

PEKING REVIEW

34

August 25, 1961

MILESTONE IN SINO-GHANAIAN FRIENDSHIP

Report on President Nkrumah's visit to China; text
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That Infamous "Two Chinas" Plot

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The Chinese People's Democratic United Front

Second instalment of an important *Hongqi* article (p. 12).

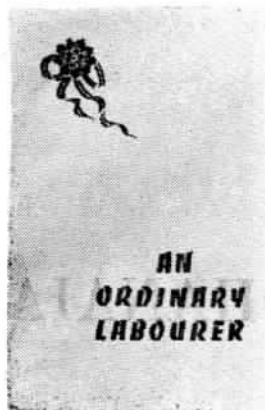
Book Review, Sidelights and Other Features

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An Ordinary Labourer

A selection of eight short stories

by WANG YUAN-CHIEN



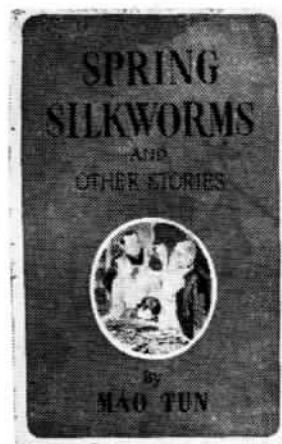
Wang Yuan-chien is a young author who tells stories of the revolution with a knowledge and perception that comes from direct contact with just such people who are his heroes and heroines. Most of the stories in this volume (written between 1954 and 1958) are of life during the Second Revolutionary Civil War of 1927-37. "Party Membership Dues" tells of the adventures of a Red Army man's wife doing underground work during the white terror of the early 30s. "Grain for the Guerrillas" tells of the exploits of a Communist Party member who, at the risk of his life, cracks the enemy blockade to bring grain to guerrillas in a mountain fastness. The "Little Guerrilla" is a small boy who goes deep into the enemy rear to help a Red partisan. "Three Slips of Paper" shows the close ties between the peasants and the revolutionary troops.

These tales re-create the heroism, the excitement and the hardships of the revolutionary struggles of those days. They are short stories, but they tell us volumes about the character of the Red Army fighters and guerrillas and dedicated workers of the underground struggle inspired by a boundless loyalty to the Communist Party and its revolutionary cause.

SPRING SILKWORMS AND OTHER STORIES

by MAO TUN

This is a collection of 13 short stories written by the famous Chinese author Mao Tun during the period 1927-44. Through these stories he depicts Chinese society in the thirties: bankruptcy in the countryside and economic depression, caused by the dual pressure of imperialist aggression and feudal exploitation, as well as the misery of the people, the process of their awakening. He also describes the upheavals experienced by people of various classes and strata during the period of the Japanese invasion. He portrays various characters, including those workers who heroically resisted the enemy; students who took part in movements to save the nation; weak-kneed, vacillating petty-bourgeois intellectuals; wealthy capitalists who hated the people and supported the reactionary policies of the Kuomintang government; stock exchange speculators, women employees and young, homeless waifs in the cities. Dealing with such a wide range of subjects this book is a mirror of old China after the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War, when it was under reactionary Kuomintang rule. These stories are outstanding for their progressive outlook and artistry.



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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

August 25, 1961 Vol. IV No. 34

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ROUND THE WEEK

Thriving Handicrafts

China's handicraft industries are thriving and their prospects are bright. Handicraft wares make up a considerable part of the consumer goods on China's home market and the demand for them is growing. "More and better" is the slogan here too. From the makers of sturdy kitchen choppers to bamboo woven baskets and dainty embroideries, skilled handicraftsmen and women are turning their proverbial ingenuity to the task of producing goods with that "handicraft finish" on an ever greater scale.

So the drive for bigger output is coupled with the quest for higher quality. The key handicraft centres have made a big and successful effort to increase the production of those goods which have long enjoyed a good reputation. While there has been a big increase in the output of Wenchow's famed umbrellas and Hangchow's scissors, craftsmen in other cities have launched campaigns to rival the quality of these famous city brand names. Changsha in Hunan Province, central China, is noted for its embroideries, shoes and leather suitcases. As a result of a campaign to make these much-sought-after goods even better, the quality of these lines has hit new highs.

Soochow in Kiangsu Province is another famed centre of handicraft production. Its Chinese writing brushes, ink slabs and fans are known throughout the country. There has recently been a rapid expansion in all these lines, but by the end of the second quarter of this year the city was also turning out over 300 new products in 1,000 varieties and designs. This was made possible partly by the addition of nearly 100 new handicraft workshops, partly by expanding older workshops and by greater efficiency. Many workshops that formerly did their work mainly by hand are now mechanizing several time and labour consuming operations. Facing glowing prospects, this city's handicraft industry has lately recruited a considerable number of new hands to

reinforce the ranks of its busy handicraftsmen.

New Mining Construction

Mining construction in many parts of the country is going ahead apace. New mines are being built; existing mines are developing new work faces, improving facilities and equipment and streamlining their transportation system. In the smaller mines technical reform is making big headway.

Last week the Anshan Integrated Iron and Steel Works reported that its key iron ore mines are stepping up construction work. This giant metallurgical complex has its own mines supplying part of the ores for its blast furnaces. As one of the main measures to boost output Anshan has given development of its iron mines top priority in this year's capital construction programme. More building materials, equipment and an enlarged technical force have just been dispatched to the mines' construction site to keep up the tempo of building. A part of the new expansion at its Yienchienshan mine was completed by the end of last month. The expansion of the working faces at its Pinglu mine is proceeding fast.

The engineering shops of the nation are working hard to back up capital construction in the mines with bigger outputs of equipment. Nearly 100 machine-building plants are making mining equipment for the coal and iron mines in various regions.

They have produced a huge number of hoists, conveyors, wagons, small locomotives, cranes and coal-washing equipment in the past few months. Most of this equipment is being sent to the local collieries and small iron mines built since 1958, where technical reforms are being carried out.

Ming Tombs Reservoir: 3 Years Old

Three years ago the valley of the tombs of the Ming emperors was a bustling construction site 50 kilo-

metres north of Peking. A hundred thousand volunteers from virtually every walk of life—peasants, workers, soldiers, government cadres, shop assistants and students in and around Peking—joined forces to build a dam across a gap in the hills to form a new reservoir. That man-made lake soon began to pay back dividends on the effort expended and in increasing measure.

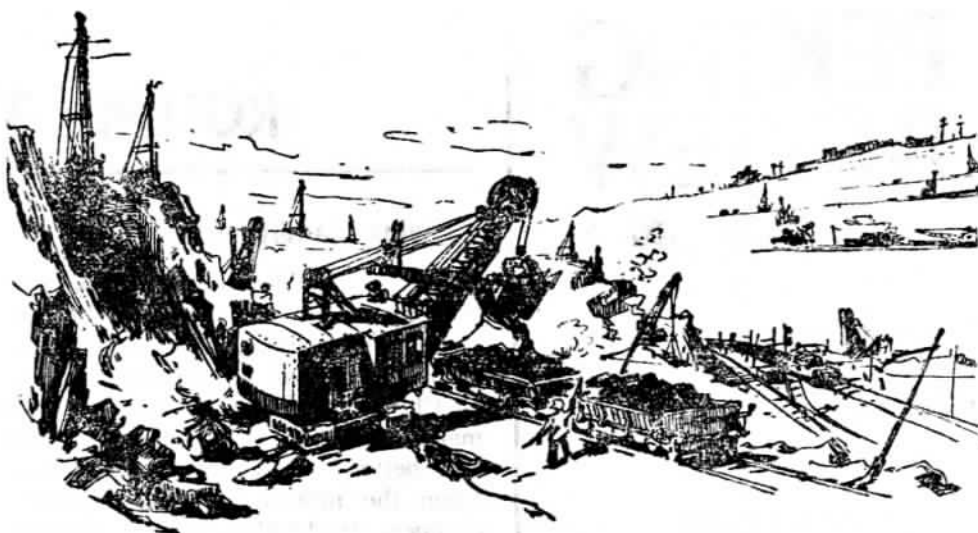
Providing irrigation to 52,500 *mu* of surrounding farmland, the reservoir is rapidly changing a former drought- and flood-ravaged area into a fertile belt of rice paddies and wheat fields.

In 1959, the heaviest rainfall in many decades fell on this area, but the threatened floods never materialized. They were trapped by the reservoir. The villages below the dam stood unscathed. Last year severe drought threatened large stretches of farmland in the neighbouring people's communes. Water from the reservoir was portioned out to alleviate the affected areas. In the first seven months of this year, there was little rain again and again the water from the new reservoir has made up for its lack. Crops of rice, maize, sesame, peanuts and sweet potatoes that would probably have succumbed to drought if it hadn't been there, are growing well. When additional irrigation channels are added in the future its benefits will be extended to most of the farms of the eight people's communes nearby.

The reservoir has proved to be a good fish breeding ground, too. Two million fish fry have been put into it since 1958 and they have thrived. In the first half of this year, more than 15 tons of fish were netted. Ducks, too, are being raised. With a flock of 16,000 taking to its water every day, the area is rapidly becoming an important supplier of the famous Peking duck.

The whole face of this region has changed thanks to the reservoir. A good deal of afforestation has been done in recent years. Some 14 million pines, cypresses and willows as well as fruit trees such as pear, peach, apple and apricot have been planted. The hills around the reservoir which were once so barren are now clad in verdure.

The Ming tombs area has long been a noted historical site. The new reservoir has added fresh colour to this



More Ore for the Furnaces!

Sketch by Shen Kuo-jul

ancient beauty spot. According to Peking's long-term plan, the whole area will be developed into a park with a space 30 times as large as the famous Summer Palace. Little more than an hour's drive from Peking, it is already attracting a steady stream of visitors.

