

PEKING REVIEW

33

August 18, 1961

PRESIDENT NKRUMAH OF GHANA AND VICE-PRESIDENT GOULART OF BRAZIL VISIT CHINA

Rousing welcome for distinguished guests from Africa
and Latin America (pp. 5 and 6).

China Fully Supports the Warsaw Treaty Countries' Stand on the German Question

Vice-Premier Chen Yi on the proposed German peace
treaty and West Berlin (p. 7).

Twenty Days of Restricted Sessions

Report from the enlarged Geneva Conference (p. 9).

The Chinese People's Democratic United Front

An authoritative study of its special features (p. 11).

Pen Probes, Music and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 18, 1961 Vol. IV No. 33

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ROUND THE WEEK

Tibet to Hold Elections

Democratic elections will be held in parts of Tibet this autumn. This was announced by the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which held its 40th enlarged session on August 2. These elections will be a "pilot project" to gain experience for the holding of general elections throughout the whole of the Tibet region at a later date.

The whole nation greeted the news with elation. Exercise of their right to elect the local organs of state power and their local governments marks a significant new step in the advance of the Tibetan people, most of whom lived under the shackles of serfdom only a few years back. The resolution adopted at the enlarged session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region hails the coming establishment in Tibet of people's congresses and people's councils at various levels through democratic elections as "an important step in thoroughly completing the democratic reform and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship — a great event without any precedent in the history of Tibet."

The decision to hold elections in the current year in parts of Tibet where conditions are ripe was made at the 5th Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region early this year. Carrying forward that decision the present session of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee resolved that these elections will be held in parts of the region in accordance with the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, the 1953 directive on the elections at primary levels and actual conditions in Tibet.

The meeting was presided over by Panchen Erdeni, who is the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. Speaking at the meeting, Panchen Erdeni pointed out that the labouring people in Tibet enjoyed no democratic rights whatsoever when Tibet was under the dark rule of feudal serfdom. Now a great victory has been won in democratic reform and conditions exist for holding gen-

eral elections in most parts of the region.

Panchen Erdeni said that "elections will be carried out step by step at the basic level to set up the people's congresses at the township level. Then, the people's congresses at the county level will be elected, so that conditions for the convening of the people's congress of the autonomous region will be created."

The meeting also passed a bill on the 1960 financial report and the 1961 budget for Tibet.

Consumer Goods for the Countryside

In boosting the current agricultural drive, the nation's trading personnel are not lagging behind their compatriots in other fields. In addition to the large quantities of capital goods which have flown into the countryside during the first half of the year, huge amounts of consumer goods have also been shipped to the rural districts to meet the growing needs of the farming population.

In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, trading concerns this year sent to the rural and pastoral areas much larger amounts of consumer goods than ever before. These include sewing machines, clocks, thermos flasks, flashlights, silks and more than 25 other industrial products. Most of these things were considered luxuries in the peasant and herdsman's homes of Inner Mongolia in pre-liberation days. Many areas contribute to these supplies.

Some of these items come from Heilungkiang in the north and Hunan in

CORRECTION

In our last issue (No. 32, 1961), item 8 in the box "Ten Major Principles of Operation" on page 13 should read:

"With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait till conditions are ripe and then take them."



A County Fair in Chinghai

Sketch by Hsu Chi-hsiung

the south, and from the big industrial cities like Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking.

Many provinces and cities are stepping up the production of light industrial goods for the peasants. In Chekiang Province in east China the output of 33 light industrial items, such as rubber shoes, soap and cooking utensils, in the second quarter of this year topped production in the first quarter. In Hunan Province, the output of general consumer goods for the rural areas increased by 20 per cent in the second quarter as compared with the first quarter. Household hardware, porcelain, pottery, and stationery are in heavy demand in that part of the country.

New Tastes in Textiles

The peasants' demand for an increasing supply of consumer goods is of course only one indication of their growing purchasing power. Chinese peasants today are asking for a wider range of goods, and more variety. This is another indication of their rising standard of living. In this regard a recent survey of textile sales in Shensi and adjacent provinces makes interesting reading. Conducted by the designers from printing and dyeing plants in Shensi Province, now one of China's major textile centres, it shows that China's peasants, for whom the coarsest cloth was a rare luxury before liberation, are now turning to fine, high-grade textiles.

Cotton sateen, gabardine, poplin and other more expensive cotton fabrics are now in great demand in the rural areas.

Canvassing buyers' opinions in villages of Shensi, Kansu, Szechuan and Chinghai Provinces, the designers took along with them new designs to test their sales appeal; they also collected folk designs and patterns in the various localities. These are all inland provinces where the standard of living in pre-liberation days was by and large lower than in the coastal provinces.

There has been a marked change in taste. Newer patterns and more restrained colours, reported the designers, are now preferred to the vivid, bright reds and greens hitherto popular among peasant women throughout the country.

The new trend was, of course, evident long before this survey was made. The nation's textile industry has been turning out cotton fabrics of an increasing number of varieties and designs in recent years. Textile mills in Shensi Province alone turned out 85 different kinds of new fabrics and cotton prints in 446 new patterns in the first five months of this year, including 60-count cotton sateen and waterproof khaki.

Sensitive to customers' needs, Shensi's textile industry held a meeting early this year to select more new

designs. The meeting was attended by the representatives of the local textile mills, trade organizations, artists and representatives from the local women's federations. It examined several hundred new designs submitted by both professional and amateur designers and selected a number of the best designs for future use.

The advance of the textile industry in Shensi tells a revealing story. Before liberation, this province, one of China's key cotton-producing areas, had a textile industry that filled only a small part of its local needs. A handful of small, ill-equipped mills producing coarse fabrics were all it could boast of in those days. Over 80 per cent of its cotton had to be shipped to Shanghai, Tientsin and other cities, where the textile mills, mostly owned by foreigners, turned it into cloth.

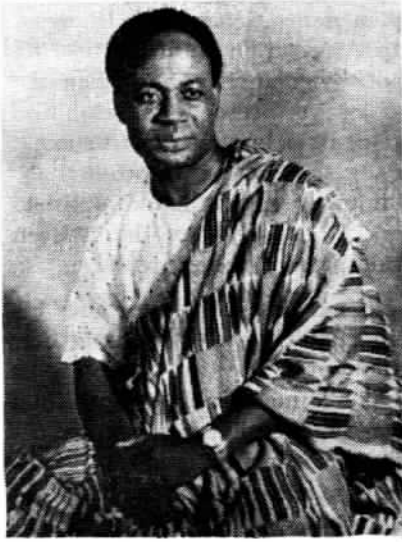
Today Shensi's textile industry has a completely new look. It has about ten times as many spindles and 16 times as many looms as in 1949. In the fast-moving post-liberation years many big new textile mills have sprung up in the province, equipped with modern machinery made in China.

Death of Tan Kah Kee

Chen Chia-keng (Tan Kah Kee), distinguished overseas Chinese leader, died in Peking after a long illness on August 12 at the age of 88.

A native of Fukien Province, Chen Chia-keng was Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, member of the Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese.

Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi, Tan Chen-lin and Hsi Chung-hsun were among the more than 2,000 people who attended the memorial service held in Zhongshan Park on August 15. Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs, in his speech at the service voiced the final tributes of the people to this overseas Chinese patriot.



President Kwame Nkrumah
of Ghana

Rousing Welcome for President Nkrumah

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

of President Nkrumah, dwelt on the political basis for this enthusiastic welcome.

The peoples of China and Ghana, Chairman Liu Shao-chi pointed out, shared common interests in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in the defence of national independence and state sovereignty. "For the common good of our two peoples, we need to support and learn from each other, strengthen our unity and advance hand in hand," he said. Praising Ghana for its pursuance of a policy of peace and neutrality, Chairman Liu noted that the Government and people of Ghana have made remarkable contributions in strengthening the unity of the Asian and African countries, promoting friendly co-operation among nations and safeguarding world peace. He expressed China's gratitude for Ghana's consistent support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and recognition of only one China — the People's Republic of China. Greeting the increasingly important role the independent African states are playing in the international political arena, Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared: "The Chinese people, together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and the people the world over, will for ever stand firmly by the peoples of Algeria, the Congo, Angola, Tunisia and all other African peoples striving for national independence and freedom."

President Nkrumah in his speech also touched on the common interests of the two countries. He declared that "the friendship between Ghana and China has been strengthened by our mutual adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence or peaceful competition." He warmly praised China's achievements in the fight against colonialism and in construction and reiterated Ghana's stand on restoring to China her rights in the United Nations. He said that the people of Africa are today engaged in a relentless struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, and although the colonialists are determined not to give up, their days are numbered and the evil which colonialism represents will be crushed once and for all.

The warm and cordial atmosphere at the state banquet, which highlighted growing Asian-African solidarity, was further distinguished by the presence of the Brazilian Vice-President Joao Goulart, who, as it happens, is also now visiting this country. Premier Chou En-lai, in offering his toast on this occasion, spoke out particularly for the great unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the peoples of the whole world. And as if to give added emphasis to this significant coincidence, on August 15 the Chinese Ministry of Culture, the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association and the China-

THOUGH geo-graphically far apart, the peoples of China and Ghana are very close to each other in sentiment. This was evidenced on August 14 when

President Kwame Nkrumah received a most joyous welcome from the Chinese people. The day he arrived in Peking on an official visit, more than half a million of the capital's citizens lined the streets to cheer this outstanding leader of the Republic of Ghana and prominent African statesman.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai were at the airport to greet the Ghanaian guests. Gathered there were also other Chinese government leaders, high-ranking army officers, leading members of people's organizations and members of the diplomatic corps, as well as thousands of Peking citizens. As President Nkrumah and the members of his party alighted from the plane, they were met with tumultuous cheers and applause. Following the playing of the national anthems of the two countries and the firing of a 21-gun salute, President Nkrumah, accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, reviewed the guard of honour.

The city had put out its welcome decorations. The route from the airport was gay with coloured bunting, red streamers inscribed with welcoming slogans and Chinese and Ghanaian national flags. As President Nkrumah, accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, drove at the head of a motorcade to the Guest House, he was cheered by tens of thousands lining the entire length of Changan Boulevard, the city's main thoroughfare, in a smiling wall of people many miles long. Wherever the guests appeared, they were showered with flowers and confetti, greeted with shouts of welcome, the beating of gongs and cymbals and the lighting of fire-crackers. At Tien An Men Square, in the heart of the city, the welcome reached its zenith when 1,500 amateur artists performed traditional Chinese dances in a pageant of colour as myriad coloured balloons were released into the air. Not even an early autumn rain could dampen the high spirits of the welcoming crowds.

