as a source of military expenditure and the greater were the "military profits" accruing to the four big families. The domestic and foreign loans the Chiang Kai-shek government raised were mainly used for civil war. According to one statistical source 86 per cent of its domestic loans were used for civil war, mainly to buy arms from the imperialist countries. Its prolonged and large-scale counter-revolutionary civil wars required a big, long-term supply of arms. The purchase of arms, therefore, became a big, major item of the Chiang dynasty's foreign trade. The commissions charged on this big item of foreign trade and the other benefits accruing from it were mainly or mostly monopolized by the four big comprador families. The major organizations through which they engaged in monopolistic activities in various fields such as the "National Resources Commission," the "Industrial and Mining Adjustment Commission" and the "Trade Adjustment Commission" were in their early days directly under the "National Military Council" of the Kuomintang government. On the one hand, the activities of these organizations and the enterprises under them fulfilled military needs: most of the iron and steel works, for instance, were run by the "Directorate of Ordnance" and 90 per cent of the output of aluminium and zinc were directly controlled by that organization. On the other hand, these organizations and enterprises were used to amass wealth for the four big families through military plunder.

POLITICS turns into economics and vice versa. Relying on political force, the four big families headed by Chiang Kai-shek developed into a comprador, feudal state-monopoly capitalist group, and this comprador, feudal state-monopoly capital in turn formed the economic basis of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government as well as the main economic cause of the Chiang Kai-shek clique's anti-popular policy as a whole. To maintain the comprador and feudal relations of production and secure and preserve their monopolistic positions, the four big families had to resort to military repression and various kinds of counter-revolutionary wars, fighting the people on the one hand and the dissident cliques and groups among the comprador and feudal classes on the other. The four big families made these counter-revolutionary wars a short-

cut to their own enrichment. Since the amassing of their wealth was absolutely inseparable from war, which provided them with various opportunities for plundering and robbing the people, there was no end to their lust for money-making and their avidity for civil war. This accounted for the bellicosity of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Since the four big families headed by Chiang Kai-shek mainly relied for their economic monopoly on the state power and monopolization of state power was the prerequisite for this, they also strove relentlessly to maintain their fascist dictatorship and opposed democracy. Since their rise to power originated in the fact that they were compradors, and the accumulation of their wealth depended on their comprador activities and since they had to rely on imperialist support to maintain their economic and political monopolies, they could not but sell out China's sovereignty, and turn the country into a vassal state and colony of imperialism. That is to say, the four big families headed by Chiang Kai-shek were bound to be a traitorous clique; it was certainly impossible to expect them to carry out a policy of national independence. At the same time, because the monopoly capital owned by them was deeply tainted with a feudal character and they showed a determined hostility to the peasants, it was also quite impossible to expect them to carry out the policy of "land to the tillers." They "are opposed to land to the tillers and even to reduction of rent and interest."* Because of all this, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "the trinity of dictatorship, civil war and selling out the country has always been the basis of his [Chiang Kai-shek's] policy."**

DURING the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the monopoly capital of the four big families reached the climax of its development with the direct support of U.S. imperialism. During this period the development of the monopoly capital owned by the four big families was, in essence, the expansion of the political, economic and military forces of U.S. imperialism in China; it was a reflection of the fact that U.S. imperialism had replaced Japan, squeezed out British, French and other imperialism and had monopolized old China. To get still bigger support from U.S. imperialism so as to maintain his dictatorship and carry on the civil war, Chiang Kai-shek even resorted, without hesitation, to traitorous activities in making gifts to reward U.S. imperialism. These included the selling out of military bases and navigation rights in China's territorial air and waters, the signing of a treaty of commerce with enslaving terms and other acts that were many times more serious than the traitorous acts of Yuan Shih-kai. In November 1946, the Chiang Kai-shek government concluded the so-called "Sino-U.S. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation" with the U.S. Government. According to this treaty, the territories, territorial waters, inland rivers and territorial air throughout China were open to U.S. nationals; U.S. nationals could enjoy throughout "the whole extent of . . . the territories" of China the rights to reside, travel, carry on commercial, manufacturing, processing, scientific, educational, religious

* Mao Tse-tung, *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 77.

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

and philanthropic activities, explore and exploit mineral resources, lease and hold land, and follow various occupations and pursuits. U.S. nationals in China were entitled to the same economic rights as Chinese; but politically they were accorded privileges which were denied to the Chinese people. This meant selling China's sovereignty outright to the United States and turning China into a U.S. colony. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The extremely reactionary financial and economic policies long pursued by the Chiang Kai-shek government have now been aggravated by the Sino-U.S. Treaty of Commerce, the most treasonable treaty ever known. On the basis of this treaty, U.S. monopoly capital and Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucrat-comprador capital have become tightly intertwined and control the economic life of the whole country."* This entirely accorded with the facts.

BESIDES engaging in economic plunder on a still larger scale, U.S. imperialism at that time gave the Kuomintang government big amounts of material aid. This assistance, the United States itself admitted, reached an amount equivalent to "more than 50 per cent of the monetary expenditures" of the Kuomintang government and "of proportionately greater magnitude . . . than the United States has provided to any nation of Western Europe since the end of the war." This was the policy by which U.S. imperialism would provide the money and ammunition while Chiang Kai-shek would provide the manpower to fight for the United States so as to turn China into a U.S. colony. As a result, the sufferings of the Chinese people and the national crisis both greatly deepened. To support its counter-revolutionary war, the reactionary Kuomintang government printed excessive amounts of the so-called "fabi" and "gold yuan notes," and on the basis of the protracted inflation set going a malignant inflation of a still more serious nature. From June 1937 to May 1949, the amount of currency issued by the Kuomintang increased by more than 170,000 million times. The steady depreciation of the currency and the steady rise of prices all reached astonishing and unprecedented levels. Legitimate productive undertakings suffered serious damage and social purchasing power declined continuously. Runaway inflation wiped out the workers' wages, the salaries of government employees and teachers, the money income of peasants from the sale of farm produce, and even the proceeds of the national bourgeoisie from commodity sales. The four big families, on their part, raked in fabulous profits from speculations in gold and U.S. bank-notes and from hoarding and cornering the markets. The utterly vicious system of pressganging and the grain levy instituted during the War of Resistance Against Japan and revived by the Chiang Kai-shek government for prosecution of the civil war, in particular, made life impossible for the broad masses of peasants. The capital of the national bourgeoisie was reduced to dire straits by the joint attack by U.S. monopoly capital and the bureaucrat capital of the four big families and the large-scale dumping of U.S. goods. According to one statistical source, 75 per cent of all the private factories in Shanghai, large and small, and 80 per cent of the medium-