Art Gifts to the Nation

One day last month, the brothers and sisters of the Wu family, a noted family of art collectors, presented to the municipality of Shanghai 270 art treasures which the family had collected and carefully preserved for generations. They include paintings by masters of practically all the important schools of Chinese painting of the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties. Among them is Shen Chou's *Temple on the Mountain Peak*, Wen Cheng-ming's *Tienping Lungmen*, Wu Li's *When Rain Is Over* and bird and flower paintings by the four leading Ming artists in this genre. All these are priceless masterpieces known and esteemed throughout the world of Chinese art.

On the same day another art patron, Sun Yu-feng, also of Shanghai, gave his collection of 24 Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1100 B.C.) bronze and Ching porcelain pieces as a present to the city and the country.

These are no isolated cases. In recent years an increasing number of people have donated their art treasures to public museums, art galleries and other public institutions.

Since it was founded in 1958 Peking's Historical Museum alone has received more than 12,000 works of art from people in various parts of the country and from many walks of

life. Most of these gifts are extremely valuable. Among the most notable is, for instance, the "Kuei (a kind of ceremonial vessel) of Chao Po-hu" contributed by Chang Shao-min of Shenyang. This relic of the Western Chou Dynasty (c. 1100-771 B.C.) is not only a remarkable work of art but is of great historical value. The 102 characters engraved on it and recording the fact that Chao Po-hu, a noble, was given land by the court, throw much light on the social system of the time. Other notable gifts are the royal seal of the first emperor of the Ching Dynasty and a sword used by the forces led by Li Tzu-cheng, the famous leader of the peasant uprising in late Ming times, when they attacked Peking.

Such donations reflect a growing trend in China's new society. This is in striking contrast with the usual practice in the old days when collectors kept their collections closely guarded and even hidden from the public gaze. There has been no call or demand from any quarter asking that such donations be made. Owners can keep their *object d'art* as long as they wish as their private property, or they can sell them at the art shops for good prices, as many still do. Nor is the government remuneration that goes with each donation the factor that prompts such action. Such voluntary donations of art treasures to the state are solely the result of the general rise of a socialist spirit in society. Donors know that a donation to the public collections can benefit the most people, and, therefore, is in the best public interest. By bringing their beloved art treasures to the attention of millions, it is the finest expression of a genuine love of art.

New Stage in Sino-Ghanaian Relations

PRESIDENT Kwame Nkrumah's six-day stay in China was a great success. Its results, and particularly the talks which the Chinese and Ghanaian leaders held, have brought China and Ghana still closer together in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace. Friendship and co-operation between the two countries have grown; Afro-Asian solidarity has been further consolidated.

In the Treaty of Friendship which was signed during this memorable visit, China and Ghana resolve to maintain and develop relations of peace and friendship and affirm that relations between them will be guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles laid down at the Bandung Conference of 1955. This sets still another example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Three agreements were also signed to develop economic and cultural co-operation between the two countries. The **Sino-Ghanaian Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation** provides that the Chinese Government grant the Ghanaian Government, without any attached conditions or privileges, a 20-year interest-free loan of seven million Ghana pounds. To help Ghana develop its economy, China will send to Ghana experts and technicians, supply the latter with complete sets of

equipment and other materials and train Ghanaian technicians and skilled workers. The **Sino-Ghanaian Trade and Payments Agreement** concluded on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit, fixes the annual volume of exports on each side at four million Ghana pounds. The **Agreement on Cultural Co-operation** covering science and education, the arts, medicine and public health, etc., opens an extensive field in which the two peoples can exchange experience and learn from each other.

China and Ghana have not only taken these specific measures to promote each other's national construction, they have also reached a unanimity of views on major international questions and expressed support for each other's struggles to uphold national sovereignty and territorial integrity (see joint communique of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Nkrumah).

These important developments have brought friendly relations between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples to a new stage. The great 100,000-strong rally Peking citizens held in honour of the Ghanaian President and the signing of the friendship treaty, the cheerful welcomes that the citizens of Shanghai and Hangchow showered on him and the host of other activities during the visit will long be remembered as shining pages in the annals of friendship between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples.

Joint Communique

Following are excerpts from the Joint Communique of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Republic of Ghana signed in Peking on August 18, 1961. — Ed.

AT the invitation of Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai, President and Head of Government of the Republic of Ghana Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah paid a friendly visit to China from August 14 to 19, 1961.

During the visit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Mao Tse-tung met President Nkrumah and had cordial and friendly conversations with him. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai held talks with President Nkrumah.

The two parties exchanged their views on the current international situation, the situation of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the question of further developing the relations of

friendship and co-operation between China and Ghana. The talks were held in a most friendly atmosphere of mutual respect and mutual understanding, and unanimous views were reached between the two parties.

The two parties noted with pleasure that the current international situation is most favourable to the struggle of the peoples of all countries for world peace. The forces of peace have daily more markedly surpassed the forces of war. The two parties were of the opinion that imperialism and colonialism are the plague of humanity and that so long as imperialism and colonialism continue to exist and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples continue to be oppressed, there can be no lasting world peace. In order to defend peace, all peace-loving countries and people must unite and wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In the present struggle to safeguard world peace, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has become an extremely important force. The two parties exchanged their views on questions related to the safeguarding of world peace.

The two Governments held the view that the realization of general and complete disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and normalization of the situation in West Berlin, would be of very great and urgent importance and that the settlement of these questions would greatly help consolidate world peace. The two parties also held that the convocation of a second Asian-African Conference would help the Asian and African peoples' struggle to oppose old and new colonialisms and to win and safeguard national independence, and would also benefit the cause of developing friendly relations among the peoples of all countries and of upholding world peace. The Chinese side expressed its appreciation of the efforts made by the Government and people of Ghana for safeguarding world peace and its support for the Ghanaian Government's positive stand of opposing the conduct of nuclear tests and the establishment of military bases in Africa by the imperialists as well as its proposition for turning Africa into a peace zone free from nuclear weapons. The Ghanaian side expressed its support for the proposal put forward by the Chinese Government for signing a peace pact of mutual non-aggression among the countries in Asia and around the Pacific and for turning this entire region into a zone free from nuclear weapons. The two parties exchanged their views on the forthcoming Conference of the Heads of State of Non-aligned Countries and expressed the hope that the conference would make positive contributions to the struggle of Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace. The two parties reaffirmed that the Governments and peoples of China and Ghana would continue to make persistent and unremitting efforts to defend peace in Asia, Africa and the world.

The two parties noted with satisfaction that in recent years a tremendous change has taken place in the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that the struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence has risen in an unprecedented upsurge. The national independence movement in Africa has scored great victories. A series of African countries have rid themselves of the colonial rule and taken the road of independent national development. The imperialist colonial rule in Africa is approaching its doom. The Chinese side reiterated the deep sympathy and resolute support of the Chinese Government and people for the Government and people of Ghana and the peoples of other African countries in their heroic struggles to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to win the complete liberation of Africa, to oppose the imperialist attempt of splitting Africa, and to strengthen the solidarity of the peoples of the African countries. The two parties expressed their resolute support for the heroic Algerian people in their struggle to win national independence and uphold the unity of their motherland; they expressed their resolute opposition to the imperialist plot to carve up the territory of Algeria, condemned the French Government's action of sabotaging the peaceful settlement of the Algerian question, and expressed the belief that the Algerian peo-

ple, under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Algeria, would surely win final victory. The two parties expressed their sympathy and support for the Congolese people who persisted in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and unity, and condemned the old and new colonialists for their aggressive and interventionist crimes against the Congo. The two parties were of the agreed view that the Congolese people would certainly be able to solve the Congolese problem themselves provided that aggression and intervention by the old and new colonialists were excluded. The two parties severely condemned the Portuguese colonialists for their heinous crime of ruthlessly massacring the people in Angola and other Portuguese colonies, and expressed resolute support for the people of Angola in their just struggle against colonial oppression and for national independence. The two parties resolutely support the Government and people of Tunisia in their struggle of defending the independence and sovereignty of their motherland for the recovery of the Bizerta military base, resolutely support the South African people in their struggle against racial discrimination and for basic human rights, resolutely support the peoples of East and Central Africa in their national independence struggle, and resolutely support the peoples of Asia and Latin America in their just struggle to win national independence and to safeguard their state sovereignty. The two parties expressed the firm conviction that the just struggle of the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries would surely win complete victory.

The two parties indicated that the Governments of China and Ghana would continue to abide by the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, and the Ten Principles laid down at the Bandung Conference. The Chinese side expressed its full respect for the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Republic of Ghana, and its support for the efforts made by the Government of Ghana in safeguarding national independence and developing national economy. The Ghanaian side expressed its support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights and position in the United Nations, and for the struggle waged by the Chinese Government and people in defence of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and condemned the imperialist plot to create "two Chinas."

President Nkrumah's present visit to China made a significant contribution to the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of China and Ghana as well as between the peoples of China and Africa. The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that the economic, trade and cultural relations as well as friendly co-operation between China and Ghana were developing smoothly. The two parties pledged that they would continue their efforts to consolidate and strengthen incessantly this intimate friendly co-operation already existing between the Governments and the peoples of the two countries.

Treaty of Friendship

Following is the full text of the Treaty of Friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana signed in Peking on August 18, 1961.—Ed.

THE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Republic of Ghana,

Desiring to consolidate and further develop the profound friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana, and

Being convinced that the strengthening of friendly co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana fully conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, conduces to the enhancement of the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries as well as among Asian and African peoples, and is in the interest of world peace,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty.

Article I

The Contracting Parties will maintain and develop the relations of peace and friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana.

Article II

The Contracting Parties decide to take the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence and the Ten Principles laid down at the Asian-African Conference held in Ban-

dung in 1955 as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries.

The Contracting Parties will settle all disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiation.

Article III

The Contracting Parties agree to develop the economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly co-operation.