Speeches at State Banquet

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, speaking at a gala state banquet at the Great Hall of the People given in honour

Latin America Friendship Association sponsored a joint soiree of Peking opera and Chinese songs and dances in honour of the distinguished guests from Ghana and Brazil.

Friendly Ties

The enthusiastic reception which the Chinese people have extended to the Ghanaian President comes straight from their hearts. China and Ghana had a similar fate in the past and share a common struggle at the present. The Chinese people have always cherished a deep admiration for the courageous fight of the Ghanaian people for national independence. With the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the two countries last year, broad prospects were opened up for the development of friendly Sino-Ghanaian co-operation. Already exchanges of delegations between trade unions, youth and women's organizations and other groups of the two countries are

increasing daily. Recently, a delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association returned bearing many precious expressions of the goodwill of the Ghanaian people for the Chinese people. At present, an exhibition on China's economic achievements is having a great success in Accra; while in Peking the showing of a documentary film on Ghana and several impressions of Ghana published in the press and written by Chinese who have lately been in Ghana have aroused widespread public interest.

As we go to press, the Ghanaian leader continues his visit. He and Chairman Liu Shao-chi are continuing their talks on questions of mutual interest. But already it is clear that the trip will make a memorable contribution not only to the development of friendly co-operation between China and Ghana, but also to the further strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity and the cause of world peace.



Vice-President
Joao Belchior Goulart
of Brazil

Distinguished Guests From Brazil

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

ON August 13 at the Peking Airport a crowd of several thousands gave a great welcome to Vice-President Joao Belchior Goulart of the United States of Brazil, first of the leaders of

his country and indeed the first of the government heads of Latin America to visit China. Leading a Brazilian trade mission, he is on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu.

Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien and other responsible government leaders as well as well-known personages from all walks of life were at the airport for the official welcoming ceremony.

On the evening of their arrival, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu gave a grand banquet in their honour at the magnificent Great Hall of the People. It was attended by Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders of the state. Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu said in his banquet speech that "the Brazilian Government's efforts to uphold the national independence of the Latin American countries and promote friendship and solidarity among Latin American peoples, and its reiterated just stand in support of the Cuban people's right to national self-determination and in upholding the principle of non-intervention, have been acclaimed and praised by all the peoples of the world."

The Vice-Chairman pointed out that the People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a foreign

policy of peace and advocated peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems. The Chinese people, Tung Pi-wu stressed, are determined to recover their territory Taiwan and will never allow the United States to succeed in any plot to create "two Chinas." This is the firm and unshakable stand of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, he added.

Concluding his speech, Vice-Chairman Tung said: "Both China and Brazil are big countries that treasure peace. The better our two big countries co-operate and the deeper the friendship between our two peoples, the greater will be the role we can play in international affairs and the more beneficial will it be to world peace."

Vice-President Goulart in his speech at the banquet expressed full confidence that his visit would deepen understanding and enhance the friendship between the Chinese and Brazilian peoples.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai received Vice-President Goulart on August 14 and 15 respectively. On August 15, the Brazilian Trade Delegation headed by Vice-President Goulart started talks with Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien.

Vice-President Goulart and his colleagues visited various places of interest in the Chinese capital. During their stay in China, as the *Renmin Ribao* says in its editorial welcoming the Brazilian Vice-President, they will see for themselves the tremendous enthusiasm of the Chinese people in building socialism and their firm determination to safeguard world peace; they will also see the profound sentiments of friendship the Chinese people cherish for the Brazilian and other Latin American peoples. There is no doubt that this visit will be a memorable one.

Support the Stand of the Warsaw Treaty Powers

COMMENTING on the clearly defined stand of the Warsaw treaty countries on the question of concluding a German peace treaty and normalizing the West Berlin situation, the Chinese press has unanimously voiced the approval and support of the Chinese people. On August 15, in his speech at the reception given by the Korean Charge d'Affaires Ma Dong San, in celebration of the 16th anniversary of the liberation of Korea, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi once again declared China's attitude.

A German Peace Treaty — No Further Delay

The Vice-Premier said: "The aim of the Western powers, first of all, the U.S. imperialists and West German revanchists, in stubbornly obstructing the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and persisting in their illegal occupation of West Berlin, is not only to annex the German Democratic Republic but further to destroy the socialist system in various socialist countries. Therefore, continued delay of a settlement of this question will only serve to foster the insatiable ambition of imperialism and aggravate the danger of a new war."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi emphasized: "The recent conference of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty declared the unswerving will of all the participating countries to conclude a peace treaty with Germany within the current year, and it was unanimously decided that the countries concerned would have to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic should the Western countries continue to evade the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The Chinese Government and people fully endorse the firm stand taken by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi warned the imperialist policy-makers: "The imperialist policy-makers should know that their war clamours and threats cannot scare people with sound nerves, least of all the people of the socialist countries who resolutely strive for peace but never beg for it. As Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, said not long ago: 'We do not want war, but our people will not tremble before trials: they will answer force with force and smash any aggressor.'"

Renmin Ribao, in its editorial of August 10 also strongly condemned the United States and its followers for their utilizing the so-called "Berlin crisis" to engage in frenzied war preparations. The paper writes: "The course of action pursued by the Western countries headed by the United States in accelerating the arms race on the pretext of the 'Berlin crisis' only serves to expose their bellicose features still more clearly. Their scheme to

resort to threats of war as a means of extricating themselves from their predicaments will certainly get them nowhere."

Necessary Measures

Renmin Ribao, in another commentary, speaks of the measures taken by the German Democratic Republic to strengthen control on its borders and the statement of the Warsaw Treaty powers, as powerful counter-blows against the plot of the Western aggressive bloc to stage provocations.

With West Berlin which is under their illegal occupation as their base, the Western countries with the United States at their head are also intensifying their activities in an attempt to step up their disruptive activities against the German Democratic Republic and the socialist camp, the commentary adds. Naturally the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and of other socialist countries cannot look on this indifferently and so let the appetite of those militarists grow with the eating. The governments of the Warsaw Treaty powers are entirely justified in deciding to take further security measures.

Renmin Ribao commentator points out that the decision of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to take security measures in the Democratic Zone of Berlin will deal a severe blow to the plots of the Western countries and the Bonn clique to use West Berlin for conducting disruptive activities against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. This explains why, says *Renmin Ribao*, the Bonn clique and its Western supporters have made this outcry about the German Democratic Republic's "violation of the four-power status of Berlin and the right of free movement throughout the city." But everybody knows that if there is any violation of the "four-power status of Berlin" and of the "right of free movement throughout the city," the culprits are none other than the Western countries and the Bonn ruling circles. They are the ones who have used the rules governing traffic to West Berlin to commit all sorts of crimes and threaten the security of the German Democratic Republic and others socialist countries.

A German peace treaty must not be delayed any longer. Any provocative acts to create tension and aggravate the danger of war by utilizing the West Berlin question can only end by proving that the West has nothing to gain by such means. It is high time for the policy-makers in the Western countries, and first of all, those in the United States, to get sober-minded. Of late, the Western countries have expressed their readiness to enter into negotiations. If their sincerity is to be believed, they should accept the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries and sit down to negotiate in real earnest.

Kennedy Administration's "New Tactics" Of Hostility Towards China

by OBSERVER

Following is an abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" commentary of August 10, 1961. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE United Nations General Assembly will hold its 16th session on September 19. The U.S. authorities are racking their brains devising "new tactics" to continue obstructing the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations.

According to U.S. press reports, one of these "new tactics" is this: the United States will propose to the U.N. General Assembly that a sub-committee be set up to "study the problem of Chinese representation" and present its findings and recommendations to the 17th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Should this U.S. plot succeed, U.N. General Assembly discussion on the restoration of China's lawful rights would be avoided. The U.S. paper *Chicago Sun-Times* has said clearly that this would thus "delay any General Assembly action for a year." It is thus quite clear that the "new tactics" of the United States is merely a variation of the so-called resolution on "a moratorium on discussion" which was used in the past, and a plot to continue to deprive China of its lawful rights in the United Nations in another way.

Unfavourable Situation

In the past ten years and more, the U.S. Government has all along obstinately deprived China of its lawful seat in the United Nations. This is a component part of its policy of hostility to China. But the events in the past ten years and more show that New China is daily becoming stronger and its international prestige is growing day by day.

The United States' obstinate policy of hostility towards China has been condemned and ridiculed by just public opinion the world over. Even in the United Nations Organization, the arbitrary U.S. line of depriving China of its lawful rights in that world organization has also become more and more unpopular. Ever since 1952, the number of votes against the U.S. resolution on the question of China's representation has increased year by year. It was 9 votes in 1952, 10 in 1953, 11 in 1954, 12 in 1955, 24 in 1956, 27 in 1957, 28 in 1958, 29 in 1959 and 34 in 1960.

At the 15th U.N. General Assembly in 1960, the number of votes cast in favour of the U.S. resolution to postpone discussing China's representation only exceeded the dissenting votes by 8, while abstentions reached as many as 22. For the U.S. Government, things are getting steadily worse. Recently speculation has been rife in the U.S. press that if some U.S. supporters drop out and

a few who abstained from voting switch to opposition, then the United States will face a serious situation.

There's No Way Out

In the face of this extremely unfavourable situation, the Kennedy Administration has pinned hopes on an energetic staging of the "two Chinas" plot to show that it is cleverer than the Eisenhower Administration. The basic principle followed by the Kennedy Administration in dealing with New China is the same as the principle adopted by all imperialists and reactionaries towards the forces of the people, that is, "definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now."* The essence of the "two Chinas" policy is to legalize the aggressive U.S. act of forcibly occupying China's territory of Taiwan and at the same time not to abandon the frenzied attempt to stage an eventual comeback. So the fact that the Kennedy Administration is vigorously pursuing a "two Chinas" policy by no means shows that it is better than the Eisenhower Administration, but that it is even more cunning, more vicious.

But whatever new tricks may be resorted to, the U.S. imperialist policy of hostility towards People's China is doomed to failure.

The march of events in the past six months since Kennedy's inauguration shows what a quandary his administration, bent on making itself an enemy of the Chinese people, has landed itself in. The "one and a half Chinas" and "two successor states" formulas much publicized by the Kennedy Administration, immediately on their appearance, were resolutely opposed by the Chinese people and condemned by the just public opinion of the world; they have also met with the resistance of the Taiwan authorities, giving rise thereby to a "nervous climate" between the United States and the Taiwan authorities which has led to Chen Cheng's trip to the United States.