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

sized and small factories in Chungking went bankrupt and closed down in 1946. Thus, the illusions entertained by many members of the national bourgeoisie about U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique, and about "peaceful co-operation" with bureaucrat-capital and taking "the third road" gradually went up in smoke. The results of further integration between Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucrat-comprador capital and U.S. monopoly capital on the basis of the Sino-U.S. treaty of commerce and their tightened control over the national economy were just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "... malignant inflation has swiftly developed; the industry and commerce of China's national bourgeoisie are daily going bankrupt; the livelihood of the working masses, government employees and teachers is deteriorating every day; large numbers of the middle class are losing their savings and becoming penniless; and therefore strikes of workers and students and other struggles are constantly occurring. An economic crisis more serious than China has ever faced before is threatening all strata of the people."*

The greater the concentration of the four big families' monopoly capital, the closer its collusion with U.S. monopoly capital, and the greedier it became, the more reactionary became the political rule of the four big families, the more eagerly they wanted to act as U.S. imperialism's running dogs and sell out China to the United States, and the more eager they became to unleash a war against the Chinese people in an attempt to prevent the advance of the Chinese people's cause of liberation. The plunder engaged in by the monopoly capital of the four big families and all their anti-popular policies inevitably forced the people of every strata throughout the country to unite and fight for their lives. To overthrow the Kuomintang reactionary rule, it was necessary to destroy its economic foundation, i.e., the comprador, feudal relations of production, to confiscate the monopoly capital of the four big families. It was precisely on the basis of the actual situation of the struggle at the time that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, during the Third Revolutionary Civil War, emphatically expounded the question of opposing bureaucrat-capitalism.

III

The capitalist economy of old China consisted of two component parts, namely, bureaucrat-capitalist economy and national capitalist economy, the former being the target of the democratic revolution whereas the latter was protected during that revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly pointed out at that time the importance of drawing such a line of distinction. He said that the new democratic revolution aimed at eliminating only feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and not the capitalist economy represented by the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, i.e., the national capitalist economy.

In old China, the Kuomintang reactionary clique did its utmost to spread its deceitful propaganda among the people in the attempt to mask the essential nature of bureaucrat-capitalism. They described comprador, feudal

state-monopoly capitalism as being capitalism in general, trying hard to make people believe that by relying on this monopoly capitalism China could be industrialized and become an independent state and that bourgeois democracy could be instituted in the country. Certain bourgeois elements were taken in by this deceptive propaganda. They entertained illusions about some so-called "economic construction" undertaken by the four big families in the name of the state. These illusions were eventually shattered by facts which completely bore out the Marxists' analysis of bureaucrat-capitalism. Not only could the development of this bureaucrat-capitalism not give China independence and freedom, it could, in fact, only make it impossible for China to free herself from her semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. Not only was it impossible for it to put China on the road to industrialization; it was itself a heavy fetter shackling the growth of China's social productive forces. It was inevitable that the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie should adopt an implacably hostile attitude towards the people's democratic revolution. In order to turn semi-colonial and semi-feudal China into an independent, free and democratic New China, the people's democratic revolution led by the proletariat had to take the thorough elimination of bureaucrat-capitalism as a major task. It would, therefore, undoubtedly have been wrong not to have dared to make bureaucrat-capitalism unequivocally a target of the revolution prior to 1949 because the revolution at that time was in the stage of the democratic revolution.

ON the other hand, however, it would also have been wrong if, at that time, in opposing bureaucrat-capitalism unequivocally, we had also opposed the capital of the national bourgeoisie. Under the conditions obtaining in old China, there were few or no links at all between the national capitalist economy and imperialism. There were contradictions between the national capitalist economy, on the one hand, and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, on the other, because the latter tried to crowd out and damage the former. Because of the backwardness of China's economy, this sector owned by the national bourgeoisie still played a certain positive role in the national economy. The class position of the national bourgeoisie determined that in the democratic revolution they should show a dual character. On the one hand, the great majority of them could, under certain conditions, take part in the struggle against imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary rule. On the other hand, they constantly vacillated and were prone to compromise. In view of this dual character of the national bourgeoisie, the proletariat should adopt a policy towards them of uniting with and struggling against them and of achieving unity through struggle; it should not adopt the same policy towards the national bourgeoisie as it does towards the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, in order to explain the policy on the national bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao Tse-tung particularly recalled historical experience and pointed out that not a few members of the national bourgeoisie acquiesced in Chiang Kai-shek's reaction from 1927 to 1931 (before the September 18 Mukden Incident). "But," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "on this account one must not think that we should not have tried during that period to win over the national bourgeoisie

* "Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution."

politically or to protect it economically . . . our policy should still have been to protect the national bourgeoisie and win it over so as to enable us to concentrate our efforts on fighting the chief enemies.”*

In old China, although the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie were two related sections of the bourgeoisie, there was marked distinction between them. This was actual and not imagined distinction. Marxism-Leninism demands a scientific analysis of the different classes and strata and calls for the formulation of correct policies in the light of such scientific analysis so as to advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It was precisely by applying the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis on the basis of actual facts that Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a strict distinction between the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and between the bureaucrat-capitalist and national capitalist economies, and thereby formulated a series of correct policies towards these two types of economy. The implementation of these policies was of tremendous significance in the victory of China's democratic revolution. It was precisely due to implementation of these policies that during the Third Revolutionary Civil War the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie either took part in or remained neutral towards the revolution in the decisive period when the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution was being carried to complete victory, thereby isolating to the utmost the counter-revolutionary forces represented by the four big families.