Article IV

The present Treaty is subject to ratification, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Accra as soon as possible.

The present Treaty shall come into force immediately on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall remain in force for a period of ten years.

Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate the present Treaty one year before the expiration of this period, the present Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, subject to the right of either Party to terminate it ten years after it comes into force by giving to the other notice in writing of its intention to do so one year in advance.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the eighteenth day of August, nineteen sixty-one, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Plenipotentiary of the
People's Republic of China
(signed)

CHOU EN-LAI

Plenipotentiary of the
Republic of Ghana
(signed)

KWAME NKRUMAH

Ghana Impressions

From Dark Night to Dawn

by FENG CHIH-TAN*

ALONG the West African coast there was a Negro kingdom—the Kingdom of Ghana—which flourished between the 9th and 13th centuries. At the museum in Accra I saw relics in iron and earthenware of the forebears of the Fanti people and also beautiful gold *objets d'arts* made by the Ashanti people each with its own esoteric meaning. I also saw a tapestry hanging on the wall behind the Speaker's chair in Ghana's Parliament House, a large piece of "kente" cloth made by the Ghanaians with wooden looms. All these show that Ghana is a country with a culture it can well be proud of. But in the 15th century the Western colonialists descended on the Gold Coast and a nightmarish life began there for its people.

The Ordeal

All the way along Ghana's sea coast, from Accra, Cape Coast and Winneba to Sekondi, stands a line of forts built by the Western colonialists between the 15th and 18th centuries to serve their traffic in slaves. We visited

one of these forts at Cape Coast, which Dutchmen and Englishmen once used as a holding point for their black slaves.

A Negro, lamp in hand, acted as our guide as we groped our way in those dark, weird pits. The cells are partitioned by thick walls. Each has a floorspace of less than ten square metres but we were told that dozens of slaves were crammed into every cell there. They were dark and damp; only a feeble light came in from the small openings in the wall. In the ground we could still see traces of the wooden piles to which the slaves were chained. The Ghanaian guide told us that the slaves were herded into these cells and kept in a state of semi-starvation. Many died before they were shipped away. Those who survived were hustled into canoes for the trip out

*The author is a member of a delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association which recently visited West Africa.



The Ghanaian people welcome the Chinese Delegation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association

to the slave ships hiding out at sea. Many of these canoes were overturned by the waves and their human cargoes perished.

In the 300 years of the slave trade the Western slave-hunters reduced the Black African population by a hundred million or more; they caused a serious destruction of African productive forces and hindered the social and cultural progress of Black Africa.

The Golden Stool

At the Provincial Governor's residence in Cape Coast a government official told us something of the struggle of the tribes in the seaboard areas against the colonialists. The Fanti tribe, towards the end of the 19th century, fighting many times against British annexation succeeded in smashing the plans of the colonialists to seize their land. The Ashanti people in central Ghana were likewise dauntless in their struggle against the aggressors.

The Ashanti people waged eight wars of resistance against Britain in the years between 1807 and 1901. Although the Ashanti suffered defeat in the British attack in 1896 it was never conquered. The eighth war broke out in 1900 when the British governor F. Hodgson demanded that the Ashanti surrender the Golden Stool which was the national symbol of the Ashanti people. In retaliation, the Ashanti people besieged the British colonial troops in Kumasi, a famous city in central Ghana. The siege lasted several months until the British colonialists managed to bring reinforcements up from the coast. In the following year Britain occupied Ashanti and the Northern Territory but still it failed to get hold of the Golden Stool. The patriotic Ashanti people had hidden it. A workman digging up a road discovered the hiding place by chance in 1921, but the British colonial authorities were immediately served notice by the Ashanti that if they took away the Golden Stool it would mean war again. So the British colonialists had to agree not to lay their hands on it.

These early struggles against the British colonialists were followed by first spontaneous and later organized political struggles. In the thirties of the present century, the Ghanaian peasants retaliated against the colonialists by refusing to sell their cocoa to the exploiters. At that time, a staff member of the Central Experimental Centre in Kumasi told us, the British colonialists reserved to themselves the exclusive right to purchase cocoa. They made expeditions into the countryside to buy cocoa; and any peasant carrying cocoa along the road would be stopped by these greedy monopolists and forced to sell. The price to start off with, our Ghanaian friend told us, was a pound for a pod of cocoa, then, this was reduced to four shillings and finally to half a crown, one-eighth of the original price. This was sheer robbery. The result was that the cocoa farmers of Ghana rose spontaneously in a struggle for their livelihood.

Arch of Independence

The postwar years witnessed an upsurge of the national independence movement in Ghana. Kwame Nkrumah returned from abroad in 1947 to lead his people in struggle. The Convention People's Party was founded some time later. In 1948 the flames of wrath of the Ghanaian people burnt high with a widespread movement to boycott British goods. On February 28 the ex-servicemen in Ghana staged a big demonstration against Britain. The workers' movement in Ghana too grew vigorously in these years, forming an important component part of the national independence movement and reaching a high pitch between the latter half of 1949 and the first half of 1950. In less than a year there were 54 fairly large strikes in various parts of the country involving some 40,000 people. On January 7, 1950, the workers throughout the country staged a general strike in response to the call of Dr. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party for "Positive Action." This was once again ruthlessly suppressed by the colonial authorities. But colonialism in Ghana was dealt a heavy blow. In face of the surging tide of the national independence movement in Ghana, the British colonialists were forced to amend the constitution several times and Ghana finally emerged from "semi-self-government" to "self-government" and became the independent republic it is today.

The imposing Arch of Independence which lies across the February 28 Road in Accra is inscribed with the words "Freedom and Justice." Our two chauffeurs in Ghana who were ex-servicemen and eyewitnesses of the February 28 bloodshed told us about those events. On that day several hundred ex-servicemen held a big demonstration demanding that the British colonial authorities honour their promises made to the Ghanaian soldiers during the war. But when the procession came to the cross-roads near the present Parliament House, the colonial authorities were ready for bloodshed. Their troops and police opened fire on the unarmed peaceful demonstrators and

many of them fell. The anger of the whole nation was aroused; workers, students and shop assistants joined in a big demonstration of protest. British shops were smashed. Accra and other major cities in the country came out in bitter protest against the crimes of British imperialism.

Mr. Saloway Miscalculated

In his autobiography, President Nkrumah records a significant little episode. In 1949, a British colonial official, R. H. Saloway, sent for him and told him:

"Mark my words, my good man: within three days the people here will let you down—they'll never stick it."

But history has proved how far out the British colonialists were in their estimates of the will and strength of the people of Ghana. The Ghanaian people not only stuck to their demand for self-government but went further—to demand independence; they have stuck it out not for three days but to the end. Today, having won their independence they are waging a new fight for a better tomorrow for their motherland.

Kishi's Base Mission to Taiwan

by "RENMIN RIBAO" OBSERVER

Following is an abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" commentary published on August 17, 1961. Sub-heads are ours.—Ed.

NOBUSUKE Kishi, that notorious and traitorous ex-Prime Minister of Japan, has just made another trip to Taiwan to plot over a wide field with the Chiang Kai-shek clique. While in Taiwan and on his return to Tokyo, Kishi talked quite a lot buttering up to the United States and crudely slandering China and the socialist camp. He went so far as to bluster openly about joint schemes to "eliminate communism" and so on. In his many utterances, Kishi not only revealed his own reactionary stand of toadying to the United States and hostility to China and the socialist camp but also unashamedly disclosed that the monopoly-capitalists and militarist forces of Japan are pushing ahead at double-quick speed with the U.S. imperialist scheme of creating "two Chinas" and that they have ambitions to occupy once again China's territory of Taiwan. Kishi's recent trip to Taiwan was clearly a nefarious mission for this very purpose.

Two Objectives

What deserves special attention is the fact that during his stay in Taiwan Kishi made no secret of his dirty aim of peddling the U.S. plot for the creation of "two Chinas." He had three talks with Chiang Kai-shek during which he informed the latter of the contents of the talks between Hayato Ikeda and the U.S. President Kennedy when the former visited the United States last June. As everyone knows, Kennedy and Ikeda had discussed the scheme to create "two Chinas" on the basis of the so-called "successor states formula." Newspapers in Hong Kong pointed out that Kishi's trip to Taiwan was intended to "persuade Chiang Kai-shek to submit" to this plot. In his talks with Chiang, Kishi, with ulterior motives, spoke of Japan and Taiwan as "two countries." Once again he has utterly exposed his firm support for the U.S. line and his enmity against China.

Another job on his trip to Taiwan was to push forward the plan to rig up a Northeast Asian alliance for U.S. imperialism. A Kyodo dispatch from Tokyo dated July 31 said, "Kishi holds that, in order to maintain a firm anti-communist system in the Far East, the pressing task is

to strengthen unity between Japan, Taiwan and Korea. It is with such a conviction and determination that he set out on his visit to Taiwan." This "conviction" of Kishi's is exactly the same as the policy of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism in Asia. During the postwar years, the U.S. Government has worked hard to revive Japanese militarism, support Japan's drive to increase its armaments and make war preparations and patch up a Northeast Asian alliance with Japan as its core to link it up with other U.S.-organized military and aggressive blocs and establish an aggressive system to control the nationally independent Asian countries and encircle the socialist camp. The new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is a concrete step to this end. In recent years in particular, the United States, in consequence of the successive setbacks it has sustained in its aggressive policy in Asia, has revealed its aggressive features more and more clearly to the Asian peoples and utterly discredited itself. That is why it stands in greater need than ever before of forming a Northeast Asian alliance with Japan as its core, using Japanese militarism as its tool of aggression.

In his talks with Chiang Kai-shek and in his other activities in Taiwan, Kishi vigorously advocated strengthening the "close co-operation" between Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the south Korean puppet regime. He told Chiang Kai-shek in so many words that "the two countries Japan and Taiwan need co-operation" and that "opportune assistance should be given to Korea." These words and acts of Kishi fully lay bare his intention of speeding up the creation of a "Northeast Asian alliance" for U.S. imperialism.