Dangerous Indications

Noteworthy are disclosures by Western news agencies that in order to obstruct the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, the Kennedy Administration is even preparing to provoke new incidents in areas around China so as to create new "evidence" that China is "not peace-loving." The United Press International said on August 3 that speculation had been raised "among some observers of red Chinese affairs that the Peiping regime might be preparing to precipitate another

* See Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 87-88. — Tr.

'crisis' in Asia." Earlier on July 27, the same agency, evidently with an ulterior motive, said that China would station a strong force at the Sino-Indian border and would renew sovereignty claims on Indian "strategic passes." This is a signal, a dangerous signal.

An AP dispatch of July 22 will show what is the background to this rumour-mongering by U.S. propaganda organs. Speaking about the possibility of the U.N. General Assembly discussing China's representation, AP said that U.S. officials held that it would be easy to continue postponing the discussion if "Communist China" should some day resort to "barbarous aggressive actions." For this reason, these officials maintained that much would depend on the world situation at the time of the convening of the General Assembly. It said this obviously showed that the present U.S. strategy was banking on the possibility that the "big Berlin crisis" plus the "Chinese Communists' aggressive and bellicose actions" in the autumn might increase the opposition of the non-aligned countries and thereby greatly ease the problem of the "Chinese Communist representation."

In a word, the Kennedy Administration, which finds itself at the end of its tether in its China policy, is considering recourse to rumour-mongering, discord-sowing and adventurism!

Stand of the Chinese People

The Kennedy Administration now intends to continue to delay the restoration of China's legitimate rights by

proposing that a sub-committee be set up or that discussion of the question of restoring China's legitimate rights be treated as one of China's "admission" to the United Nations. This is just as completely illegal as the U.S. resolutions in the past on "postponing discussion." It is known to all that the question of China's seat in the United Nations should never have arisen. China is one of the founders of the United Nations and a permanent member of its Security Council. The question of China's representation in the United Nations has come into existence because the United States has defiantly put the Kuomintang elements discarded by the Chinese people into China's seat in the United Nations and barred the representatives of the 650 million Chinese people from the U.N. Therefore, the U.N. General Assembly has no reason or right whatsoever to set up a so-called sub-committee to "study the problem of Chinese representation," nor has it any reason or right to discuss the question of the so-called "admission" of China. It must, instead, kick out the Taiwan Kuomintang elements and restore China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

We are convinced that the just stand of the Chinese people will win the support of ever more countries. We are also convinced that the governments of those countries which are friendly with China and which genuinely uphold the U.N. Charter will see through the schemes of the United States and oppose all U.S. attempts to deprive China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Report from Geneva

Twenty Days of Restricted Sessions

by **KAO CHI**

THE enlarged Geneva Conference, at its August 9 restricted session, discussed the formulation of the draft document on the withdrawal of foreign troops and the terms of reference of the International Commission. By concluding preliminary discussions on all items of the draft declaration on Laotian neutrality, the restricted sessions on concrete documents have thus completed their first stage of work.

The conference began restricted sessions on July 20. In the 20 days from that date to August 9, 15 sessions have been held and certain results have been achieved.

Positive Results

Apart from a few items of a technical nature, most of the nine items on which agreement has been reached are items of important principle. First of all, as is generally known, the participating countries, in the agreed preamble to the declaration, have unanimously affirmed that the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and

of non-interference in its internal affairs—principles which were contained in the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference—as well as the principle of respect for the neutrality of Laos be taken as the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. It may be recalled that the consistent stand of the socialist countries, the Royal Laotian Government, the Neo Lao Haksat and many neutral countries has always been that the principles contained in the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference should be taken as the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

Although certain Western countries had to recognize the 1954 Geneva agreements, they were trying hard to assert that the 1954 Geneva agreement on the cessation of hostilities which has become completely outmoded and inapplicable should be the basis for the peaceful settlement of the current Laotian question. This was an attempt to create an excuse for continued intervention in Laos. Now, the conference has affirmed that the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is the

principles contained in the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference and not the agreements as a whole. This demonstrates that the proposal for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question has gained the upper hand.

Secondly, the items on which agreement has been reached include several important undertakings which the participating countries should accept to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos. This is also an important achievement. Because the laying down of such undertakings is precisely the main question to be settled at the enlarged Geneva Conference; herein also lies the fundamental reason why the socialist countries and the Laotian patriotic and democratic forces have insisted that the conference should first discuss the declaration on the neutrality of Laos. Certain Western countries have done everything they could to avoid accepting undertakings on respect for Laotian independence and neutrality; they even described discussion of these questions as "hypothetical" and "meaningless." Now, the agreement reached through the efforts of the conference has shown that the arguments advanced by certain countries to evade these undertakings are untenable.

Thirdly, all items agreed upon at the conference conform to the principles of the external policy of Laos as proclaimed in the Zurich agreement. One of the salient features in the course of the discussion on the draft declaration on Laotian neutrality at the restricted sessions is that the Zurich agreement has become a criterion which must be adhered to in the settlement of the international aspect of the Laotian question. All the propositions and arguments put forward at the conference in violation of the Zurich agreement were opposed and strongly condemned by the majority of the delegates. Many delegates from the Western countries also recognized the Zurich agreement as the embodiment of Laos' national aspirations. This is a clear demonstration that the national aspirations of the Laotian people have become an irresistible force.

Remaining Obstacles

Although the positive results mentioned above are merely certain preliminary agreements, they mark an advance on the way to a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. However, such progress is far from being satisfactory. This is because the conference failed to reach agreement on certain important questions concerning undertakings to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos; furthermore, items which have been agreed upon in principle but either have reservations attached to them or cannot yet be put in the form of a formal provision, still face the danger of being shelved. The reason for this is that a few countries have not yet given up their policy of intervention and aggression against Laos.

Because of the obstinate attitudes of the United States and a handful of its followers, the conference failed to reach agreement on abolishing the SEATO treaty and its protocol. This shows that the United States is still trying to use the SEATO military bloc as a tool in its continued intervention in Laos. Likewise, owing to the unreasonable stand of a few Western countries, although

agreement has been reached in principle the conference either postponed a decision on or attached entirely unjustified reservations to the general undertakings to withdraw all foreign troops and military personnel from Laos, not to introduce foreign troops and military personnel into Laos and not to set up foreign military bases and military strongpoints there. At the conference, the U.S. delegate, while expressing willingness to put the provision for the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel into the declaration on neutrality, said that this was a complicated question and required an investigation of the personnel, arms and military equipment in Laos, and so he proposed that this provision should simply be put into the so-called "protocol on control." This means that the United States could exploit the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel to facilitate its intervention in Laos.

The aim of the United States in supporting the French reservations on the question of undertaking not to introduce foreign troops and military personnel into Laos and not to establish foreign military bases and military strongpoints there is also obvious. It is entirely unjustifiable for France, as a member of the SEATO military bloc, to insist on reserving the right to provide military instructors for Laos and maintain military bases there. Furthermore, France in July 1959 transferred to the United States part of its right to provide military instructors for Laos. Therefore, if the conference agrees to the French proposition, it will in fact keep the door open for the re-entry of U.S. military personnel into Laos at any time.

It is clear that a few Western countries, while agreeing to undertake to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos and to assume some general obligations, reject or evade concrete obligations on certain key issues in undertaking to respect that independence and neutrality. Such a self-contradictory attitude can only be understood as showing a lack of sincerity in their expression of willingness to undertake to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos. This also indicates that certain forces which are attempting intervention in Laos have not changed their stand. It is only under the pressure of circumstances and public opinion that they had to accept in principle the undertaking to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos.

This explains why on August 9 the restricted session ran up against obstacles as soon as it started discussing the draft document relating to the withdrawal of foreign troops and the terms of reference of the International Commission. The conference failed to reach agreement on the question of the title, form and arrangement of the draft document because in both its title ("protocol on control") and form and arrangement, the U.S.-French draft "protocol" is permeated with the implication of control over the neutrality of Laos. Any control over the neutrality of Laos has been consistently and resolutely opposed by the delegates of the socialist countries, the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat. Events on this first day devoted to the discussion of the draft document in restricted session presaged a hard, sharp struggle in the item-by-item discussion of the concrete provisions of the document.

The Chinese People's Democratic United Front: Its Special Features

by LI WEI-HAN

In "Peking Review," Nos. 23-24, 1961, we published an article by Li Wei-han, Director of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, entitled "The United Front — A Magic Weapon of the Chinese People for Winning Victory." We now publish, in three instalments, the translation of another article on the same subject by the same author, which appeared in "Hongqi," No. 12, 1961. — Ed.

THE Chinese people's democratic united front has 40 years of history behind it. Successful in the stage of democratic revolution, it is now successfully passing through the stage of socialism. It has developed many special features in the course of its long, historical development. Its main and fundamental features are the following:

1. a united front led by the Chinese Communist Party;
2. a united front based on the worker-peasant alliance;
3. a united front uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie;
4. a united front with armed struggle as its mainstay in the stage of democratic revolution, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as its basis in the stage of socialism;
5. a united front shouldering the revolutionary tasks of the stage of the democratic revolution and the stage of socialism;
6. a united front for self-education and self-remoulding;
7. a united front upholding the great unity of the people of the world.

These special features reflect the major laws of development of the Chinese people's democratic united front. Below we discuss them one by one.

1. A United Front Led by the Chinese Communist Party

The basic feature of the Chinese people's democratic united front is that this united front is led by the Chinese Communist Party. All its other special features are inseparably connected with this basic feature.

Who had to be the leader if China's bourgeois democratic revolution was to win complete victory? Was it the working class and its vanguard the Communist Party, who alone could and had to assume the leadership,

or could the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and their political parties assume the leadership? Over this fundamental question which was decisive for China's destiny, long years of struggle both in theory and practice had taken place. History is the best judge. Despite all the efforts made over several decades, the old-democratic revolution led by the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie failed to gain victory. But the new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese working class and the Chinese Communist Party finally triumphed after 28 years of effort. Why was it not the national bourgeoisie and their political parties, but only the working class and the Communist Party who could be and had to be the leader of the Chinese revolution? The reason is that "the social and economic position of the national bourgeoisie determines its weakness; it lacks foresight and sufficient courage and many of its members are afraid of the masses" while "it is only the working class that is most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary."*

The enemies of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China were unusually powerful; they comprised not only powerful feudal forces and the big bourgeoisie but also the still more powerful forces of imperialism. The Chinese revolution had to wage a protracted, bitter and unflinching struggle. That is why only a class and its political party with such revolutionary qualities as firmness, thoroughness and perseverance, could lead the Chinese revolution to final victory.