IN “Proclamation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army” written in April 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the following provisions regarding the confiscation of bureaucrat-capital: “All factories, shops, banks and warehouses, vessels, wharves and railways, all postal, telegraph, electric light, telephone and water supply services, and all farms, livestock farms and other enterprises operated by the reactionary Kuomintang government and the big bureaucrats shall be taken over by the People's Government. In such enterprises the private shares held by national capitalists engaged in industry, commerce, agriculture or livestock raising shall be recognized, after their ownership is verified.”

*“On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry.”

Peasant - Scientist

Daring to Get More from a Plot

by HUANG CHIH-PIN

IT was at Peking's National Agricultural Exhibition in the late autumn of 1957 that a peasant stood gazing intently at a big, round species of wheat seed and stayed there, looking, for quite a while. To the narrator in the exhibition hall this visitor, aged about 50, looked some-

In accordance with these provisions, the People's Government, in the early days of liberation, confiscated more than 2,800 bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises. These enterprises were highly concentrated; so confiscation of this capital and its transfer to ownership by the People's Republic led by the proletariat enabled the People's Republic to control the economic lifelines of the country and made the state sector the leading sector in the national economy. As our people's democratic dictatorship at that time was in essence already a dictatorship of the proletariat, this sector became socialist and not capitalist in character.

Under the conditions in China, bureaucrat-capital was essentially comprador and feudal in character. The struggle against it, therefore, pertained to the democratic revolution. At the same time, as bureaucrat-capital was part of the capitalist economy, and as the organ that carried out its confiscation was the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat, and since after confiscation it became an economic sector of a socialist character, the struggle against bureaucrat-capital also assumed the character of a socialist revolution. The confiscation of bureaucrat-capital resulted in the elimination of the major portion (80 per cent) of China's capitalist economy. The remaining portion, small and medium in scale, was national capitalist economy represented by the middle bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie. Since the people have in their hands a powerful state machine and the state power led by the proletariat runs the powerful socialist, state sector of the economy, and as the national bourgeoisie, after liberation, apart from their exploitation of the working class for profit, supports the Constitution and expresses willingness to accept socialist transformation, it has been possible for us, in the socialist revolution, to carry out, through the form of state capitalism and by peaceful means, socialist transformation of the capitalist sector of the economy run by the national bourgeoisie.

All this shows that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and policies on opposing bureaucrat-capital were of tremendous significance not only to the thorough completion of China's democratic revolution, but also to the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. This is an extremely brilliant example of how Comrade Mao Tse-tung combined the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

what familiar. Yes, he recalled, the same man had been here several times and each time he showed such deep interest in this particular variety of seed.

The narrator took two seeds of this species from the bottle and handed them to the attentive peasant, saying:

"Uncle, take this and have a try in your village. By the way, where do you come from?"

The unexpected gift touched the visitor. He wrapped the seeds with great care and replied smiling: "I come from faraway Wutu County, Kansu Province."

He is Chang Shih-ching, a peasant-scientist widely known for his farming innovations in his native Kansu Province, northwest China. Though he had, in the course of his life and experience, felt the keen desire to experiment and change things in his mountainous home county, none of his cherished ideas could be realized in the old society.

The responsibility lay not with any lack of energy, talent or willingness to work or struggle on Chang's part but with the heavy hand of a reactionary regime that smothered and deadened the latent abilities of the peasants. In those days Chang's whole mind and vigour were consumed in the never-ending battle to stave off the constant threat of starvation from his family of six all dependent on 1.4 *mu* of farmland.

After liberation, with land reform, the Chang family received additional land and life began to steadily improve. Chang firmly set his sights on farming and resisted any pull away from the countryside. He made this decision not only because his love for growing things was of a deep nature but also because he saw clearly the new perspectives—the Communist Party would lead the peasants to transform the backward, mountain hamlets into new, prosperous, socialist villages.

Persistent in experiment and study Chang has, over the past 11 years, bred several new varieties of crops through hybridization, succeeded in planting paddy rice in cold mountain districts and scored initial victories in the effort to reap five crops a year.

Breeding New Varieties

With four years of traditional schooling in his boyhood, peasant Chang now took to reading books about agriculture. One day he was struck by the following passage: "Good strains of seed are an important factor in boosting per-*mu* yields and hybridization has proved to be one of the best methods for breeding better strains suited to local conditions." Having in mind the Party's call for high yields and the confirming evidence of his own farming experience, he thought it was worth a try.

So he set his hand to a small experimental plot to which he devoted nearly all of his spare time. Here he planted different varieties of wheat, maize, potatoes and melons. Every activity in which he engaged—whether attending meetings or making visits—were grist to his mill. He used them to collect new strains of seed or exchange experiences with time-tested farmers. Since then, he has bred three new varieties of wheat and maize, introduced dozens of varieties new to that locality, and cultivated many new varieties of fruit trees by skilful grafting. These experiments were conducted not only on his own plot but on those of his farm co-op and later people's commune and with the help of fellow peasants.

Chang's new ideas are now taken very seriously by commune members and the derision that greeted his experiments in the early days has given way to respect and



Hoeing

Woodcut by Yang Yung-ching

admiration. This is especially true since he brought paddy rice to his mountain village.

Paddy rice in his mountain village, Chang Shih-ching's dream, seemed to most peasants strictly a day-dream. Mountain water, they argued, was too cold for rice. Besides rice had never been grown in their fields and many at that time were still afflicted with the idea that what had never been, could never be.