A Wild Ambition

Kishi's services to the U.S. imperialists' plot of creating "two Chinas" and rigging up the Northeast Asian alliance were also rendered in accordance with the wild ambitions of Japanese monopoly capital and militarism to launch a new aggression against Taiwan. The monopoly-capitalists and militarist forces in Japan are unreconciled to their expulsion from Taiwan following World War II and their forced return of Taiwan to China. It is common knowledge that they have long been nursing ambitions to annex Taiwan again. In following

the United States in stepping up the plot of creating "two Chinas," these forces are vainly attempting to "stabilize" Taiwan within "the camp of freedom" and to prevent the Chinese people from liberating their territory of Taiwan. By trailing behind the United States in stepping up the plot to knock together a Northeast Asian alliance, they are vainly attempting to include China's Taiwan in the U.S. aggressive system and to take advantage of U.S. backing to realize their ambition of occupying Taiwan once again. Kishi's recent activities in Taiwan have completely exposed these aggressive designs of the monopoly-capitalists and militarist forces in Japan.

During his stay in Taiwan, Kishi repeatedly urged the Japanese ruling circles to realize "the importance of Taiwan," that the Chiang Kai-shek clique should "co-operate fully" with Japan and that they should "trust each other." He also let it be known that he had asked former Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Takeo Sukuda to go along with him to Taiwan for the purpose of drawing up "concrete plans for close economic co-operation" between Japan and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. According to an AP report, Kishi brazenly announced at a press conference on August 6 that the "development of Formosa's [Taiwan's] industry could be speeded up with Japanese financial and technical co-operation." At the same time, he held concrete discussions with Chiang Kai-shek on the further penetration of Japanese monopoly capital into Taiwan and was very active among financial and economic circles in Taiwan.

What warrants special mention is that Kishi's recent visit to Taiwan to conduct his scheming activities there is said to have been made upon the "strong urging" of another traitorous ex-Premier of Japan. Yoshida is no stranger to the Chinese people. He is notorious as a slavish follower of the United States and for his collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and persistent hostility to the Chinese people.

Ikeda's Finger in the Pie

The attitude of the Ikeda government towards Kishi's machinations in Taiwan is particularly noteworthy. A Tokyo report disclosed on August 6 that Kishi openly

stated on his return to Tokyo that during his visit to Taiwan, he had assured Chiang Kai-shek that "as long as the Liberal Democratic Party stays in power, Japan's foreign policy will remain unchanged," that "Japan's foreign policy under the Ikeda government will remain unchanged" and so on. Such statements were evidently made not only on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Party but also on behalf of the Ikeda government and Hayato Ikeda himself. As President of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party and Prime Minister of the present government, Ikeda naturally cannot have been unaware of these statements and his conspiratorial activities in Taiwan. In fact, on July 20 before departing for Taiwan, Kishi met Ikeda to exchange views on his trip to Taiwan. On returning from Taiwan to Tokyo, Kishi again went to see the Prime Minister at his official residence and tell him all about his activities in Taiwan. So it appears that Ikeda made arrangements for Kishi's activities beforehand and heard a report about them afterwards. Ikeda obviously sees eye to eye with Yoshida, Kishi and their like on their conspiracies and there is a tacit understanding between them. If such is the case, then Ikeda's past statements on foreign relations to the effect that he would discard the servile idea of dependence on the United States, that he hoped friendly relations could be established with both "communist China and Russia," and his recent glib talk that he "feels very close to" China and so on—can only be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to deceive the Japanese people. No other interpretation is possible. This being so, the question arises: by following this line, is not Ikeda taking the very same road trodden by Yoshida and Kishi?

The Chinese people have long maintained a high degree of vigilance towards the aggressive plan of the reactionary Japanese ruling circles and militarist forces to stage a comeback on Taiwan. Historically, legally, and in fact, Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. The Chinese people are determined to liberate this island. They will never tolerate a prolonged occupation of Taiwan by the U.S. imperialists nor will they tolerate a second occupation of the island by Japanese militarist forces. The Chinese people cannot but be angered by the

fact that the Japanese reactionary ruling circles are stepping up their expansionist moves towards Taiwan with a view to realizing their ambition to occupy the island once again. We must sternly warn the Japanese reactionary ruling circles that by continuing to toe the U.S. line and antagonizing China they will meet not only with the firm opposition of the Chinese people but also that of the broad masses of the Japanese people since this runs counter to their desire to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, develop economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries and strengthen friendly relations between their peoples. Nothing but ignominious failure awaits the reactionary ruling circles and militarist forces of Japan should they persist in their arbitrary actions.



"Don't I look like a diplomat?"

Cartoon by Jack Chen

A Brief Account of the U.S. "Two Chinas" Plot

TALK about the creation of "two Chinas" was begun by certain U.S. bourgeois newspapers and political commentators soon after the founding of New China. But at that time official U.S. quarters had not yet taken this as an established policy. It was after the United States suffered a disastrous defeat in its war of aggression against Korea that the U.S. ruling circles, faced with the growing strength and consolidation of New China, really began their plot to create "two Chinas."

An Historical Survey

Speaking in November 1953, on the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said there was "the possibility that Communist China might be represented in the U.N. General Assembly while Nationalist China was represented in the Security Council." In early 1955 Eisenhower admitted that the "two Chinas" issue was "one of the possibilities constantly being studied" by the United States. Later, in 1955 when the Chinese People's Liberation Army liberated Tachen Island, the United States refused to undertake, in explicit terms, obligations to "help defend" Quemoy and Matsu and other off-shore islands of China and attempted to force the Chiang Kai-shek clique to withdraw from Quemoy and Matsu Islands so as to create "two Chinas" by making the Taiwan Straits a demarcation line.

The U.S. Government also started active efforts to push ahead its "two Chinas" plot in certain international conferences and organizations. For instance, at the 16th Olympic Games in November 1956, at the meeting of the Special International Geophysical Year Committee in 1957 and at the 19th International Red Cross Conference held in New Delhi in October 1957, the United States did everything possible to get the Kuomintang clique as "another China" into these organizations; it attempted to create a situation in which representatives of "two Chinas" would sit side by side in these international organizations.

During the latter years of the Eisenhower Administration, U.S. Government efforts to push ahead its plot of creating "two Chinas" became more and more blatant. In 1958, after suffering an ignominious defeat in its policy of military provocations and war threats against China in the Taiwan Straits, the United States Government came out with more noisy talk about the creation of "two Chinas." In an interview with a correspondent of British Independent Television on October 16, 1958, Dulles said that "there is no doubt we [the U.S.] recognize Communist China as a fact, as we deal with Communist China." At the same time, Dulles openly called the Chiang Kai-shek clique "the Republic of China in Formosa" and said that he wanted the Chiang Kai-shek clique "not to use force to go back to the mainland or against the mainland."

Later, on October 8, 1959, the U.S. State Department reiterated its stock argument that the "status of Taiwan" was "unsettled." At his press conference on October 22, Eisenhower did his best to describe the Chinese people's determination to liberate their own territory of Taiwan as an "international question" and not "an internal one" of China. He also alleged that "a great number of nations recognize the independence of Formosa." Certain so-called idea men in the United States also energetically advocated a "two Chinas" policy. The U.S. Senate in November 1959 released a study prepared by "Conlon Associates, Ltd." which put forward such absurd proposals as the "admission of Communist China to the United Nation," "recognition of the Republic of Taiwan" to be "protected" by the United States, "the seating of the Republic [of Taiwan] in the [U.N. General] Assembly" and the "enlargement of the Security Council to include India and Japan as permanent members as well as China."

Before he was elected president, Kennedy himself and other Democratic politicians who are now high-ranking officials in the present Democratic administration, actively advocated the creation of "two Chinas." In an interview with a correspondent of the British *Sunday Times* on July 3, 1960, Kennedy said that "it might be possible that Formosa would be recognized as an independent country."

Since the Kennedy Administration was inaugurated last January, there has been a stepping up of U.S. plots designed to create "two Chinas." This was because, as the U.S. press pointed out, the question of his China policy is "one of Mr. Kennedy's toughest" (*Washington Evening Star*). The Kennedy Administration is attempting by the creation of "two Chinas" to find new tactics for its China policy "to take some of the heat off Washington," but it "contemplates no change in basic policy" (UPI).

Various Formulas for "Two Chinas"

U.S. ruling circles and their idea men, both before and after the inauguration of the Kennedy Administration, have been cooking up various formulas for the creation of "two Chinas." This includes old stuff inherited from the Republican administration and new tricks devised by the Democratic administration. These "formulas" can be summarized in general as follows:

No. 1. "An independent state of Taiwan." According to this formula, the United States will make the Chiang Kai-shek clique withdraw its troops from Quemoy and Matsu Islands, and then Taiwan will be declared "independent" and made a new member of the United Nations, while China will be "admitted" into the United Nations and the Security Council on condition of undertaking "not to liberate Taiwan by force."

In an article in the April 1960 issue of the American quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, the present U.S. Under-Secretary of State Bowles urged the formation of "an independent Sino-Formosan nation" "predominantly Chinese by culture but Formosan in outlook." He stressed that only by beginning with imaginative policies based on "two Chinas," could the United States start to "exert a constructive influence" on Asia.

No. 2. Placing Taiwan under U.N. "trusteeship" or "protection." According to this formula, the United States will leave the Kuomintang clique in the lurch. The status of Taiwan will remain "unsettled for the time being" and it will be placed under U.N. "trusteeship" or "protection" for a number of years, at the expiration of which time a "plebiscite" will be held to decide its future.

In last year's January issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Adlai Stevenson, now permanent representative of the Kennedy Administration to the United Nations, advocated "acceptance of the right of the inhabitants of Formosa to determine their own destiny by plebiscite supervised by the United Nations."