The Chinese national bourgeoisie evidently did not have these qualities. Oppressed and shackled by the forces of imperialism, of feudalism and the big bourgeoisie, it was to a certain extent revolutionary in nature. But since at the same time it had ties with those same forces — imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie — and was to a certain extent dependent on them, it was also prone to compromise with these enemies. Even when taking part in the revolution it was unwilling to make a clean break with these three main enemies, but turned away from the revolution, or even followed the counter-revolution, when the revolution failed. This is why the national bourgeoisie and its political party which once led the revolution during the period of the old-democratic revolution failed to lead it to victory. This is why, during the period of the new-democratic

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 421.

revolution, it could only, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, take part in the revolution to a certain extent or keep neutral in the revolution. Only the Chinese working class and the Chinese Communist Party really possess those qualities of firmness, thoroughness and perseverance which the Chinese revolution requires. Suffering bitter, cruel, and triple oppression from imperialism, feudalism and capitalism as it did, the Chinese working class was the firmest and most thoroughly revolutionary of all classes; it needed most to carry the bourgeois democratic revolution to the end so as to clear the way for socialism and for its own complete emancipation. And it was the Chinese working class alone, under the strong and resolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, that was in a position to muster step by step the forces of revolution in a prolonged and unflinching struggle and temper them into a force strong enough to defeat the enemy in the long run.

A revolution has to rely on certain social forces. The fundamental condition for victory in any revolutionary struggle is the formation of a united front to rally and build up the revolutionary forces and to isolate and break up the enemy. Since the Opium War, the more advanced Chinese had all along been seeking allies and uniting with them, building up the revolutionary forces in their fight against enemy aggression from without and against feudal oppression inside the country; on many occasions they formed revolutionary united fronts of a certain scope. But, limited by the historical conditions of the time, right up until the May Fourth Movement of 1919, it was impossible to create a people's democratic united front, which must be led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The people's democratic united front evidently could not be set up and led by the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and their political parties, because by nature they are afraid of the enemy and it is even more in their nature to be afraid of the workers and peasants. "When confronted by a formidable enemy, it unites with the workers and peasants to oppose him; but when the workers and peasants are awakened, it turns to unite with the enemy to oppose them."* Dr. Sun Yat-sen was great because in the latter years of his life, under the influence of the October Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, he put forward the three-point policy of "alliance with Russia, uniting with the Communists and giving assistance to the peasants and workers" and the slogan "arouse the masses." But who was to do the "arousing" and "give the assistance"? As Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, Sun Yat-sen still thought that the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie would do all this. In actual fact, this was impossible. The fact is that the workers' and peasants' movements at that time were initiated and led by the Communist Party. To have the working class taking the lead and the worker-peasant alliance serving as its basis is the class line and mass line of the people's democratic united front; this is the fundamental line of the Communist Party in leading the

Chinese revolution, a line which the Communist Party alone can put forward and carry out. This explains precisely why the people's democratic united front gradually came into being and made progress only after the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

The May Fourth Movement, as a result of which "there arose a camp which later became a powerful force in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, i.e., the camp composed of China's working class, student masses and young national bourgeoisie,"** was accordingly the prelude to the new-democratic revolution, that is, the people's democratic revolution in China. The revolutionary united front at that time, however, lacked a worker-peasant alliance as its basis because the peasants, the main force in the revolution, had not yet joined the movement; it also, above all, lacked Communist Party leadership, because the Chinese Communist Party had not yet been founded. By 1921, following the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese working class was daily becoming a more and more consciously leading class; this was followed by the gradual establishment of the worker-peasant alliance and the gradual formation of the people's democratic united front, which, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, also embraced the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Among "all the social strata and political groups in semi-colonial China . . . only the proletariat and the Communist Party can lead the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, overcome the narrow-mindedness of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the destructiveness of the unemployed masses, and the vacillation and lack of thoroughness of the bourgeoisie (provided no mistake is made in the Communist Party's policy), and thereby lead the revolution and the war to the path of victory."***

In the stage of the democratic revolution, the aim of the people's democratic united front led by the working class and the Communist Party is to establish in China a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, or, in other words, to establish a people's republic led by the working class and thus enable the revolution to make the transition to socialism.

The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by correctly integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, have shown the Chinese people that the only correct path is to achieve socialism through a new-democratic revolution led by the working class and the Communist Party. Although for a long time there were illusions about a capitalist road such as those which many people among the national bourgeoisie and its political parties persisted in and spread, history has shown that the old-democratic, that is, the capitalist, road is impracticable in China. "There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bour-

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

** Mao Tse-tung, *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War*.

* Mao Tse-tung, *On New Democracy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 20.

geois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class."** Under these circumstances, whoever wishes to stick to the capitalist road will "face the possibility that they will swerve to the dangerous path pointed out by the imperialists. This is because those who insist on China taking the road to capitalism are bound to link up with the imperialists. But the imperialists would never allow China to become an independent capitalist country; they would merely turn China into a colony under imperialist, feudal and comprador rule. That was the path taken by the traitor Chiang Kai-shek."*** Here lies the reason why the national bourgeoisie fell into the morass of siding with the Chiang Kai-shek counter-revolution in the years 1927-31. Here also lies the reason why the U.S. imperialists pinned their hopes for a comeback on the so-called "democratic individualists," that is, the old democrats, after the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution.

In order to open up and take the road of new democracy, the Chinese Communist Party not only had to lead the people in a prolonged and bitter struggle against the forces of imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie, it also had to wage a prolonged and complicated struggle against the road of the old democracy of the national bourgeoisie even while it united with them. It was through this prolonged struggle, waged by the Chinese Communist Party both in theory and practice, and after many lessons were taught by the enemy by negative example that "bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people. Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic."†

The founding of the People's Republic of China thus created the necessary political and economic conditions for the peaceful transition of the Chinese revolution from new democracy to socialism, conditions which also made it possible for the national bourgeoisie to accept socialist transformation step by step. To sum up, it would be impossible to understand the many special features of the Chinese revolution in its transition to socialism, especially the peaceful transformation of the national bourgeoisie, if one did not take into account the Chinese Communist Party's leading role in the new-democratic revolution and the people's democratic united front, the struggle between the two roads — one leads to a people's republic and the other to a bourgeois republic — throughout the period of the new-democratic revolution, and a democratic republic of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 414.

** Liu Shao-chi, "Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China," *Documents of the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1955, p. 25.

† Mao Tse-tung, *op. cit.* p. 414.

on the worker-peasant alliance is the inevitable outcome of the victory of the new-democratic revolution and the development of the people's democratic united front. This united front is widely participated in by the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties, people's organizations and other patriotic elements, but has only one leading class, the working class. It has only one leading party, the Communist Party; only one guiding thought, Marxism-Leninism, that is, the teachings of Mao Tse-tung which combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Such is our basic historical experience; such is the fundamental system and principle on which we have founded our republic. Anyone who does not wish to lose his bearings politically must keep these fundamental points firmly in mind. The Chinese people's democratic united front too must hold fast to these fundamental points if it is to continue to progress and consolidate itself.

2. A United Front Based on the Worker-Peasant Alliance

The people's democratic united front in China is a united front of the masses of the people led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It consists of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the various other patriotic strata; it embraces over 90 per cent of the population of the various nationalities in China.

The working class is the leader of this united front while the other classes and strata are its allies. These latter can in general be classified as the labouring people and the non-labouring people. The labouring people include the peasant masses, the lower sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals. All of them are the reliable allies of the working class but the broad peasant masses are furthermore its great ally. The non-labouring people comprise the national bourgeoisie (the middle bourgeoisie and the upper section of the urban petty bourgeoisie), the enlightened gentry and all other social forces that it is possible to co-operate with. They are the wavering allies. There are, therefore, two alliances in the people's democratic united front: the alliance between the working class and other labouring people, which is essentially the worker-peasant alliance, and the alliance between the working class and those non-labouring people with whom co-operation is possible.

Our great worker-peasant alliance has developed and been tempered gradually in the protracted revolutionary war which was in essence a peasant war. Having passed through the two stages of historical development of the democratic agrarian revolution and the socialist co-operation movement, it has now embarked upon a still higher stage of development, namely, the stage of socialist people's communes and the gradual introduction of mechanization in agriculture. Whatever the stage of development, the worker-peasant alliance is the basic alliance and the foundation of the people's democratic united front. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out

that the workers and peasants "comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance."* Comrade Liu Shao-chi has also said: ". . . of our over 600 million people, more than 500 million are peasants who constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory. The paramount importance of the peasantry as an ally is just the same in the period of construction as it was in the period of revolution."** The degree to which all other classes, strata and groups can participate in the revolution and the united front also depends mainly on the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. Without this alliance there can be no genuine people's revolutionary united front, nor can there be any genuine victory of the revolution.

Therefore, whether it is in the stage of the democratic revolution or of the socialist revolution, whether in revolutionary war or in construction, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always given the problem of the worker-peasant alliance a paramount position and under different historical conditions has continuously guided the entire Party in consolidating and developing this alliance. It is precisely because the Party has continuously followed this guidance that it has been able to lay a firm foundation for the people's democratic united front, that it can unite all the non-labouring people that it is possible to unite to form a broad united front, transform negative factors into positive ones and turn them all to good account, and that it can isolate, split and break up the enemy.

In its alliance with the non-labouring people with whom co-operation is possible, the working class has the national bourgeoisie as its main ally. Compared with the worker-peasant alliance, it is a subsidiary rather than a basic alliance. Nevertheless, under the concrete conditions in our country, it is an alliance that is both indispensable and important. Why this is so is chiefly due to the fact that the Chinese national bourgeoisie is a patriotic class which has a rather wide political influence and plays an important role in the economic, cultural and technological fields. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, the bulk of this class was able to participate to a certain degree in the revolution or adopt a neutral attitude towards it. In the stage of the socialist revolution, they have shown willingness to accept socialist transformation—one aspect of their dual character. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, whenever the working class secured the co-operation of the national bourgeoisie or at least succeeded in

keeping it neutral, it was easier for the working class to win over the other intermediate forces and isolate the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie. In the stage of socialist revolution, the maintenance of an alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie not only helps to keep the enemy isolated but makes it possible to utilize the positive role which the national bourgeoisie can play in the economic, cultural and technological fields and carry out their socialist transformation by peaceful means. The enlightened gentry are individuals who broke away from the landlord and rich peasant classes and have democratic leanings. Their political attitude is in the main like that of the national bourgeoisie. Although the enlightened gentry are not a political force to be reckoned with and do not play much of a role economically, yet winning them over and uniting with them can facilitate the splitting up and neutralization of the small landlords and rich peasants. It can also facilitate the work of winning over the intellectuals (most of whom come from landlord or rich peasant families), and the national bourgeoisie (most of whom have ties with the land), as well as isolating the main enemies of the Chinese revolution.