Shih-ching, however, had his own reasoning. It seemed to him that the real trouble lay in the early frost which blighted the harvest. What was certain, however, was that you'd never find out if you didn't try. For two successive years his rice plants were killed by the early frost and all his labour went for naught. He planted seeds grown on higher land for a third try but failed again. While Chang harvested no rice he learnt some invaluable lessons. The key problem, he concluded, was getting the rice seeds to sprout early and protecting the seedlings from the spring frost.

He pondered over possible solutions. By that time he had succeeded in raising maize which matured earlier than others. Therefore, he considered whether this might not work with rice as well. This time the rice seeds were made to sprout indoors, then were sown in the fields and covered with straw screens from evening till the following morning. Thus, the seedlings escaped the severity of the spring frost and the harvest was brought in before the early autumn frost set in. The experiment, unprecedented in the locality, was finally crowned with success.

Two to Three Crops

To boost per-*mu* yields, good strains of seed are, in themselves, not enough. Therefore, Chang made strenuous

efforts to get two crops a year instead of the usual one. He decided to sow maize in the wheat fields after the latter crop was harvested. This was also a "first" for this area. His fellow villagers commented: "You cannot expect a maize harvest if you sow late even in fallow land. How can you possibly expect it if you plant after the wheat harvest?"

With a daring spirit geared to try new ways Chang Shih-ching did just this on a 0.6 *mu* plot, but an early frost mercilessly destroyed his maize crop. The next year, he sowed immediately after the wheat was gathered in. He ended up with slightly better results—one-tenth of the harvest was salvaged. A close friend, Tan Chih-sheng, feeling sorry for Chang, tried to persuade him to abandon the project. "Brother!" said Tan, "since we are on high altitudes and the ground is cold, you better give up!"

Analysing his failures, Shih-ching concluded that all would be well if the maize could be sown just ten days earlier. As it was not possible to reap the wheat that many days in advance, where could the added ten days be found? One evening while Chang rested on the *kang* (brick bed) his wife was washing bean sprouts. He looked at the sprouts and suddenly this commonplace household activity that he had observed thousands of times struck him with new force and meaning. "That is the way!" he said. He soaked his maize seeds in warm water before sowing and obtained an excellent harvest—530 *jin* to the *mu*.

Word of this exploit of Chang's spread far and wide and groups of peasants from the surrounding countryside streamed to Longxing People's Commune to observe the plants. While others were loud in praise of his daring to think and act, Shih-ching himself regarded it as only a beginning. Going a step further, he soon worked out a new plan to reap three crops a year. It received the complete approval of the Communist Party committee of the commune, which designated seven young members to assist Chang and allocated four *mu* for this new effort.

The group led by Chang intercropped maize in the wheat fields and then planted cabbage in the space left when the wheat was gathered. With constant and meticulous care they achieved an average yield of 440 *jin* of wheat, 720 *jin* of maize and 1,500 *jin* of cabbage to the *mu*.

"Five-Linking-Crop" Cultivation

Inspired by these new successes, Chang Shih-ching made a painstaking study of local climatic conditions and calculated the number of days required for full growth by different crops. Combining this knowledge with a thorough study of the nature of the land, sunlight, aeration and other relevant factors, he advanced a still more ambitious project—the reaping of five crops a year. The plan provided first for winter wheat and spinach to be intercropped; when the spinach was harvested the following spring, maize would be sown in its place; when the wheat was gathered the space vacated would be given over to an early-ripening bean; at the same time carrots were to be sown between the maize.

This project was carried out on an experimental plot of eight *mu*. Obviously the cultivation of five crops called for more complex technical measures and management,

additional manpower and material resources and the most meticulous attention at every stage of growth. Chang's group hovered over their plot like anxious parents nursing a fragile child to health. They were in a constant huddle analysing the condition of the plants and devising effective measures for wresting a bumper harvest. Thanks to their indefatigable energy and dauntless spirit, the experiment came off with flying colours.

This method of cultivation makes full use of the soil throughout the year and, moreover, incorporates many excellent combinations. The intercropping of high- and low-stalk plants ensures sufficient sunlight and facilitates aeration. The selection of rotated crops takes into account the complementary factors between plants whose roots strike deep and those with shallow roots, between crops which need to be planted fairly closely and those which require general density in planting, and between leguminous and gramineous plants. Rational crop rotation is also advantageous to soil amelioration and the enrichment of its fertility.

Scientific institutes in Kansu Province speak highly of Chang's new farming system because it not only conforms to the principles of aggregate plant physiology but also saves a great deal of manpower. Last year a county-wide meeting was held in Longxing Commune to propagate Chang's new system.

Help from the Party

In the course of Chang Shih-ching's studies and experiments, the Communist Party gave him every support and encouragement. It guided him in mapping out the correct direction, gave him heart to clear the many hurdles which beset his path, provided adequate materials and manpower for his new undertakings, and gave him the opportunity to visit and learn from other advanced farms. The peasant-scientist was honoured by several citations and took part in many national and provincial conferences of advanced workers and peasants. Since joining the Communist Party in the spring of 1956, Chang's determination to serve the people has become even greater.

He is today vice-director of Longxing Commune's institute of scientific research where commune members, among other things, are giving careful study to his successful experiences. After appraising Chang's contributions to agriculture, the Kansu Academy of Agricultural Science made him a research associate. Last summer, Chang toured the Soviet Union for three weeks and absorbed much knowledge and information about socialist agriculture. This provided added impetus to his ceaseless creative search for new ways and means in agriculture.

Recalling what he experienced in the old society, Chang Shih-ching attributes all his accomplishments to the Communist Party. When the peaches in a plot cultivated by him ripened last autumn, he picked the biggest and best one and dedicated it to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. To express his feelings this young-in-heart 52-year-old peasant composed a verse concluding with these lines:

*This I dedicate to our beloved leader,
Chairman Mao,*

*Wishing him ever-lasting happiness
and long life.*

Three Widely-Acclaimed Films

Red Guards of Lake Hunghu, a joint production of the Peking and Wuhan Film Studios; *A Revolutionary Family*, a Peking Studio production; and *Our World Has Changed*, by the Chang-chun Studio in the northeast. All three are in colour.