In collusion with the reactionary circles in Japan which have been attempting to lay their fingers once again on Taiwan, the United States has for years been fostering the Chinese traitor Liao Wen-yi as a ready tool for pushing ahead this plan. The *Taiwan Kung Ping Pao*, published in Japan, said that there already existed openly in Japan a so-called "Provisional Government of the Taiwan Republic" and a "Taiwan Independence and Freedom Party." According to reports circulated in the United States recently, Liao Wen-yi is planning to visit the United States. This throws fresh light on this U.S. plot.

Theory

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

by LI WEI-HAN

Following is the second instalment of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 12, 1961. The first instalment appeared in our last number.—Ed.

3. A United Front Uniting with and Struggling Against the Bourgeoisie

OWING to the two-faced or dual character of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the revolutionary united front, the second alliance in this united front, that is, the alliance between the working class and the non-labouring people with whom co-operation is possible, is, on the one hand, a subsidiary to the worker-peasant alliance. We have already discussed this aspect in the above. On the

No. 3. "One and a half Chinas." The main idea of this formula is, in the name of recognizing so-called Chinese "suzerainty" over Taiwan, to turn Taiwan into an "autonomous" area which would retain the right of handling its foreign affairs independently; and to restore to China its seat in the United Nations while giving Taiwan a separate seat in the U.N. General Assembly.

This formula was proposed by John Fairbank, former Director of the U.S.I.S. office in China, on January 20, this year. Fairbank admitted that the "two Chinas" concept was unpopular, so he proposed that "instead of imposing the obnoxious term 'two Chinas' from the outside, we might better describe the situation realistically in Chinese terms as one of Peking's 'suzerainty' and Taipei's 'autonomy.'"

No. 4. The "two successor states" formula. This is the latest U.S. formula for creating "two Chinas." In the latter part of June this year, just around the time when Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda was visiting the United States, the new, so-called "successor states" formula was reported in the U.S. press. As the American journal *Newsweek* (July 10) disclosed, the author of this formula is Chester Bowles, U.S. Under-Secretary of State. This scheme envisages that both the People's Republic of China and the Kuomintang clique in Taiwan, which has been repudiated by the Chinese people, will be regarded "as 'successors' to the China that entered the United Nations at its founding"; the Kuomintang clique will be allowed to continue to usurp the position of permanent member of the U.N. Security Council and the seat in the U.N. General Assembly, while the People's Republic of China will "apply to the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly for approval to occupy an assembly seat."

other hand, this alliance also has a negative effect on the worker-peasant alliance. Because of this we suffered great losses in the latter part of the First Revolutionary Civil War. In order to bring the subsidiary role of this second alliance properly into play and guard against its negative effect, the working class, in the united front, must be good at using a revolutionary two-faced policy, that is, the policy of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie, to deal correctly with its two-faced character.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung rightly drew attention to this two-faced character of the Chinese bourgeoisie as early as 1926. Analysing the political attitude of the "middle

class" at that time, he said: "A self-styled 'true disciple' of Tai Chi-tao* wrote in the *Chen Pao*,** Peking: 'Raise your left fist to knock down imperialism and your right fist to knock down the Communist Party.' This remark depicts the dilemma and quandary of this class."† "As to the vacillating middle class, its right wing may become our enemy and its left wing may become our friend, but we must be constantly on our guard towards the latter and not allow it to create confusion in our front."†† This brilliant thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, however, was rejected and consigned to oblivion by the right and "left" opportunists over a considerable length of time. They disavowed this two-facedness of the Chinese bourgeoisie either from the right or from the "left." During the First Revolutionary Civil War, the right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu and his followers saw only the positive side of the bourgeoisie but failed to see its reactionary side, so they only advocated uniting with the bourgeoisie but not struggling against it. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the "left" opportunists saw only the reactionary side of the bourgeoisie but failed to see its positive side, so they only advocated struggling against the bourgeoisie but not uniting with it. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, basing himself on the experience of the past two periods and the fresh experience gained in the War of Resistance, once again systematically analysed and substantiated the two-facedness of the Chinese bourgeoisie and set forth the formula of uniting with and struggling against it. It was then, and only then, that the whole Party came to understand and grasp this brilliant idea and correct policy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"Since the dual character of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the bourgeois-democratic revolution greatly affects the political line and Party-building of the Chinese Communist Party, we cannot understand our political line and Party-building without understanding this dual character. An important part of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party is to unite with as well as to struggle against the bourgeoisie. An important part of the building of the Chinese Communist Party is that the Party develops and steels itself in the course of both uniting with the bourgeoisie and struggling against it. Unity here means the united front with the bourgeoisie. Struggle means the 'peaceful' and 'bloodless' struggle waged along ideolo-

* Tai Chi-tao was a member of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek's partner in speculations on the stock exchange in Shanghai. He carried on an anti-Communist agitation after Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925 and prepared the ground ideologically for Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat in 1927. For years he served as Chiang's faithful jackal in counter-revolutionary activities. Driven to despair by the imminent doom of Chiang's regime, he committed suicide in February 1949. — Ed.

** Organ of the Association for the Study of Constitutional Government, a political group then supporting the warlords of the Northern clique. — Ed.

† Mao Tse-tung, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*.

†† *ibid.*

gical, political and organizational lines when we unite with the bourgeoisie, a struggle which will turn into an armed struggle when we are forced to split with the bourgeoisie. If our Party does not understand how to unite with the bourgeoisie in certain periods, it cannot advance and the revolution cannot develop; if our Party does not understand how to wage a resolute and serious 'peaceful' struggle against the bourgeoisie while uniting with the bourgeoisie, it will disintegrate ideologically, politically and organizationally and the revolution will fail; and if our Party, when forced to split with the bourgeoisie, does not wage a resolute and serious armed struggle against the bourgeoisie, it will also disintegrate and the revolution will also fail."*

"Towards the end of the First Great Revolution it was unity to the exclusion of struggle, whereas towards the end of the Agrarian Revolution it was, except with the basic section of the peasantry, struggle to the exclusion of unity, thereby illustrating most clearly the two extremes of our policy. Both extremes did great harm to the Party and the revolution.

"The present policy of the National Anti-Japanese United Front is neither unity to the exclusion of struggle nor struggle to the exclusion of unity, but combines both."**

"In the period of the anti-Japanese united front, struggles are the means to unity and unity is the aim of struggles . . . unity is realized through struggles and destroyed through concessions."†

Here, what Comrade Mao Tse-tung says about uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie implies two different situations. One is to unite or split with the bourgeoisie, that is, to establish a united front with the bourgeoisie or to be forced to split the united front; the other is to unite with and struggle against the bourgeoisie within the united front. Generally speaking, the policy of combining unity with struggle applies to the bourgeoisie as a whole; specifically, in speaking of uniting with or splitting with the bourgeoisie, we refer mainly to our relations with the big bourgeoisie.

Because old China's was a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the Chinese bourgeoisie from the very outset comprised two different sections, the big bourgeoisie of a comprador nature and the national bourgeoisie. The latter included the middle bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals representing the middle and small capitalist sectors. It had comparatively few ties with imperialism and feudalism and suffered from their oppression and yoke. It had in the main never been in power and was subjected to the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. These are what distinguished the national bourgeoisie from the big bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie

* Mao Tse-tung, *Introductory Remarks to "The Communist."*

** Mao Tse-tung, *On Policy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 2.

† Mao Tse-tung, *Questions of Tactics in the Present Anti-Japanese United Front*.

had not completely severed its ties with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and there existed the contradiction between this class as the exploiter on the one hand and the working class and working people as the exploited on the other. This politico-economic status of the national bourgeoisie determined its two-faced character in China's democratic revolution, that is, its revolutionary side and its inclination to compromise with the enemy; it was bound to vacillate in the democratic revolution with the possibility of either joining the revolution or siding with the counter-revolution; a few among them, the right wing elements, attached to imperialism and the reactionary regime at home, were the enemies of the revolution.

IN general, this was how the class struggle stood during the new-democratic revolution: On the one hand, the reactionary Kuomintang regime, representing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, not only brutally oppressed the working people but also struck blows, both political and economic, against the national bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the Communist Party, representing the interests of the broad masses of the people, led the workers, peasants and other working people in waging resolute struggles against the three main enemies — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — and in fighting for an independent, free, prosperous and powerful China. Things being what they were, so long as the Communist Party adopted a policy of energetically winning over the two-faced national bourgeoisie, the majority of the national bourgeoisie would join the revolution to a certain extent or remain neutral. Our experience shows that the working class and the Communist Party should adopt unswervingly the policy of winning over the national bourgeoisie throughout the period of the new-democratic revolution, including the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War. In the years 1927-31 in the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the national bourgeoisie sided with the reaction under Chiang Kai-shek but in the main did not participate in Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime which, on its part, never slackened its attacks on the national bourgeoisie. It was precisely for this reason that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out explicitly: "... during the years 1927-31 (before the September 18th Incident of 1931) quite a few of them [the national bourgeoisie] sided with the reaction under Chiang Kai-shek. But one must not on this account think that we should not have tried during that period to win over the national bourgeoisie politically or to protect it economically, or that our ultra-Left policy towards the national bourgeoisie was not adventurist. On the contrary, in that period our policy should still have been to protect the national bourgeoisie and win it over so as to enable us to concentrate our efforts on fighting the chief enemies."*

Since the War of Resistance Against Japan, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party has resolutely implemented this policy and eventually caused the majority of the national bourgeoisie to shift from wavering between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, and come over to the side of the people's revolu-

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the Question of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 209.

tion and support the people's republic and the leadership of the Communist Party. This has not only isolated the enemy but also provided the possibility that henceforth under the people's democratic dictatorship, the national bourgeoisie can be made, through peaceful means, to accept socialist transformation step by step. This we have already discussed more or less in detail.