In the stage of the democratic revolution, and mainly during the War of Resistance Against Japan, the second alliance also included certain groups of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie. During the War of Resistance Against Japan the second co-operation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang was established and it played a decisive role in stopping the civil war and carrying on the War of Resistance. In the course of the eight years of co-operation during the War of Resistance, especially after the fall of Wuhan in 1938, the ruling circles in the Kuomintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek adopted a reactionary policy of passively resisting Japan while actively opposing the Communist Party. Nevertheless, thanks to the policies adopted by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung—the policies of persisting in the War of Resistance and opposing surrender, persisting in unity and opposing splits, persisting in progress and opposing retrogression—we were still able to use this co-operation to attain our objectives of concentrating the main force against Japanese imperialism and greatly developing the revolutionary forces through the War of Resistance. This not only played a decisive role in winning the War of Resistance but provided the requisite conditions for the victory of the People's War of Liberation that followed. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in 1944: "For five and a half years the Kuomintang has stood by with folded arms and as a result has lost all its fighting capacity. On the other hand the Communist Party, for five and a half years, has carried on bitter struggles and as a result has raised its fighting capacity. This situation will determine China's destiny."* Subsequent events fully bore out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's prediction.

The people's democratic united front is the unity of opposites represented by the two alliances. Forty years of experience of the Chinese revolution bear witness to

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 421.

** Liu Shao-chi, "Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," *Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, pp. 46-47.

* Mao Tse-tung, *Our Study and the Current Situation*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 16.

the fact that in order to give correct leadership to the people's democratic united front we must handle the relations between these two alliances correctly. It means, in the first place, that we must develop and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance with a free hand, making it the real base and mainstay of the united front; secondly, we must do our best to broaden the scope of the second alliance and unite all the forces that it is possible to unite; and thirdly, we must bring into play the inter-related functions of these two alliances in a proper manner so that they promote each other.

From the history of the revolution over the past 40 years we can see how the co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War quickly gave rise to an upsurge in the revolutionary movement as a whole and in particular gave an impetus to the establishment and development of the worker-peasant alliance. Later, the right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu and his followers overstressed co-operation with the bourgeoisie and dared not continue to develop and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and, in the latter period of the Northern Expedition, they even went to the length of yielding to the landlord class and the bourgeoisie at the expense of the worker-peasant alliance. This, in consequence, made the bourgeoisie vacillate still more, and made the reactionary forces still more high-handed, leading finally to the crushing defeat of the revolution.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave resolute leadership to the agrarian revolution, and created and expanded the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the revolutionary base areas in the countryside, thus laying a firm foundation for the development of the united front and for the promotion of a new revolutionary upsurge. Nevertheless, during this period, things were carried to the other extreme because the "left" adventurists three times took over control. These adventurists wanted nothing but the worker-peasant alliance and opposed any form of alliance between the working class and the non-labouring people, claiming that theirs alone was the most revolutionary policy. Contrary to their wishes, this served only to isolate the worker-peasant alliance and caused the revolution to suffer another tremendous loss.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation, the Party under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct leadership summarized the experiences gained during the two previous historical periods. It freely developed the worker-peasant alliance and, on the basis of this alliance and under new historical conditions, established a broad united front by uniting all the forces that it was possible to unite and correctly brought into play the inter-related functions of the two alliances. As a result, the revolution advanced from victory to victory: first, Japanese imperialism was defeated, then, after three years of the War of Liberation, Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime was finally overthrown.

In the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have continued to enrich the experience of correctly handling relations between these two alliances. On the one hand, immediately after the agrarian reform was completed,

the peasants were led gradually onto the road of co-operation; the worker-peasant alliance was further consolidated on a socialist basis; the People's Government, taking the major farm products into its own hands, was able to reduce the capitalist market and finally block the road to capitalism and prompted the national bourgeoisie to accept socialist transformation through state capitalism. On the other hand, as a result of this alliance with the national bourgeoisie, the feudal landlord class was isolated; this helped through the agrarian reform. In addition, through this alliance and by various forms of state capitalism, manufactured goods were obtained from the capitalists. This played an important role in promoting the agricultural co-operation movement because these manufactured goods were used as an important subsidiary means in exchange for agricultural produce from the peasants. The winter of 1955 first saw the upsurge of agricultural co-operation which in turn pushed forward socialist transformation in the urban areas, culminating in the high tide of advance of handicraft co-operation and joint state-private operation by whole trades in capitalist industry and commerce in the spring of 1956. Afterwards, in 1957 and 1958, China successfully carried out the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. In this revolutionary movement the revolutionary spirit of the masses of the workers and peasants reached an unprecedented height following the struggle of the two roads between the working class and the bourgeoisie. A situation was thus created in which "the former exploiting classes are reduced to mere drops in the ocean of the working people; they must change whether they want to or not."* The majority of the members of the national bourgeoisie have also succeeded, to a greater or lesser degree, in making a turn from capitalism to socialism and shown their willingness to serve socialism. On this basis and under the guidance of the three red banners—the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes—we have devised the method of combining the efforts of leading cadres, professionals and the masses of workers and peasants in various fields of construction. This, in a certain sense, is a form in which the two alliances promote each other, for part of the professionals referred to in the "three-combination" method are bourgeois elements or bourgeois intellectuals.

Over the past 40 years the two alliances in the people's democratic united front have, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, supplemented and promoted each other in this manner, carrying the revolution forward step by step from one victory to another. We will continue in the future to base ourselves on the worker-peasant alliance, continue to unite all the people that can be united with and make the two alliances promote each other. On the basis of the continued development of socialist construction, we shall gradually bring about the fundamental transformation of the non-labouring people and change them into a part of the labouring people and of the working class. The broad united front of the Chinese people will then be transformed into an alliance comprising various sections of the labouring people.

(To be continued)

* Mao Tse-tung, *Introducing a Co-operative*, see *Peking Review*, No. 15, June 10, 1958.

Sian Enamelware Makes Its Mark

by LI TANG

AT a recent national conference held in Sian, provincial capital of Shensi, to grade household enamelware, products of that city's Renmin Enamelware Factory were rated among the best in competition with goods from Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang and other leading light industrial centres. This confirmed that Renmin has successfully kept up its name for quality which it first earned in 1957, the year its enamelware reached top national standards.

Renmin today is a fairly large factory with six workshops manufacturing more than 300 varieties of enamel goods for industrial and daily use. From its mechanized production processes and particularly the quality of its products, the casual visitor today would think that it had emerged fully armed with an advanced technical basis; but the guess would be wide of the mark.

How It Got Started

The Renmin factory actually began to turn out enamelware in the spring of 1952 after three months of preparation. Its buildings comprised a once small handicraft weaving mill and a few one-storey rooms on an eight-mu plot. Three simple machines and two indigenous-style furnaces were the only major equipment it could boast. Most of the work had to be done by hand.

Only a few of the older workers knew something about enamelware making and the majority of its workers were young apprentices. So it was little wonder that its initial products were pretty rough. Some impatient customers scathingly complained they were good "for striking matches on." Trading companies warned that they would have to cancel contracts unless the quality of the ware improved.

The factory management sent out a call to all hands to improve production techniques. Leading members of the plant went down to the workshops and joined with the workers in making better cups and basins. To study the theoretical and technical problems of enamelware production was the order of the day.

To get a first-hand knowledge of how to do the job, workers and employees of the Renmin factory made more than 150 visits to other enamelware plants. They brought back a fund of valuable practical knowledge from these tours and the result of these efforts was an immediate boost in the quality of its enamelware. Since then it has never looked back.

In 1956 the factory gained a major victory: it succeeded in trial manufacturing a substance which, when added to the glaze, gives an attractive scarlet tint. The production cost of this colouring was also much lower than the imported variety.

Then came the next major victory. With the quality of its products generally acceptable to its customers, the Renmin factory in 1957 set up a new target—to rival the quality of Shanghai-made products. This was no small ambition; Shanghai enamelware is well known and universally admired on the home markets. Renmin collected samples of the best of Shanghai enamelware and made a detailed comparison with its own. At the same time workers and staff fanned out to rural people's communes, schools, and factories and polled consumers on what they thought about Renmin products. Analyses and investigations showed that such main defects as lack of lustre and uneven enamelling in Renmin articles were caused by the use of low quality glazing powder and a low level of certain technical operations.

Attention was, therefore, centred on finding a better formula for its glaze and improving operative skills. Thanks to the joint efforts of technician Chang Shih-ta and the veteran worker Wang Yueh-cheng, a new successful glaze formula was found. This glaze (later named No. Zero) played a leading role in putting Renmin goods among the top ranking enamelwares of the nation.

To maintain its new leading position, the factory continued its search for better materials and methods in 1958. In that year alone 30 new formulas for various materials used in the industry were worked out as a result of imaginative research work. They kept quality improving along with the best in the country.

Renmin has also paid much attention to the design and decoration of its products. The Chinese consumer particularly likes colourful decorative patterns on his household enamel basins, cups and so on. Renmin has seen to it that its wares provide a good selection of designs to choose from. It has its own designing staff which has produced many original new designs. It has also made good use of reproductions of designs by famous artists both classical and contemporary. These include traditional style Chinese paintings by such famous artists as the late Chi Pai-shih and Hsu Pei-hung, and popular designs taken from classical cloisonne works.

Innovations Roll On

With its name established as a maker of high-quality products, the orders just kept rolling in and soon output was lagging far behind the growing demand. The only answer to this was a radical rise in labour productivity, and an overall technical transformation of the plant. This called for additional machines and a considerable number of specially designed equipment. The whole factory joined forces to carry through this reorganization.

The Renmin workers and technicians drew up the blueprints for the machines they needed or the innovations they had devised on the basis of the existing machines. With help from some engineering plants, they took the initiative in making scores of machines and pieces of equipment themselves. They produced equipment of a size which would normally be judged impossible with the machine tools to hand. They did this by using the method of "ants nibbling at a bone": they fixed the machine tool they had available—like an ant nibbling at a bone—onto the large part to be machined rather than vice versa in the normal way. With great ingenuity they produced punches, planers, electric welders and many specially designed devices they needed. Since they were on the job and had got the experience, besides making what they needed themselves they supplied 160 machines and items of equipment to enamelware factories as far away as Taiyuan, Kaifeng, Lanchow, Chungking, Chinghai and Sinkiang.