"Red Guards of Lake Hunghu"

When the opera *Red Guards of Lake Hunghu* was staged in Peking by the visiting Hupeh Experimental Opera Theatre a year ago, it won great popularity with audiences and critics alike for its theme marked by depth of thought and its style striking in its freshness. Now, the film based on the opera has, as more than one reviewer pointed out, "added lustre and magnificence to the opera."

The time is the summer of 1930. A wave of White Terror is sweeping Pengchiatun Township along Lake Hunghu. The major forces of the Chinese Red Army have withdrawn; the Kuomintang "Peace Preservation Corps" and the armed forces of the landlords are staging a come-back, burning, looting and killing as they go. The township is in danger. Liu Chuang, leader of the local militia, the Red Guards, readies his sword for action. Determined to fight to the end, the people raise their voices to sing: "No whirlwind can bring down the sun, no storm can shake a mountain. . . ."



"Red Guards of Lake Hunghu"

It is in this ferment of popular wrath that there is unfolded a story of sharp conflict between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces. The note struck by the film is at once high and truthful, skilfully combining realism with the spirit of revolutionary romanticism. The young woman Han Ying is introduced. In combat, she is optimistic, resolute, upholding Party principle while showing endless solicitude for the well-being of her comrades. Imprisoned, she is steadfastly loyal to her cause. For this, she is ready to face death. The scene she meets her mother is deeply moving. In song, she recalls the suffering of her family under landlord persecution and warlord oppression, and how a new life dawned for them after the people came to power. ". . . Mother, when your daughter dies, bury her by the roadside, face her grave to the east, so that your daughter may see the triumphant return of the Red Army and hear the songs of our beloved villagers. Mother, after your daughter's death, bury her high on a slope, turn her grave to the east. Your daughter wants to see the end of the White bandits, the liberation of all the toiling people under heaven!"

She does not die. She lives to see the end of her oppressors, at her own hands and those of her comrades.

The film retains the main content and local colour of the opera. It also takes advantage of the possibilities inherent in the medium to bring to its audiences the natural beauty of the revolutionary base at Lake Hunghu. Seeing the oncoming waves of that beautiful lake, we are reminded that on our screen and stage, new talents from among the people are ever pressing forward. We learn that in this film several leading roles are played by people making their first appearance on the screen.

"A Revolutionary Family"

This film released in January and still running to packed houses is such a tremendous hit that one reviewer referred to it as signalling *kaimenhong* in the cinema arts in 1961.



"A Revolutionary Family"

(*Kaimenhong*, literally "open the door to red," meaning "let the beginning be crowned red with achievements.")

The film, based on the extremely well-received memoirs of the veteran revolutionary Tao Cheng, is a three-way success—for the script writer, for the director and for the actors. The quality of the colour photography also contributes substantially to its overall effectiveness.

Writer of the scenario Hsia Yen is a veteran playwright. Many of his plays are prominent on theatrical repertoires. And, of course, his film adaptation of the Lu Hsun short story *New Year Sacrifice* is known far beyond the borders of China. He has an artistic style uniquely his own. He is a strict realist with knowledge of and insight into both society and people and his works impress us as being completely free from affectation and vibrant with life. He probes the inner world of his characters and their social environment creating whole people who are both affected by the world they live in and in turn help to change that world. *A Revolutionary Family* tells of the story of how the small family of Chiang Mei-ching, a young rural intellectual in eager pursuit of the truth, gradually becomes one with the great and growing revolutionary family of China. We see Chou Lien, Chiang's wife, develop from an ordinary peasant woman who cannot even read her own name into a staunch proletarian fighter. The author's language is simple and pithy. His characters change and grow in the course of sharp conflicts, and in this film built around four crucial joy- and sorrow-filled departures and reunions, not only Chou Lien, but her husband

Mei-ching, her tempered and toughened elder son Li-chun, her somewhat spoiled daughter Hsiao-lien and even Hsiao-ching just emerging from the toddler stage, stand out in bold relief.

Film director Shui Hua is also a familiar name. One need only recall such popular films as *The White-Haired Girl* and *The Lin Family Shop* which he directed. But in cinematic craft and especially in *montage*, as pointed out by professional film reviewers, *A Revolutionary Family* greatly surpasses his other works. In this film he shows himself to be a master of delineating a character or re-creating the milieu of a bygone period in a few strokes which leave an enduring impression.

Then there are the actors, whose performances blend, to use a customary expression, like "pearls strung together." Sun Tao-lin as the father is "Chiang Mei-ching himself." And not a few sighed "like father like son" as they observed the moulding of the character and personalities of his three children. Young actor Chang Liang who showed great promise as the attentive shop assistant in *The Lin Family Shop* does well, as Li-chun the elder son. The leading role is played by the experienced and skilled actress Yu Lan. She convincingly achieves that most difficult of transitions from the shy and timid bride in her teens to the calm and assurance of a mature woman and firm revolutionary. The last agonized yet exalted look she turns on her about-to-be executed son is unforgettable. The words between them are few but so much is said.

Red Guards of Lake Hunghu and *A Revolutionary Family* are but two outstanding examples of the rich 1960 crop of films aimed at educating the people in our revolutionary tradition.



A scene from "Our World Has Changed"

Their high artistry is a guarantee that they will accomplish their object. This is equally true of such new releases as *Train Under Fire*, *Red Eagle Spreads Wings* and *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*; and those which alerted audiences are already looking forward to seeing: *Keep the Red Flag Flying* and *Red Detachment of Women*.

"Our World Has Changed"

Adapted from the play *Double Wedding* by Ko Fu, a playwright from the northeast, the film has elements of more serious drama than the original play which tends to be light and amusing and has more of the quality of comedy. While the play touches on the tragic life of the miners before liberation the film gives much more weight and significance to those scenes.