To win over the national bourgeoisie, it is necessary to pursue the proper policy of uniting with and struggling against it in the light of its two-faced character. This means that, in accordance with the actual situation, the policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie should be properly followed in relation to its revolutionary side and the policy of criticizing or struggling against it should be properly followed in relation to its inclination to compromise with the enemy. This is designed to steady its revolutionary character and overcome its vacillation as much as possible; to make it establish an alliance with us or at least take a neutral stand. As our experience shows, it was naturally impossible to win the national bourgeoisie over if we overlooked its revolutionary side and failed to carry out the policy of uniting with it in this respect; it was equally impossible to achieve the aim of winning it over if we overlooked its other side of being prone to compromise with the enemy and failed to implement the policy of criticizing or struggling against it, for this would only encourage its disposition to waver. At the same time, when executing this policy of uniting with and struggling against the national bourgeoisie, we must also make a distinction between the left, middle-of-the-road and right wing groups among them and treat them accordingly.

DURING the stage of socialism the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is the main contradiction in our country. This kind of contradiction is originally antagonistic in nature. But because of the actual conditions created throughout the whole historical development from new democracy to socialism, "such an antagonistic contradiction, if properly handled, can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and resolved in a peaceful way."* The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, therefore, unswervingly implemented the policy of peaceful transformation in regard to the national bourgeoisie during the period of transition. Peaceful transformation still means uniting with and struggling against the national bourgeoisie; uniting with it because of its willingness to accept socialism while criticizing or struggling against it because of its tendency to take the capitalist road — that is, seeking common ground and eliminating those things in which they differ from us, and doing away with these differences step by step so that the national bourgeoisie is assimilated to the working people, to the working class. "In order to remould them we must first unite with them."** The aim of remoulding them is to eliminate this last exploiting class; and to as-

* Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 10.

** "The United Front in Cultural Work," *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 125.

similate the members of this class to the working class is in effect to achieve unity with them on a higher basis.

In China, the big bourgeoisie is the bureaucrat-capitalist class. The bureaucrat-capital of the bureaucrat-capitalist class is a particular form of monopoly capital in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. "This monopoly capital, combined with state power, has become state-monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism."* Towards the end of the Ching Dynasty, with China gradually on the way to being colonized, the reactionary bureaucrats and warlords in power in China were gradually transformed into compradors, while some compradors too gradually climbed to power, thus forming the bureaucrat-capitalist class which represents this comprador, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. In the twenty-two years of Chiang Kai-shek's rule over China, especially in the years of the War of Resistance Against Japan and after Japan's surrender, bureaucrat-capitalism reached its zenith, monopolizing the economic lifelines of the country. During that time, the four big families of Chiang (Kai-shek), Soong (T. V.), Kung (H. H.) and Chen (Li-fu), the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in its colonization of China, and who then controlled the central state power, grew into the biggest, most concentrated and most ruthless bureaucrat-capitalist bloc in the country. The history of the formation and development of this monopoly bloc is the history of its savage plundering and slaughter of the Chinese people and its ruthless swallowing up of the national capital; it is also the history of U.S. imperialism's exclusive domination of China by edging out the British, Japanese and other imperialist forces from the country. In addition to the four big families, there were also some local bureaucrat-capitalist blocs.

IN the history of the Chinese revolution, the big bourgeoisie has always been the target and never a motivating force of the revolution. But "the different sections of the Chinese big bourgeoisie of a comprador character owe allegiance to different imperialist powers; when the contradictions among these powers grow into sharp antagonism, and one of the powers becomes the particular target of the revolution, the sections owing allegiance to other powers may join the anti-imperialist front for a time and to a certain extent. Of course they will immediately oppose the Chinese revolution the moment their masters do so."** This was the main reason why the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang cooperated twice with each other and twice fell apart.

The following two points are our main and basic experience in this matter:

Point One. We must be good at taking advantage of the contradictions among our enemies. "We must," Com-

* Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 167.

** Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 32.

rade Mao Tse-tung says, "try to bring together all such quarrels, rifts and conflicts in the enemy camp and direct them against the principal enemy."* It was by taking advantage of the conflicts and rifts among the enemies that the revolutionary base areas in our country, beginning with the struggles in the Ching-kang Mountains, were gradually founded and built up. This is an example of exploiting the contradictions among the enemy set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in leading the Chinese revolution. Within a certain specific period of time and under certain specific conditions, and based on the tactics: "to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one," we must also "draw over from the enemy's camp . . . and from the enemy's battlefield all those who were hostile to us yesterday but may become friendly today."** We should establish an alliance with these elements within certain limits directly and temporarily so as to concentrate our strength on opposing the main enemy at the time. The second cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang is another example of taking advantage of the contradictions among the enemies set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Point Two. The big bourgeoisie will not change its nature. As the experience of the Communist Party's cooperation with the Kuomintang on two occasions shows, even when it participated in the united front, the big bourgeoisie remained very reactionary. Its involuntary and temporary participation in the united front was motivated by its aim of maintaining its reactionary rule and expanding the forces of counter-revolution and of disintegrating the forces of the revolution and finally defeating the people. Within the united front, it not only did its utmost to deceive, win over, browbeat and place the national bourgeoisie and other middle-of-the-road forces under its thumb, but also made great efforts to contain, attack and undermine the Communist Party and the revolutionary forces led by the Party; moreover, it also tried its best to turn the Communist Party into its mere appendage. When the development of the revolution came into conflict with these reactionary aims of the big bourgeoisie, it immediately turned its guns against the forces of revolution. It was precisely because of this reactionary nature of the big bourgeoisie that the Chiang Kai-shek clique emerged as a double-dealer passively resisting the Japanese and actively opposing the Communists in the anti-Japanese united front. Based on the policy of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung did everything they could to win over and made full use of whatever enthusiasm, however slight, the Chiang Kai-shek clique might have to resist Japan, and so benefit the War of Resistance. In regard to the other side of their nature—their opposition to the Communists, their splitting of the united front, their compromising with and surrendering to the enemy, the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave them blow for blow, waging a struggle, politically, ideologically, organizationally and, in some areas, militarily, in accord-

* Mao Tse-tung, *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 15.

** *ibid.*, p. 27.

ance with the principles of justifiability, expediency and restraint; the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung also gave a free hand to expanding the progressive forces and winning over the middle-of-the-road forces to isolate the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and prevent them from daring to surrender openly to Japan, to prevent them from daring to split with the Communist Party completely. It is also precisely because of its reactionary nature that the Chiang Kai-shek clique, after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, totally disregarding the aspirations of the whole nation for peace, disregarding every effort made by the Communist Party and the various democratic parties to maintain unity with them and realize peace and democracy and, having made all preparations with U.S. imperialist backing, again launched a nationwide, large-scale counter-revolutionary civil war, in order to monopolize the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance and maintain the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. All these historical events have proved that it is vain to hope to change the nature of the big bourgeoisie through the united front. This is true of the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen; it is also true of other blocs of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie.

IN dealing with the big bourgeoisie and landlord class, after having overthrown their political power and destroyed their economic bases (with the exception of those individuals who advocate peace and come over to our side and other patriotic elements whom we must unite with properly and help in their self-remoulding), they should be deprived of their political rights, forced to accept supervision by the masses and reform through labour while giving them a way to earn a living and get a political education. Most of them will possibly be transformed from reactionary elements into part of the people only after long years of supervision and reform. In the last ten years and more, a number of them have already been so transformed after such supervision and reform. But the remnants of these two reactionary classes are still the main social foundation of counter-revolutionary activities; many among them are still dreaming all the time of a comeback. Then there are also the bourgeois rightists who act politically as the agents of these two reactionary classes and imperialism. In our country, therefore, the struggle to transform the big bourgeois elements and landlord elements, the struggle to suppress all counter-revolutionaries will last for a whole historical period. It is impermissible to assume an indifferent attitude, to relax or slacken our vigilance in this respect.

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

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party the new-democratic revolution in China took the road leading from the countryside to the cities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave the lead in taking this road.

What was the main content of this way of development? It was revolutionary war—protracted peasant revolutionary war and the revolutionary base areas in the countryside. During the period of the First Revolution-

ary Civil War Stalin pointed out correctly that one of the peculiarities and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution was that “armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution.” Then came the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Third Revolutionary Civil War and finally—victory. Despite the fact that targets and allies in these revolutionary wars differed, all showed “armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution.” All were peasant revolutionary wars waged with the backing of the revolutionary base areas. Revolutionary war as the main form of struggle—this is the special feature of the Chinese revolution; and protracted peasant revolutionary wars with revolutionary base areas in the countryside are the special features of that revolutionary war.