As this technical innovations movement rolled on, remarkable changes took place in the plant. The workers of the forming shop, for instance, put their heads together and devised six machines to do various processes formerly done by hand. Later conveyor belts were installed to link up the machines, and finally two fully mechanized production lines were smoothly operating in the shop. Now at one end workers feed in metal sheets to the first machine and ready fabricated wash basins or cups come out at the other end of the production line. A great deal of manpower has been saved, and output has soared.

The enamel-coated metalware was formerly put into or taken out of the furnaces by workers using long-handled steel forks. This was hard work and done under high temperatures. The workers got together on this too and now the job is done by semi-automatic equipment easily operated and most efficient.

New Achievements in 1961

Since the turn of the year, Renmin has taken a further series of measures to improve the quality of its products. It organized an exhibition recently which put side by side household enamelware made by itself and other leading factories, so that everyone in the factory could compare them. At the same time it sent selected workers and staff members to Shanghai and other cities to see what other enamelware factories there were doing to improve their products.

This brought home in a most effective way that there can be no resting on one's oars in the battle for quality. As Chu Yung-hui, an old worker said after visiting the exhibition: "I thought our wash basins and cups were already as good as any made in the country. But this shows that all the other enamelware factories are working hard to better their quality and each has its own merits. True enough, there's no limit in improving quality."

Another recent measure has been the organizing of five research groups each specializing in the study of a major technical problem. Each group is comprised of

leading cadres, engineers and technicians and workers. In addition, there are 21 research teams in the workshops to study ways and means of improving quality and turning out a bigger range of products.

The No. Zero glaze invented by the factory has won quite a name for itself and general praise in enamelware factories all over the country, nevertheless, the 14-member research group working on glazes decided to improve it still more. It made a careful study of the old formula, held discussions on ways to perfect it, experimented with new ingredients and methods of preparation and finally came up with a well-tested, improved glaze.

The advance of the factory due to the technical innovations developed over the past years has sent its output value in 1960 soaring to 35 times what it was in 1952. In the course of these developments, 80 per cent of its workers have become skilled hands as against only a tiny fraction at the start of its history. Many veteran workers have been promoted engineers. And most important, the whole enterprise has become innovation conscious. Technical research and innovation has become a significant part of the life of the factory. It goes on constantly, powering the wheels of advance.



Discussion on Technical Innovations

Painting in traditional Chinese style by Wang Tsu-pet

The Old Man and the Shark

Hemingway and Kennedy. It's hard to mention the two in the same breath. Yet it is none other than the U.S. President himself who prompted this incomparable comparison.

When Hemingway, the great American novelist, died recently, Kennedy issued a statement. "Few Americans," he said, "have had a greater impact on the emotions and attitudes of the American people. . . . He [Hemingway] has transformed literature and the ways of thought of men and women in every country in the world." Presumably Kennedy wanted to suggest that he too was one of the "transformed." But what a world of difference between these two Americans! In fact, it's no exaggeration to say that everything this leading light of Wall Street acquisitive "realism" stands for went against the grain of Hemingway, an outstanding American writer of the school of critical realism.

True, both remind one of Cuba.

Hemingway loved Cuba. He called it his home. His famous short novel, *The Old Man and the Sea*, was dedicated to Cuba. In that masterly told allegory, the writer revealed his deepest feelings: all his sympathies went to the lonely old fisherman of Cuba, then languishing under the Yankee yoke. He sang the praises of the true and simple love that exists between working folks. He eulogized the stubborn will they show when fighting the evil forces that ravage and torment them. . . .

And Kennedy? His name is also linked with Cuba — with U.S. arms supplied to Batista gangsters to murder Cuban men and women, with all the vicious tricks of the cloak-and-dagger C.I.A., with U.S.-made incendiary bombs dropped on sugar-cane fields, with the infamous fiasco of the landing in the Bay of Pigs, and, of course, with the Rockefellers and other sharks who batted on the Cuban economy and are still trying to stage a comeback in Cuba.

Hemingway was a bitter critic of imperialist wars. In his cry: "Farewell to Arms!" he voiced his protest against World War I in no uncertain terms. True, Hemingway never found the real cause of imperialist wars, nor did he see the march of history in its true light. Rather, his idea of salvation was mainly an escapist one and his rebellious and melancholy heroes are the prototypes of the "lost generation." Still he showed up the destructiveness of imperialist war, its shattering of the peaceful life and happiness of ordinary folk; and he expressed their sense of disgust at it.

But Kennedy has not the least desire to part company with arms. Far from it. While paying lip-service to Hemingway, he was hard at it cooking up the so-called "Berlin crisis" and throwing additional billions into armaments. What "impact" one may well wonder did Hemingway have on this gold-plated compatriot of his?

Still, the President had the gall to issue a statement. He too lauded a famous and much revered old man of the American literary scene, a man who loved peace, disdained the sordid bourgeois society of his country and chose Cuba for his home. Perhaps, the young

man of the White House thought that by adding his hal-lalujah to Hemingway, a little of the latter's lustre would rub off on himself and the world would praise him for his appreciation of culture.

There is nothing novel in this trick. In tsarist Russia, on Tolstoy's birthdays, the paid press would be full of panegyrics for him from the serf-owners, the ministers, generals, and even the Tsar himself, although everybody knew that Tolstoy was one of their most merciless accusers. Lenin rightly called this farce "revolting official hypocrisy." As history shows, hypocrisy, when exposed, can also serve a useful educational purpose.

Sequel to a Roadside Incident

An automobile drove up to a Howard Johnson restaurant in Hagerstown, Maryland. A well-dressed Negro stepped out and entered this popular roadside eating place. Sitting down at one of the empty tables, he waited to order his meal like any other customer. But the waitress rudely refused him service. When he protested that he was a foreign diplomat, he was told bluntly that it was against the restaurant's rule to accept Negro patronage.

This little roadside incident, in an area where segregation of Negroes is one of the ordinary facts of life, might have passed unnoticed had it not been for the fact that the person discriminated against was Dr. Fitzjohn, then chief diplomatic representative in America of the newly independent West African country of Sierra Leone. Furthermore, several similar incidents involving African diplomats in the United States had occurred and it was getting embarrassing for the Kennedy Administration and damaging to its efforts to woo the new African states. So, when Dr. Fitzjohn protested to the State Department, President Kennedy invited him to the White House and personally apologized.

All this happened several months ago. But now a sequel has been added to this roadside story. Still feeling uneasy about the incident, which got considerable publicity, the mayor of Hagerstown called Mr. Duke, the State Department Chief of Protocol, to find out what he could do to patch things up. The two of them mulling over *How to Win Friends and Influence People* thought up a grand idea: Dr. Fitzjohn was invited to Hagerstown to attend a reception as the city's official guest.

The town's best hotel was booked for the occasion. Two hundred leading local citizens were invited to the banquet; included were 30 Negro couples. To make sure that nothing untoward would again happen to the guests, a motorcycle escort of the Maryland State Police was provided for Dr. Fitzjohn's party. To accommodate the photographers, the guests of honour were asked to share a table with the mayor and drink repeated toasts in iced tea. The mayor himself made the welcoming remarks. "All of us feel," he said, "that there is nothing more important in today's world than an appreciation and understanding between the peoples of all nations and all races."

This was on the diplomatic level. In the mundane world outside in the Deep South, Freedom Riders, demonstrating for appreciation and understanding between the races and against segregation, were being hunted down, beaten up and clapped into jail.

SIDELIGHTS

"Raindrop" and I. "Though I worked as usual that day at the bank, my mind was thousands of *li* away. Two days had already gone by, but there was no sign of either Raindrop or the other pigeons," so recalled Chou Ching-yung, owner of 'Raindrop, which won the spring pigeon race from Shihchia-chuang to Shanghai over a distance of 1,025 kms. (See "Sidelights" in *P.R.* No. 28.)

"The second day of the race we heard there was a violent rainstorm along the way. I knew this was a severe test only the best could pass. The less courageous would seek shelter or get lost, and many would never come back. Only the steadiest would brave the storm clouds and torrential rain and find their way home. Anxious though I was, I never lost confidence. I knew my Raindrop. I had already entered it in shorter races many times."

"At noon on the 20th, I suddenly got a call from my teen-age son at home. Excitedly he told me that Raindrop had just alighted on the top of the pigeon house. Even as he spoke, I could hear over the phone the excited cooing of my Raindrop, as if glad to be home. So Raindrop became the champion of the race."

"I had always liked to keep homing pigeons, but before liberation, my bigger worry was to keep my big family together," Chou went on. "Now my wife is also working and five of my six children are at school. I keep more than 20 pigeons. Since Raindrop became champion, I have received congratulations from all my comrades at the office, and letters from many pigeon fanciers. The other day a film studio sent cameramen over to my home and filmed the birds. Raindrop will be on the screen all over the land. I was so excited that I couldn't help joining my children in singing *Socialism Is Good!*"

On Mount Omei. When Chinese story-writers of old needed to think up a home for immortals who lived an out-of-this-world existence, they usually picked majestic, towering Mt. Omei in Szechuan. In reality, its cliffs and crevices, and the beauty of the sunrise viewed from its mist-shrouded summits, were best known to the herb-gatherers who for centuries have scoured the mountain sides day after day for life-saving herbs. Many lost their lives, daring sheer cliffsides to get some valuable weed.

Today, half way up the mountain, these formerly hard-to-get wild medicinal herbs are being cultivated on a 100-*mu* farm. It was set up by the Chingshui People's Commune in 1958 and is staffed by skilled herb-gatherers whose families for generations past have depended on gathering Omei herbs for a living.

"We had big trouble getting some of the herb seedlings to domesticate," said 60-year-old Chou Shih-hua, farm head and one of the most experienced herb-gatherers on Omei. Chou knows over a thousand kinds of herbs by sight, and the seasons and places of their growth. "I remember once when we had to get a rare species of *huang lian* (a bitter medicinal plant). The only place where it grew was the Cave of the Nine Elders, where I'd been once 30 years ago. So five of us set out and went deep into the mountains. The mist was thick, and the thundering of waterfalls echoed in the valley. When night came, we had still not reached our destination; and we put up in a cave. A sudden thunderstorm at midnight brought torrents which flooded us out of our rocky beds, and the rest of the night we spent in the only safe shelter we could find—up in a tree. Of course, we finally found the *huang lian*, almost a hundred *jin!*"

That was just one of their adventures. Now the fruits of their efforts are safe and sound in their fields, and thriving lustily.