Before liberation, Hsiu-lan, a mere child, flees with her parents from a devastating famine in the northeast. On her wedding day, her miner-groom is killed by a gas explosion. Later, she marries another man. He, too, is a victim of the abominable conditions in the mines. Hsiu-lan is left with a daughter barely seven. Lu Wan-chun, her husband's close friend, works two shifts in the mine to help mother and daughter and to support his adopted son, the orphan of another miner. Hsiu-lan is grateful but refuses to marry Lu. She is afraid that ill-fated as she is, she might bring harm to a third man. To lighten Lu's burden, she chooses to return to her native village.

The film introduces an interesting and fresh treatment of the story. The plot is skilfully woven around a narrative folk song. The terrible calamities brought upon people by the old society is told through a moving song sung by a female voice. The music adds to the tragic atmosphere making the drama more effective.

The parting scene is deeply touching. Lu empties his pockets and hands their contents to Hsiu-lan: "Take a train as far as this little money allows." Lu and Hsiu-lan's father gaze long at Hsiu-lan and her daughter as they disappear behind the

barbed wire erected by the Japanese occupiers who had made virtual prisoners of the miners.

If the first half is a picture of hell on earth, the second half is comparatively a worldly paradise. Pneumatic drills and electric dippers take the place of hand picks. Blocks of miners' dormitory supplant the former damp hovels. Well-paved boulevards and buses, beautiful bridges and parks . . . no wonder Hsiu-lan, returning after liberation, could no longer recognize the place where she spent her nightmarish youth.

The second half centres around the fight against gas which had twice shattered the life of Hsiu-lan. With great ingenuity and determination the miners finally bring it under control.

As a measure of the film's impact on its audiences we cite the comment of a viewer: "Our world has certainly changed. I'd say it has more than changed. It's transformed!"

SHORT NOTES

New Film Studio Makes Debut. The Peking Scientific and Educational Film Studio, which started work last March, is now screening its first group of productions for the public. Released for the Spring Festival, they included such colour shorts as *The Chinese Carpet* and *An Improved Breed of Sheep* showing new achievements in industry, farming, medicine and other fields. *The Kutsung People* and *Tu-lung Nationality* are two shorts on life among China's national minorities. To date, the studio has already completed shooting for more than 50 films, part of which are intended for school showings. While several film studios produce films on scientific and educational subjects as well as other work, the Peking studio is one of two in China exclusively devoted to scientific and educational films. The other is the Shanghai Scientific and Educational Film Studio which has turned out more than 400 films since it was founded in 1953.

The Peking studio plans for this year give priority to films on agriculture, but it will also deal with a wide range of subjects including social science studies. *The Serf System in Tibet*, a full-length film, is under preparation. This will be one of the more than 200 science and educational films China plans to produce this year.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Mongolian Party Anniversary

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent fraternal greetings to the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its founding (March 1).

Declaring that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has been leading its heroic people in the successful completion of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the realization of a socialist transformation in the life of the country and in achieving brilliant successes in socialist construction, the Central Committee's greeting says that the Chinese people rejoice at these achievements as they would their own. It wishes the Mongolian Party still greater successes in its efforts to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan which begins this year.

"Between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples," the greeting goes on to say, "there have always been ties of profound friendship. Our two peoples sympathize with and support each other in their revolutionary cause and socialist construction, in their common struggle against imperialism, for world peace and peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems and support for the oppressed peoples and nations fighting for liberation. We are convinced that in the course of this shared struggle to realize our common ideals and cause, the friendship and unity between our two peoples and with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will assuredly be consolidated and grow still further."

William Foster Greeted

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a warm congratulatory message to Comrade William Z. Foster, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, on his 80th birthday (February 25).

The message reads in part: "You are a great revolutionary fighter of the American working class. During your lifelong struggle, you have held high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and united the vanguard forces of the American working class. You have conducted a tenacious and courageous battle against the capitalist system of oppression and for the thorough emancipation of the working class and the labouring masses and the advancement of the cause of the peoples in their fight for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism; and in this way you have been an outstanding example to the international communist movement.

"You are a great friend of the Chinese people. You have made unremitting efforts to promote friendship between the peoples of China and the United States. You have won the profound respect of the Chinese people. The progressive people in the United States whose representative you are have consistently opposed the imperialist policy pursued by the U.S. authorities towards the Chinese people. Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always maintained that U.S. imperialism is their enemy but the American people are their friends, because in the struggle for world peace and the progress of mankind, the basic interests of the Chinese and American peoples are identical."

The message wished Comrade Foster a happy birthday, an early recovery and a long life.

Protest Indian Deportation Of Overseas Chinese

Recently, two overseas Chinese living in Calcutta were arrested and deported by Indian authorities without justification.

Chang Ching, one of the victims, is the headmaster of a local Chinese secondary school. Always a law-abiding resident, he has been in India for many years and has devoted himself to the education of overseas Chinese. The other, Hou Hsing-fu, is editor-in-chief of a local Chinese newspaper. He was born and brought up in India. *China Review* which he edited consistently upholds friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and works for growing cultural

ties and mutual understanding between the two countries.

At the time of his arrest, Chang Ching was suffering from high blood pressure. Chang and Hou were blindfolded and escorted to the Tibetan border of China. Their clothing was completely inadequate for the cold weather of that area and as a result of this and other inhuman treatment their health was seriously impaired.

The Chinese Consul in Calcutta has raised the matter with the Indian authorities concerned and lodged a protest against this unreasonable action.

Since February 1960, Indian authorities have ordered scores of overseas Chinese to leave the country at short notice. Certain Indian newspapers and officials have time and again slandered overseas Chinese as having engaged in "espionage" and "anti-Indian activities." The deportation of Chang and Hou is, therefore, hardly fortuitous.

Between China and Africa

A 10-member delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, headed by Liu Changsheng, the association's president, left Peking for Africa on February 24. It will visit Guinea, Ghana and Mali at the invitation of the Governments of these countries.

*

On learning of the passing of King Mohammed V of Morocco, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, on February 27, sent separate messages of condolences to Crown Prince Moulay Hassan. Foreign Minister Chen Yi also cabled condolences to the Moroccan Acting Foreign Minister.