Why do the Chinese revolution and the Chinese revolutionary war have such special features? This is determined by the basic characteristic of China's protracted semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

“What distinguishes her [China] is that she is not an independent democratic state but a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, deprived of democracy by feudal oppression at home and of national independence by imperialist oppression from the outside. Thus the Chinese people have no legislative body to make use of, nor have the workers any legal right to organize strikes. Basically, therefore, the task of the Chinese Communist Party is not to go through a long period of legal struggles before launching an insurrection or war, nor to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse.”*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in practice opened up this road and in theory proved its correctness. As early as 1928 he pointed out the reasons and conditions for the establishment and development of the red political power, that is, the revolutionary base areas in the countryside, and later he elaborated on this on many occasions. He said in *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*:

“Since the powerful imperialists and their allies, the reactionary forces, have long occupied China's key cities, if the revolutionary forces do not wish to compromise with them, but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up their strength and steel themselves and avoid decisive battles until they have mustered enough strength, then they must turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural revolutionary bastions from which they can fight their ruthless enemy who utilizes the cities to attack the rural districts and gradually achieve through a protracted struggle the complete victory of the revolution. In these circumstances, owing to China's uneven economic development, that is to the absence of a unified capitalist economy, to her enormous size which gives the revolutionary forces room to manoeuvre, to the disunity and numerous contradictions in the counter-revolutionary camp, and to the fact that the struggle of the peasants, the main force in the Chinese revolution, is led by the

* Mao Tse-tung, *Problems of War and Strategy*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 2-3.

party of the proletariat, the Communist Party—in these circumstances, a situation arises in which the Chinese revolution can be victorious first in the rural districts, but has to proceed at varying paces in various parts of the country so that the achievement of complete victory becomes protracted and arduous. It is evident that the protracted revolutionary struggle conducted in such revolutionary base areas is mainly a peasant guerrilla war led by the Chinese Communist Party.”*

Taking this road meant to take the creative road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; but it was impossible to take this creative road without a struggle. Mechanically applying foreign experience to China, the “left” opportunists, namely, the dogmatists, insisted on taking the road of first occupying the cities and then attacking the countryside. Disregarding the concrete conditions obtaining at that time in China and refusing to draw useful lessons from past experience, they stubbornly advocated starting uprisings in the key cities or demanded that the Red Army attack the big cities. The struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line and the dogmatist line did not come to an end until the line advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung gained victory after the Tsunyi Conference in 1935.

WHAT is the relation between the united front and the armed struggle? They are two basic weapons which the Party has in its hands to vanquish the enemy and they depend on each other. On the one hand, the united front under the leadership of the Party and based on the worker-peasant alliance must shoulder the responsibility for conducting the revolutionary war. The Party’s correct united front policy is the political guarantee for victory in the revolutionary war. “War is the continuation of politics.” To win a war we must rely first on politics and we must first win the political war. The wars we have conducted were revolutionary, just wars. The political nature of such wars determined that victory in them was not only possible but also inevitable. But victory in a revolutionary war still depends upon correct policy. Along with the policy of isolating and splitting up the enemy, the most important question is how to unite and expand our own ranks, in other words, the question of the united front. If we do not have a correct united front policy and if we fail to handle class relations properly in a way aimed at uniting and strengthening ourselves and isolating and splitting up the enemy, then it is impossible to win a revolutionary war and it is even possible to cause its defeat. In this connection rich experience and profound lessons can be drawn from the history of our Party.

On the other hand, from the First Revolutionary Civil War to the founding of the People’s Republic of China, no matter in what period of time and no matter whether it was participated in by the bourgeoisie, the united front in China was “a united front for carrying on the armed struggle.”** Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: “In China the

main form of struggle is war and the main form of organization is the army. Such forms as mass organizations and mass struggles are also very important and necessary and must not be overlooked, but they are all employed to support war.”* “. . . without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party could not win a place for themselves or accomplish any revolutionary task.”** The united front serves the revolutionary war, in direct or indirect co-ordination with it. At the same time, the united front must have a strong people’s force to back it up before it can be consolidated and developed. Under the conditions prevailing in China the united front cannot be consolidated and developed without revolutionary armed struggle and a revolutionary armed force. The united front based on the worker-peasant alliance bears the brunt of the revolutionary war, while the revolutionary war and the revolutionary army can also, in return, create and develop a broad united front based on the worker-peasant alliance. When the Communist Party and the Kuomintang co-operated in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War to set up the Whampoa Military Academy and organize the revolutionary army and when this army launched the eastern and northern expeditions, everybody knows what a vigorous worker-peasant movement and a broad united front were then brought into being. However, the Communist Party at that time did not yet understand the importance of exercising direct control over the armed forces and especially the capitulationist Chen Tu-hsiu voluntarily gave up the Party’s leadership in this field. Consequently, “the revolutionary united front of that time had no mainstay, no strong revolutionary armed forces; when defections took place on all sides, the Communist Party, forced to fight single-handed, was powerless to foil the tactic of the imperialists and the Chinese counter-revolutionaries of crushing their opponents one by one.”† Both the mass movement and the united front in the form of co-operation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang collapsed. We know still better that later during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan it was precisely because we had the powerful and ever growing Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army as our mainstay, that we were able to defeat the divisive schemes and capitulationist manoeuvres of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and steadfastly maintained the Anti-Japanese National United Front until the war was carried through to victory.

All the experience of the democratic revolution in China shows that the development and consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance was achieved mainly through the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary base areas. Securing a united front with the bourgeoisie depended all the more on whether the workers and peasants led by the Communist Party had armed forces at their disposal. If they had no fairly strong armed forces, they would, of course,

* Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 27.

** Mao Tse-tung, *Introductory Remarks to “The Communist.”*

* Mao Tse-tung, “Problems of War and Strategy,” Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 4.

** *ibid.*, p. 6.

† Mao Tse-tung, *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, 1960, p. 31.

have no right to speak to the big bourgeoisie who were armed to the teeth, and their views, in fact, would have carried little weight even in the eyes of the national bourgeoisie. But, on the contrary, the stronger were the armed forces of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party and the more triumphant was the revolutionary war, the broader, the more consolidated and the stronger would the united front be (provided that the Party made no mistakes in policy). In short, without powerful people's revolutionary armed forces under the exclusive leadership of the Communist Party, there could have been no broad people's united front led by the working class that was strong enough to defeat the enemy.

IT was through the steeling of dozens of years of revolutionary war that the great, glorious and correct Communist Party, the broad united front and the powerful People's Liberation Army—both led by the Communist Party—were born. It was by relying on these three magic weapons and through the peasant revolutionary war and the revolutionary base areas in the countryside, that the powerful state of the people's democratic dictatorship (in essence, the proletarian dictatorship) was established. The people's democratic dictatorship is the crystallization and the concentrated expression of these three magic weapons, which ensured that China should make the transition to socialism by peaceful means. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the people's democratic united front has changed from a united front with the armed struggle as its mainstay to a united front with the dictatorship of the proletariat as its basis, a united front for carrying out peaceful transformation and peaceful construction.

The people's democratic dictatorship in China is in essence a proletarian dictatorship. The objectives and functions of this dictatorship are: to suppress within the country the reactionary classes, cliques and exploiters who resist the socialist revolution; to guard against subversive enemy activities and possible aggression from abroad; to eliminate completely the exploitation of man by man; to transform the whole of society according to socialist principles; to build our country into a socialist state with a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and a modern science and culture, and then gradually effect the transition to communism. "... the dictatorship of the proletariat requires not only that the proletariat should exercise strong leadership over the state organs, but also that the broadest masses of the people should participate actively in the state organs. Neither of these can be dispensed with."* Our Party long ago pointed out that the broad united front which is led by the working class and embraces various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and people's organizations, is necessary not only for the people's democratic revolution, but also for the realization of the socialist cause.

Some think that the united front is unnecessary if we want to carry on the proletarian dictatorship and

* Liu Shao-chi, "The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth National Congress of the Party," *Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Vol. I, (documents) Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, p. 69.

build socialism. They don't understand that we have had a long history of maintaining a united front with the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and other patriots. In the socialist stage, despite their negative side of trying to take the capitalist road, the national bourgeoisie are willing to remain in the united front and accept socialist transformation. Therefore, we have no reason not to continue to co-operate with them. Besides, the national bourgeoisie is a class which possesses relatively rich knowledge and culture and a relatively large number of intellectuals and specialists. The working class should continue to maintain the united front with the national bourgeoisie, because the united front will play an important role in educating and reforming them and because their knowledge can be made use of to serve socialism, while the enemy can be isolated to the maximum and the anti-imperialist forces can be strengthened. Those who think that the proletarian dictatorship needs no united front know still less about this: "... we have no reason not to adopt the policy of long-term coexistence with all other democratic parties which are truly devoted to the task of uniting the people for the cause of socialism and which enjoy the trust of the people."* It is quite obvious that the united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance will not only do no damage to the proletarian dictatorship, but, on the contrary, will help it consolidate itself and grow.

SOME hold that since the working class wants to continue to maintain united-front relations with the national bourgeoisie in the socialist stage, the proletarian dictatorship should be weakened or even abandoned. In 1957 the bourgeois rightists clamoured that they wanted no Party leadership and no proletarian dictatorship. The experience gained after liberation proves that it is only under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and it is only when the working class through its vanguard the Communist Party exercises leadership over the state political power and the broad masses of the people, that the task of the socialist revolution can be thoroughly accomplished. It is only with the weapon of the proletarian dictatorship which the working class wields through its vanguard the Communist Party that all those who are willing to take the socialist road can be rallied around itself for the joint execution of the political line of the working class.

It is quite clear that in China the united front under the leadership of the Party, based on carrying on the proletarian dictatorship and serving peaceful transformation and peaceful construction, is the inevitable outcome and natural growth of the united front with the armed struggle as its mainstay and led by the Party. Without more than a score of years of revolutionary wars, without the powerful people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the proletarian dictatorship which is born out of this struggle, there can hardly be any socialist transformation in China by peaceful means, nor will there be any united front for carrying on peaceful transformation and peaceful construction.

(To be continued)

* Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p. 57.

SIDELIGHTS

The Big Top in Peking. Clowns trip and tumble over each other, a magician pulls bowl after water-filled bowl of goldfish seemingly out of nowhere, two portly elderly men toss pots of heavy porcelain into the air to catch them spinning or motionless on head, neck or forehead, diabolos with single or double discs whine and twist up twelve feet cords and back obediently to their mistresses and an equilibrist balances on one hand with a collection of glasses balanced on a tray on a stick in the other. . . . The superbly trained circus team of the China Acrobatic Troupe now performing inside their big top at Tungtan Park in central Peking makes these feats seem as easy as walking.

Holidaying school children have crowded most of the adults from the seats around the circus ring but thousands of adult fans had their chance to see the show in the two months before the holidays started. Costuming, the smooth co-ordination of performers and the all-round finish of team and individual acts, have never been better.