Mysterious Interlude. On the way back from town, old man Wang and his donkey walked at a leisurely pace down the yellow

sandy road. The air was fresh, the lush green paddyfields a sight to gladden the eye. Occasionally stopping to fill his pipe, Lao Wang reflected complacently on his well fulfilled mission buying goods for the people's commune, and on the dinner waiting for him at home.

The sudden braying of his donkey startled him out of his reverie—the poor animal had slithered into a huge pothole by the roadside! This must have hollowed out during the morning's rainstorm. Try as he might, puffing and sweating, Lao Wang couldn't pull his struggling beast out. There was only one thing to do—get help from town.

An hour later Lao Wang with some helpers hurried back to the spot—but where was the donkey? Further ahead, tethered to a tree, it was calmly nibbling tender green grass. There was nobody around. Who could have done it? Lao Wang suddenly smacked his head in dawning realization: "It must be them! Couldn't be nobody else!"

While Lao Wang was gone, a group of men had come by on horseback. Seeing the distressed donkey, some of them dismounted, took off shoes and socks and jumped into the hole. After a great deal of heaving and pulling, they finally had the unlucky beast on safe ground again. One of them then walked the animal around to revive its drooping spirits. Then, tying the donkey to the tree to wait for its owner, they went on their way.

And this was the group of People's Liberation Army cavalymen Lao Wang had met on his way as he hurried back from town, when, for a fleeting second, he had paused to wonder at the fresh mud on their uniforms.



Papercut by Shen Pei-nung

In Memory of Comrade Mei Lan-fang

Peking said its last farewell to Mei Lan-fang, that genius of the Chinese stage, at a funeral of great solemnity. The great actor died last Tuesday (Aug. 8) of a heart attack at the age of 67.

On the morning of August 10, thousands of the citizens of Peking paid their last tributes to him lying in state in the front hall of the Capital Theatre. The hall was massed with hundreds of wreathes and funeral scrolls. They were sent by government departments, democratic parties, people's organizations, artistic institutions, noted artists, Mei Lan-fang's friends, students, admirers in Peking and other parts of the country and by the foreign embassies. Laid immediately around the coffin were wreathes sent by leading members of the Party and Government.

Mourners filed past the coffin to the strains of music. Under its glass cover, Mei Lan-fang, covered with an embroidered shroud and white silk, lay in serene repose. Many old colleagues and long-standing admirers stood before his bier for long minutes in silent grief.

Relatives of Mei Lan-fang and his students, including such outstanding actors and actresses as Chang Chun-chiu, Yen Hui-chu, Tu Chin-fang and Yang Chiu-ling stood as a guard of honour at the bier. Among those

present were Party and government leaders Chen Yi, Chou Yang, Chang Su, Chang Hsi-jo, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, and others well known in the art and literary world of China. Many, who awaited their turn to enter the packed hall when the funeral service began, crowded the grounds and street in front of the theatre.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi officiated at the funeral ceremony. In his address on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, he expressed the grief felt on the death of Mei Lan-fang and extended condolences to his family. He also thanked the foreign diplomats and visitors from abroad for their presence.

"Mei Lan-fang was a great artist of China and the world as a whole," said the Vice-Premier. "He was a great reformer of the art of Peking opera.

"It was he who turned Peking opera from a plaything of the royal family and upper classes into an art serving the broad masses of the people."

The hall observed a moment's silence in honour of the late artist. Then Tien Han, Chairman of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, briefly recalled the events of the life of Mei Lan-fang. This was followed by a funeral oration, given by the Vice-Minister of Culture Chi Yen-ming. He mourned the death of Mei Lan-fang, "this bright star of the contemporary Chi-

nese theatre," as a great loss to the Chinese people.

Chi Yen-ming described the art of Mei Lan-fang as a glorious milestone in the history of the development of stage arts in this country. "His more than 50 years of life on the stage has set a brilliant example for his contemporaries as well as for the coming generations. He faithfully carried forward the best traditions of the past and infused new blood into the art of Peking opera."

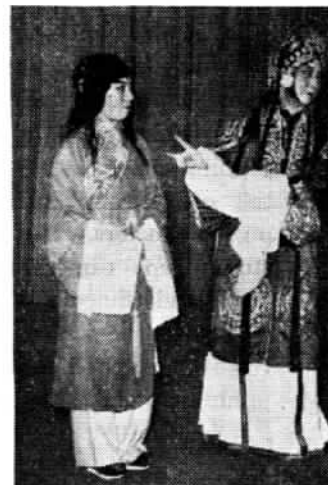
He added that Mei Lan-fang always stood for justice, and fervently loved his motherland and the people. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he showed a high degree of patriotism. After liberation, he gave his whole-hearted support to the various policies of the Party, took an active part in social activities, and went through all the hardships of performing from time to time for the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. He was known for his indefatigable spirit in passing on his art to the new young talents of the stage.

"Eternal glory to Mei Lan-fang, the outstanding artist of the Chinese Communist Party who served the people," Chi Yen-ming concluded.

After the funeral service, the coffin was taken to the Revolutionary Heroes' Cemetery on the city's outskirts. It will be interred at a later date. As the funeral procession started to the strains of a funeral march, the street was filled with crowds still streaming in to pay their last tributes to the great master of Peking opera.

Tributes from Fellow Artists

Throughout the past week, the press has carried commemorative articles by



Mei Lan-fang's friends, colleagues and students. In an article in *Renmin Ribao*, China's leading scholar and poet Kuo Mo-jo hailed the life of Mei Lan-fang as one of artistic creation, assiduous endeavour, service to the people, a life that added beauty to our society.

The well-known playwright Tien Han wrote in the same paper: "As a Chinese stage artist, Comrade Mei Lan-fang worked most diligently to carry on the fine traditions of the past but at the same time he was himself a creative genius. On the basis of those traditions he himself created a new and superb theatrical art. On his tours to the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan, he showed Chinese theatrical art at its zenith in those years."

Mei Lan-fang's contemporary Hsun Hui-sheng, noted Peking opera actor of *tan* (female) roles, writing in *Beijing Ribao*, recalled: "Among all of us old-timers, I had the deepest respect for Lan-fang. As a person, he was gentle, upright, honest and kind-hearted. As to his art, it was wide in its scope, deep, and marked by great excellence. It already has an established reputation both at home and abroad. More than 40 years ago, he wrote and staged such plays as *Chang Wo Flees to the Moon* which were new departures from the old tradition. And he opened a road for the rest of us. Later, Shang Hsiao-yun, the late Cheng Yen-chiu and I all tried to compile new operas suited to our own styles. This must be attributed to his encouragement."

The many articles in tribute to this great artist included eulogies by Hsu Lan-yuan, the noted instrumentalist,

and Tu Chin-fang, one of Mei Lan-fang's most talented students. Poems in memory of him were written by the well-known journalist Teng To, and the leading Peking opera actors Hao Shou-chen and Ma Lien-liang.

A Life of Service

Mei Lan-fang was born in Peking in 1894. His family came from Taichow in Kiangsu Province. Both his grandfather and father were well-known Peking opera actors. He began to study Peking opera at the age of eight and appeared on the stage at eleven.

He was an outstanding artist who earned the love of the whole Chinese people. He dedicated himself to his art; he was a meticulous craftsman and a creative innovator. In performing Peking opera, he developed an original style which became known as the "Mei Lan-fang school."

Mei Lan-fang had a deep love of justice and for his country and the people. In the period of China's War of Resistance Against Japan, he grew a moustache and retired from stage life despite constant pressure from the Japanese aggressors and its puppet regime. This was an act of patriotism and great moral courage.

Starting in 1949, he took an active part in revolutionary political activities as well as literary and artistic work. In the past 11 years since China's liberation, he actively supported the Chinese Communist Party and spared no effort in the tasks he undertook under the leadership of the Party. He took part in social work and political activities with an overflowing enthusiasm and contributed greatly to the socialist development of China's dramatic art and cultural exchanges

between China and foreign countries and to the defence of world peace.

In 1952, he attended the World Congress for Peace in Vienna. In 1953, as a member of the Chinese people's delegation, he went to Korea to perform for the Chinese People's Volunteers. In 1956, he led the Chinese Peking opera delegation on a tour of Japan. In 1957, he was a member of the Chinese working people's delegation which attended the 40th anniversary celebrations of the October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union.

Mei Lan-fang was tireless in his efforts for the cause of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. He studied Marxism-Leninism, and joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1959.

At the time of his death Mei Lan-fang was a deputy to the National People's Congress, a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Vice-Chairman of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, President of the Chinese Opera Institute and Director of the China Peking Opera Theatre.

1. Mei Lan-fang during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). He grew a moustache and withdrew from the stage
2. With the famous dramatist Stanislavsky in the Soviet Union in 1935
3. In "Parents and Sons," a Peking opera presented in 1955 in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the stage lives of Mei Lan-fang (centre left) and Chou Hsin-fang (centre right)
4. On a visit to Japan in 1956
5. Meeting the miners in the western suburbs of Peking in 1958, he sang the "Drunken Beauty" to entertain them



MUSIC

Friendship Cemented in Songs

You ask me:

On my visit to Japan for thirty days,

What is the deepest of my impressions?

— Songs!

No matter if it's children, full of go,

Or old men, whiskers white as snow;

Workers, tough and courageous,

Peasants, honest and industrious,

Young fellows, braced for action,

Women, spirited, enthusiastic,

All were singing.

Singing of their struggles, a militant song

And with their song, heads high,
they marched along!

These are the first few lines of a poem written by the poet Li Chi to welcome the Chorus of Japan and published in *Renmin Ribao* on August 4, the day of its arrival. A few days later, on the 7th, the chorus gave its first performance, and people began to realize even better what their poet meant. It was not alone the chorus with its score or so of members who were singing; it was the voice of the Japanese people that they heard. One did not need to be among the audience to learn this. Thousands have seen the chorus' performance on television; many times more have heard them on the radio. Everywhere there is talk about them: "What admirable militancy!" "Their recital brims over with friendship!" "How heartening to see their folk songs and dances so well preserved, when you know how difficult this is in today's Japan." Writing in *Guangming Ribao*, Chao Feng, Vice-President of the Central Conservatory of Music, expressed the thoughts and feeling of many when he said: "The performances of the Chorus of Japan reminded us of songs we sang some twenty years ago. Many of their songs sound so intimate to us. Hearing them we naturally recall those years of Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsing-hai, the melodies of those times, and the national style." This keen sense of closeness and friendship is probably even better expressed by Chiu Li, Conductor of the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Here we give his impressions of a joint rehearsal of

his orchestra and the Japanese chorus. He writes:

EVERY ONE of us was greatly rejoiced when we learnt that we were to join the Chorus of Japan in a performance. . . .