*

Gifts from Chairman Liu Shao-chi to President Sekou Toure of Guinea recently arrived in Conakry. They include ten Liberation lorries, ten cinema projectors, ten electric generators, X-ray apparatus and more than 100 cases of pharmaceutical products.

The gifts were presented to President Toure during his visit to China last September.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Protests Against Murder of Lumumba Continue

The Chinese press continues to publish reports, statements, interviews and articles voicing the Chinese people's sorrow and bitter anger over the murder of Lumumba and his comrades-in-arms and their support for the heroic Congolese people.

Model workers and peasants have denounced the guilty U.S. and Belgian imperialists. Meng Tai, Vice-Director of the iron smelting plant at China's leading steel centre of Anshan, a nationally known veteran model worker, warned the imperialists and their lackeys that their crime "will not escape punishment at the hands of the Congolese, the African peoples and all peace-loving people in the world." The well-known peasant director of the Sino-Korean Friendship People's Commune Liu Chen-yuan said in an article published in the local press that the incident made the people see clearly that imperialism headed by the U.S. was the root of evil of the colonialist system and the most vicious enemy of

the people all over the world. The national model worker in agriculture Wang Pao-ching, Chairman of the Fenghuo People's Commune in Shensi Province, said that the imperialists were vainly trying to cow the Congolese people fighting for their freedom and independence. The African national liberation movement would surely grow still more vigorously, he said.

Scientists, writers and artists in Peking, Shanghai, Canton and other cities strongly condemned U.S. and Belgian imperialist criminals and their agents. Chou Pei-yuan, noted scientist and Vice-President of Peking University, described the murder of Lumumba as the "most barbarous and despicable page in the history of aggression in Africa by both old and new colonialists." Noted writer Liu Pai-yu declared that the Chinese writers would always stand together with the Congolese people until the brilliant sun shines over all the land of the Congo.

Chinese visitors to Africa, representatives of youth, industrial and cinema workers and others, reaffirming their determination to support the Congolese people in their struggle to throw off the fetters of colonialism, recalled the warm love for New China and the Chinese people which the African peoples had evinced during their visit to Africa. Wang Kuang-ying, Vice-President of the All-China Youth Federation and President of the Tientsin Federation of Industry and Commerce who has been to Africa on two occasions, said: "Although China and Africa are far from each other, our peoples have both suffered from the scourge of imperialism. Our common determination to oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism links our hearts together." Noted film actress Chin Yi who went to Africa four years ago as a member of the Chinese film delega-

tion and has welcomed many African delegates to China, recalled with what confidence an African friend had assured her: "Believe us, we will surely win." His words, said Chin Yi, would certainly come true. Imam Hu Hsueh-lan, Secretary-General of the Chengtu City Hui People's Cultural Association, who visited northern Africa following his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1956, said that what he saw in northern Africa made him realize that the awakened Congolese and African peoples can be masters of their own destiny and that the U.S. and Belgian imperialists can never put out the flames of the national liberation movement in the Congo and other parts of Africa, even by such utterly vile and cruel methods as the murder of Lumumba.

African guests vehemently denounced the murderers of Lumumba and condemned the shameful role played by the U.N. in this international imperialist crime. Speaking to a Hsinhua correspondent, Nbamya Philippe of the Kamerun who is studying in Peking, pointed out that the murder of Lumumba shows that imperialism is on the verge of death. Kassim Suleiman Kassim of Zanzibar declared that they have lost Lumumba but hundreds of thousands of Lumumbas remain in the Congo and all Africa. They will continue their struggle along the path stained with the blood of their martyrs. John Holness, executive member of the Committee of African Organizations who is now in Peking, said that the African peoples have learnt from the murder of Premier Lumumba to recognize more clearly the vicious aggressive nature and brutality of imperialism headed by the U.S.; they see that U.S. imperialism is the Number 1 aggressor against the African people, they have come to discern who are their friends and who are their enemies. The only way is to use violence against violence to bury imperialism and colonialism on the territory of Africa, he declared.

Returned Overseas Chinese Settle Down

Renmin Ribao's editorial of February 28 deals with the tremendous success achieved in the settlement of the returned overseas Chinese.

Those who returned to the motherland in 1960 have all settled down, the editorial states. Young people and the



Belgian Ambassador: Your Excellency! Can I hide here?

U.S. Ambassador: I was just thinking of hiding at your place!

Cartoon by Chiang Yu-sheng

"Out Damned Spots!"

At an early stage in the Congo events, the *New York Herald Tribune* warned: "To send American troops to the Congo would have the most fearful repercussions. Throughout Africa and the rest of the world such an action could only mean a return to the old use of naked power by the white man against the black." This was just the Washington idea. Setting out to use the U.N. flag as a figleaf for its neo-colonialist designs on the Congo, it cast around desperately to get Africans or Asians to fight Africans. But since the Africans and Asians are showing an understandable and growing reluctance to do this on behalf of Wall Street, the colonialists have also had to employ the less subtle method of enlisting the service of mercenaries.

The Western press reported the arrival in Katanga of thousands of recruits from Belgium and other colonialist countries for a "Foreign Legion" to fight the legal Congolese Government and the Congolese people. The *London Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Elisabethville gave the price of such mercenaries as £140 per private per month. An enlistment bureau in Brussels is functioning full blast.

The *London Daily Herald* reveals that the Belgian Embassy in London has been recruiting officers and men for the "Katanga Foreign Legion." Its correspondent even took a trip to Brussels with a former artillery captain. In the Belgian capital the captain was offered a salary of £4,000 a year plus allowances. He was told he would be given a two-year contract to sign once he had actually boarded a plane for Katanga. The *Daily Herald* said that despite official denials active recruiting for Tshombe's "Foreign Legion" continues.