Our joint rehearsal began. Inoue Yoritoyo, Director of the Chorus of Japan, stepped to the conductor's stand and called on us to sing the *Cantata of the River of Happiness*. The Japanese chorus sang in Japanese and we sang in Chinese. The languages were different, yet through the song we expressed our common feelings. We felt we had been closely united by this song of friendship. Yoritoyo's conducting was characterized by precision, ease and a great depth of inner feeling. Every part we finished was greeted with enthusiastic applause. And heartily we congratulated one another. Then we had a rehearsal of *The Song of Happiness* with us singing in Japanese, which was followed by the song *Tokyo-Peking* with the Japanese comrades singing in Chinese. Finally, Director Yoritoyo invited Li Huan-chih, the composer of the well-known song *Socialism Is Good*, to conduct his own song. When the rehearsal came to its end, Director Yoritoyo said: "This joint rehearsal today is the first of its kind in the history of the Chorus of Japan. It has a far-reaching significance. We thank you, friends of the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. In *The Song of Happiness*, you sang the Japanese words with remarkable accuracy. . . ." In our greetings, we wished our friends great success on their Chinese tour.

During the intermission, we talked and exchanged autographs. Our Japanese friends gave us souvenir badges. Shinpachi Nagai, secretary of the chorus, said: "These little presents were given to us before we took our departure. Many in Japan asked us to give these to Chinese friends." Kenzi Ishiwata, saxophone accompanist, said: "My colleagues at home, knowing that I was coming to China, all sent their best saxophones for me



A folk dance performed by the Chorus of Japan
Sketch by Li Ke-yu

to pick the best of the best to perform for Chinese audiences." These were only a few of the moving incidents which speak eloquently of the militant friendship between our two peoples cemented in our fight against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

This is the third time that the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra has co-operated with the Chorus of Japan. The first time was in Warsaw in 1955 at the Fifth International Youth Festival. There we gave a joint performance of the Japanese song *Ban the Atom Bomb!* under the conductorship of Akiko Seki, winner of the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations." That occasion left an unforgettable impression on us.

After the festival, Mr. Akiko Seki paid a visit to China. It was in our own auditorium that he helped us to rehearse the song *Tokyo-Peking*.

Now we are working together again, and in our Japanese friends, we see not only singers, social activists, but also organizers of young workers from a wide range of occupations. This is a small chorus of twenty-seven, yet on the stage, they powerfully re-create scenes of great militancy. Singing or dancing, they give expression to the fervent desire of the Japanese working masses for peace and a happy life, but they also very well express the resolve of the Japanese people in their struggle against imperialism.

This is a musical organization with high standards, both ideologically and artistically. Their great militancy has left an indelible impression on us.

With its Peking performance, the chorus began a one-month tour of China. Its reception here leaves no one in doubt about its further success.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Viet Nam Premier Continues Visit to China

Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, after visiting Korea, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, is now back to continue his visit in China. The Vietnamese Premier is heading a government delegation which since June has been making a round of visits to China and other fraternal countries.

Korean Liberation Anniversary

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; and Chou En-lai, Premier on August 14 sent a message of greetings to the Korean Party and government leaders on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the liberation of Korea.

The message addressed to Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and Comrade Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, pays tribute to the immense achievements on all fronts of socialist construction scored by the industrious and courageous Korean people under the correct leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and the Government headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. It expresses the full support of the Chinese Government and people to the various proposals made by the Korean Government for the peaceful reunification of Korea and to the Korean people's patriotic and just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its agents.

"The recent friendly visit to China made by the Korean Party and government delegation led by Comrade Kim Il Sung is a powerful support and great inspiration to the Chinese people," says the message. "The Sino-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Co-ope-

ration and Mutual Assistance concluded between the two countries has strengthened all-round relations of mutual assistance and co-operation between the two countries and further deepened the comradeship-in-arms between the two peoples, thereby making new and tremendous contributions to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world," the message concludes.

On August 15, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi wu, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi were guests at a reception given by Ma Dong San, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy to mark the liberation anniversary. Both Chen Yi and Ma Dong San, speaking at the reception, hailed the daily growing strength of the militant friendship and the great unity of the socialist camp.

West African States Greeted

On August 10 and 12, Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent messages of greetings to Francois Tombalbaye, President of the Republic of Chad, and to David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic, on the occasion of the first anniversaries of the independence of these two countries.

Extending warm congratulations, the messages wished prosperity to these two countries and happiness to their peoples.

New Ceylonese Ambassador Presents Credentials

New Ceylonese Ambassador Alwin Bernard Perera presented his credentials to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on August 13 in Peking.

Both the Chairman and the Ambassador pointed out in their speeches that on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, friendly relations between China and Ceylon have been further strengthened and developed.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi stressed that China has firmly adhered to a foreign policy of peace and wishes to live in peace and develop friendly relations with countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. He also declared that in the cause of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity,

developing the Bandung spirit and safeguarding world peace, China has always been willing to work together with Ceylon.

World Anti-A-H Bomb Meeting

The 7th World Conference Against A-H Bombs and for General Disarmament held its main sessions from August 12 to 15 in Tokyo.

China is represented by a 7-member delegation led by Chou Pei-yuan. In his speech at the session, Chou Pei-yuan hailed the Japanese people who are fighting heroically for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the abolition of U.S. military bases and against the revival of militarism in Japan. He noted that the success of this conference will exert a great influence upon the development of the world peace movement.

Earlier, Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, sent a message of greetings to the conference. In his message, Kuo Mo-jo strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for stepping up its aggressive policy, and called on the Chinese and Japanese peoples to carry on indomitably their common struggle against U.S. imperialism and to safeguard world peace.

Chinese Exhibition in Accra

It is a happy coincidence that at the time that an exhibition devoted to China's economic construction has opened in Accra, President Nkrumah of Ghana is visiting China. The exhibition, the second of its kind ever held in West Africa, opened on August 10. Its 3,800 exhibits are arranged in several sections: heavy industry and light industry, agriculture and culture, education and publications.

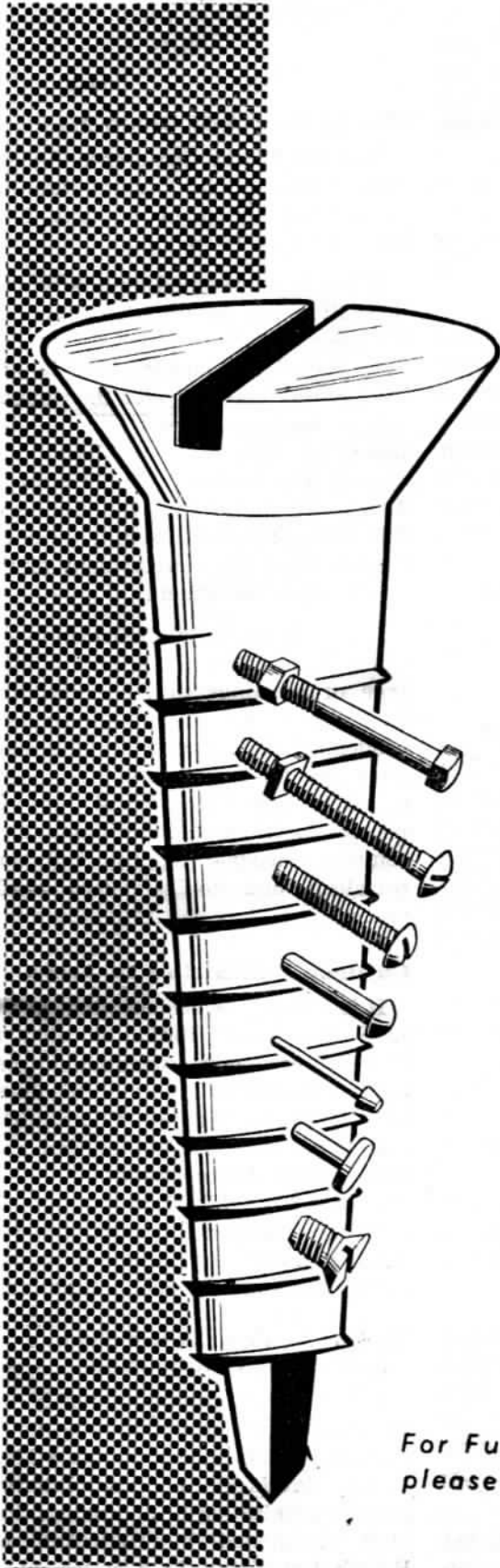
Threat Against Noted French Journalist Condemned

China's journalists were highly indignant on hearing that the noted French journalist Jean Maurice Hermann, President of the International Organization of Journalists, has been threatened and attacked by French terrorists. In a statement, a spokesman of the All-China Journalists' Association on August 8 strongly condemns the terrorist attack against this progressive French journalist, and demands that the French authorities take immediate measures to punish the terrorists.

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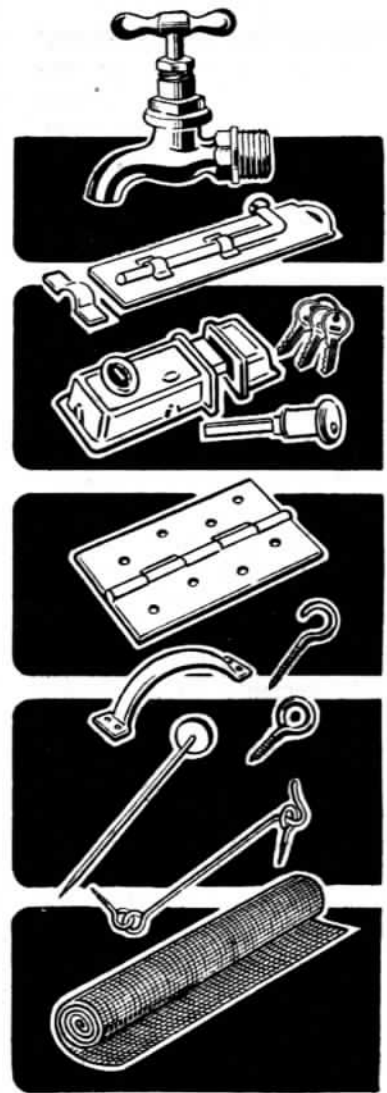
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