And who are these recruits? One of their leading lights, according to the Western press, is a French Colonel Roger Trinquier, an ultra-colonialist notorious for his killings of Algerians. Commenting on his own record in Algeria, Trinquier was quoted by the Paris correspondent of the *British Daily Express* as saying: "You may call me fascist if you wish. But we want the people in the Arab sector [in Algeria] to become docile, easier to manage and to be organized from above."

The U.S. colonialists, of course, couldn't be left out of it. David Wynn, described as "an American travel agent," recently said in London on his way back to the United

States from the Congo, that he had hundreds of letters from people "willing to fight for Katanga," and "this small army" was "for sale." He disclosed that while in Katanga and Kasai he had been approached by "various people, including an aide of Tshombe," for a supply of men and materials.

That, however, is small beer. While Wynn offers his "small army," the U.S. Government is preparing to do business in a big way. Five of its warships lie in wait in the Gulf of Guinea ready to debouch its killers into a Congo angered by the murder of Premier Lumumba. *The New York Times* correspondent reports that these ships of war are "ostensibly for goodwill visits to African ports but also for a possible emergency role in the Congo crisis." Pentagon experts, says the U.S. press, have plans all worked out for "a Congo air and sea lift." If nothing else can keep the Congolese in chains, the marines will go in.

So, despite the advice of the *Herald Tribune* to keep naked white power clothed, the leopard cannot change its spots. The mercenaries in Katanga, however, are doing the next best thing. *France Soir* reports that before going into action they black their faces.

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middle-aged have taken up productive jobs, students are attending schools, the old who are homeless and who cannot work have entered homes of respect for the aged, while most of the children are in kindergartens. In the short space of a year, the Government has built and enlarged 25 state farms, 11 secondary schools and colleges and built houses with a floor space of 470,000 square metres for the overseas Chinese.

The number of returned overseas Chinese received and settled by our Government last year equals the total number settled during the preceding ten years, the editorial continues. With the concern shown them by the Party and Government and the support of the people all over the country, tens of thousands of returned overseas Chinese have all settled down through appropriate arrangements made for their work and livelihood. This feat

is a glowing testimony to the incomparable superiority of the socialist system.

In commenting on the general question of the overseas Chinese, the editorial points out that the great majority of them are working people. Like the local population in the countries where they live, they suffered from imperialist and colonialist exploitation and enslavement. For a long time they have worked hard side by

side with the local people and have made notable contributions to the economic prosperity of the areas in which they reside. Some joined the local population in waging struggle against imperialism and colonialism, contributing their share to the national independence of the countries where they reside. This is a fact known to all the people of the areas in which they reside. U.S. imperialism, in its extreme hostility to New China, has spared no effort to sow discord in the relations between China and the Southeast Asian countries, raising a great ballyhoo on the overseas Chinese question in order to disrupt the profound friendship existing between the local population and the overseas Chinese. But U.S. imperialism's scheme has failed. In the past year, our country has concluded treaties of peace and friendship and of mutual non-aggression with Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan and Cambodia. It has also signed a Boundary Treaty with Burma and a Boundary Agreement with Nepal and reached an agreement on the Arrangement for the Implementation of the Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality with the Indonesian Government. As a result, friendly relations between these countries and China have been further consolidated and developed. And the relations between the peoples of these countries and the overseas Chinese there have become still more friendly. Last October, Prime Minister U Nu of Burma wrote for the Burmese newspaper *Ludu* that due to the long-standing friendly coexistence between the Chinese and Burmese peoples, the genuine peaceful coexistence between the overseas Chinese in Burma and the Burmese people has constituted an example for the whole world.

As is generally known, says the editorial, the overseas Chinese question is a complicated social question left over by history; it should be resolved reasonably and fairly in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit. To regard the economy of the overseas Chinese as a component part of the local economy, to co-operate with them in a friendly manner and draw their manpower, material and financial resources into local construction in the service of the national economy of the areas in which they reside is beneficial to the development of the local economy and accords with the interests of the local population.

Our Government is willing to solve the overseas Chinese question which is an historical legacy through friendly negotiations with all countries concerned, says the editorial. The three-point proposal contained in Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio demonstrates the sincerity of our Government for an overall and thoroughgoing solution. Having resided abroad for generations, the overseas Chinese have merged in the socio-economic life of the local people. Many have of their own will chosen the nationality of their residence and our Government has commended this step. By choosing the nationality of their residence, and being loyal to that country, they can make even greater contributions to the development of friendly relations between China and the country concerned. As to those overseas Chinese who retain their Chinese nationality, our Government encourages them to observe the laws of their resident country, be on friendly terms with the local population and work to the best of their ability for local economic prosperity. Our Government also welcomes those who cannot or do not want to stay on because of economic difficulties or unfavourable local circumstances and who are willing to return to the homeland to participate in

construction. The treaty on dual nationality signed by our Government and the Indonesian Government at the time of the Bandung Conference and the arrangement for the implementation of this treaty recently concluded by the two countries are for the very purpose of settling the overseas Chinese question in accordance with the Five Principles and in the spirit cited above. We hope that through the common efforts of the two countries they will be smoothly implemented in practice.

This year, the editorial declares, the People's Government will continue to pursue its policies on overseas Chinese affairs and seek to settle through negotiation with the countries concerned this question which has been left over from history. We would like to see the development of the national economies of the Southeast Asian countries and the growth of overseas Chinese economy contribute to the economic prosperity of the country of their residence. At the same time, our Government will continue to send ships to help bring back those overseas Chinese who are faced with difficulties and want to return. Our Government will make adequate arrangements allowing them to participate fully in the socialist construction of the motherland.

THE PASSING SHOW

A Dog's Life

While about five and a half million people are unemployed in the U.S. and more are on the dole than ever before in U.S. history, a Fifth Avenue shop in New York is holding a fashion show for society dogs.

Here a pooch can get a fur coat for \$111 and pajamas for \$15, reports AP. Materials this year, says a leading dog suit designer, are washable and drip dry. Colours to match owners'. A cocktail party dress costs \$65 and an evening dress \$110. Shoes? The news is that they'll soon be on the market, though most of these dogs like to be carried.





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