Old circus faithfuls, trick riders, aerialists, gymnasts, acrobats, clowns, performing bears and dogs, and monkeys driving goat carts thrill and amuse young and old, and new tricks have been added. The Chaplinesque peasant balancing and standing on his head on a slack wire is an act which has been raised to a new pinnacle of virtuosity.

This circus team will soon leave the capital to tour the countryside as in previous years, together with the



At the Circus

troupe's acrobatic and juggling team, and dare-devil riders. At the moment they form a brilliant part of the capital's many centres of amusement for students and pupils on holiday.

From Sailor to Pilot. For over a century, from the Opium War until liberation, the imperialists dominated all major Chinese ports. In those days foreign pilots got the top jobs; Chinese pilots were discriminated against. Liberation ended all that and since 1951 Chinese pilots have steered all vessels entering or leaving Chinese ports. But the volume of maritime trade has grown steadily since liberation and more and more pilots are needed to guide the big modern vessels in and out of Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton and other ports. To meet the need experienced captains and graduates of navigation schools have been trained as pilots. Later the training scheme was extended to experienced sailors. Recently, the first group, seven merchant seamen with long working experience on the Whangpoo River, completed their training and have been enrolled as fully qualified pilots for Shanghai, China's biggest port.

Lost and Found. It was an old watch. She had had it for over 40 years, even before she began teaching. She was very upset. She sat down and wrote a letter describing the lost watch to the Peking Lost and Found Office.

Weeks later she received a letter asking her to call at the office. Someone had just turned in a gold watch answering to her description. . . . It was the one she had lost. She was overjoyed but did not know whom to thank. The person who found it, like so many others, had not bothered to leave name or address.

"We have cases like this every day," said the comrade at the office, pointing to the racks around the office laden like the shelves of a department store. There were also things one cannot buy at a department store — savings bank books for instance. And with a grin he added: "Just listing the things people hand in tells how much better people are living these days. There wasn't any office like this before. In the old days it was 'finding's keeping' mostly."

Teachers Enjoy Themselves. Students and school children are enjoying their

summer vacation and their professors and teachers too are out in force, down on the golden beaches and up in cool mountain resorts. On Lishan Mountain, 25 kilometres from Sian, the pavilions built about the hot springs have been fully renovated. It was here that Yang Kuei Fei, the famous imperial favourite and beauty of the Tang Dynasty, once disported herself. More than 300 professors and instructors from 20 institutions of higher learning are spending some happy weeks at this summer resort. They pay only one-third of their board; all other expenses are covered by their trade unions.

National Minorities Make Own Films. All four national minority autonomous regions — the Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang Uighur, Kwangsi Chuang, and the Ningsia Hui — have a network of modern cinemas and many mobile cinema teams screening the latest productions of the big national studios as well as films from abroad. The list of films available to all cinemas includes scores of features and documentaries about the national minorities. Several were international prize-winners.

On top of this, one-sixth of all the hundreds of films produced since liberation has been dubbed into various national minority languages. Audiences are also seeing more and more films made by their local studios. These well-equipped studios were set up in the last three years with the aid of the big film companies who helped train the first cadres of young national minority actors, actresses, directors, cameramen and other personnel. They are now training a steady stream of new cadres themselves.



Sketches by Miao Ti

BOOKS

Stories About Not Being Afraid of Ghosts

Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
In English, 88 pp.

This little book includes 35 ghost stories taken from ancient Chinese collections of short tales and anecdotes. It is based on a Chinese edition compiled by the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and published by the People's Literature Publishing House, Peking, in February this year. Ho Chi-fang in his preface (see *Peking Review*, No. 10, 1961, for full text) states the purpose of the selection: "Our intention was mainly to present these stories as fables and satires to readers. A man who is cowardly at heart and has not emancipated his mind will be afraid of non-existent ghosts and gods. But if he . . . does away with superstition . . . he will find not only that ghosts and gods are nothing to be afraid of but that imperialism, reaction, revisionism and all natural or man-made calamities that actually exist, are also nothing . . . to be afraid of but are something that can be defeated or overcome." So in fact this

book is a further illustration of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's famous saying that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." Chairman Mao said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." The stories in this selection all carry the same moral.

The Chinese people have a long, continuous tradition of telling political parables, which has lasted well over two thousand years, from the time of the Warring States down to the present day. During the Warring States Period in the fourth century B.C. wandering orators and sophists, who went to different states to advise on policies or advocate certain schools of thought, always used parables in the form of short tales or anecdotes to illustrate their ideas. In the Tang Dynasty, famous prose writers like Liu Tsung-yuan and Han Yu wrote short tales or parables satirizing officials and criticizing the society of their day; the same tradition continued in the Sung Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty the writing of fables was very popular; one well-known example *The Wolf of Chungshan* which points up the moral that one should not be soft-hearted towards evil people was written in several versions by different writers and even appeared in the form of a play. In the Ching Dynasty there were two famous collections of ghost stories: the *Notes of the Yueh-wei Hermitage* by Chi Yun and the *Strange Tales of Liao Chai* by Pu Sung-ling. Both these writers were actually using ghost stories as parables; in the former collection of tales the writer, Chi Yun, satirized the dogmatic moralists and philistines of his age; in the latter collection the writer, Pu Sung-ling, attacked the government examination system, the iniquities of the official world and other evils in his society with great bitterness and passion. In present-day China this form of literature is still very popular, and many ancient parables or

fables have been re-interpreted to drive home some new moral. When this present selection was published this spring, the first edition was sold out as soon as it appeared. These tales are entertaining, but people love them even more because they all highlight the moral that one must never compromise with the reactionaries, never become frightened by their threats nor be fooled by their blandishments and lies. They feel that this moral is particularly apt in the present international situation.

The writing of ghost stories has a long tradition in China too. Collections of ghost stories or tales of the supernatural were very popular in China during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, from the third century to the sixth or seventh century, and most people at that time were still unable to rise above a superstitious belief in ghosts; yet even in those early days there were tales like "Sung Ting-po Catches a Ghost" which shows very clearly that the writer was telling his story with his tongue in his cheek. That was a period of political instability and social unrest in China, when scepticism and cynicism were prevalent among the scholars and it may well be that such ideas influenced the writers of these tales. It is interesting to note that in the same period there were religious-minded men like Yen Chih-tui who believed in the supernatural yet even such earnest Buddhist scholars made up ghost stories for an evangelical purpose; they did not tell them as true ghost stories, but rather as allegories or parables. In the Tang Dynasty tales of the supernatural were written by scholars as literary exercises to show their talent: "bricks that helped to cross over the gates to official life." In all later periods, ghost stories or tales and anecdotes of the supernatural were almost always closely linked up with political parables and satires.

Most people nowadays tell ghost stories with their tongue in their cheek, but a few centuries ago a belief in ghosts was widely prevalent all over the world and ghost stories were told in all seriousness. Even as late as the 18th century, when Daniel Defoe, that great master of English realism, wrote his "true ghost stories," these were used for narrative illustrations in long and serious books



Sung Ting-po Catches a Ghost

Illustration by Cheng Shih-fa to "Stories About
Not Being Afraid of Ghosts"

describing the relationship between man and the invisible world, books like *The Political History of the Devil*, *A System of Magic: Or a History of the Black Art*, *Secrets of the Invisible World Discovered: Or the History and Reality of Apparitions*.

But always among the people everywhere there has existed a strain of hardy scepticism about ghosts and apparitions that has been expressed in pungent "anti-ghost stories." The Chinese too have the "anti-ghost stories" that reflect their sound political wisdom and common sense and it is examples of these that make up the present collection.

This Foreign Languages Press edition is well-designed with some good illustrations. The front cover shows a picture of Chung Kuei, a catcher of ghosts in ancient Chinese folklore. According to the legend, Chung Kuei was a Tang Dynasty scholar who was persecuted and bullied by the forces of reaction in his time; instead of fighting against them, he committed suicide; however, after his death he decided to take a lesson from and make amends for this mistake, and so he spent all his time exterminating ghosts. This story too seems to be a kind of political parable, and it has a good moral. The translation is competent and readable. I have found one or two small mistakes in the translations of certain titles of books mentioned in this edition: One book translated as *Anecdotes of the Movable Pavilion* (page 42) is rather misleading. Actually it refers to some mysterious manifestation, when a religious monument of stone sprang out of the ground and was seen hanging in mid-air. Another title *Seven Anecdotes of the Golden Bottle* (page 89) is wrong. It should be *Anecdotes of the Golden Ink Bottle in Seven Books*: for there were certainly more than seven anecdotes in this book. Otherwise the translation is quite reliable.

This small collection of ghost stories contains great political wisdom, summing up the experience of the Chinese people in their century-old struggles against reactionary forces. Great political truths always sound simple, and some may say that they know all about not being afraid of ghosts. But in our present-day world, when war maniacs are brandishing their nuclear weapons and trying to blackmail the people with them; when assassins,

hiding their daggers under a cloak of peace, approach the people offering "aid," do we always remember that these are just bogey tricks, and refuse to fear them or compromise with them? It may be well worth our while to read some of the tales in this book and ponder over their moral.

—H. Y.

PUBLISHING

New Editions of Old Classics

New, photostat editions of two ancient classics, recently announced by the Chung Hwa Book Company, have aroused great interest among historians and research workers throughout the country. They are *Tse Fu Yuan Kuei*, a voluminous work of an encyclopaedic nature important for the study of history before the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), and *Sun Tzu, Annotated by Eleven Scholars*, China's earliest book on military strategy and tactics. The Chung Hwa Book Company specializes in the re-editing and publishing of ancient classics. During the last decade, it has steadily built up a most attractive list of titles and earned itself a well-established reputation.

"*Tse Fu Yuan Kuei*" has long been regarded as one of the four great books of Sung times. The other three are *Wen Yuan Ying Hua* (Flowers of the Literary Garden), *Tai Ping Yu Lan* (The Encyclopaedia of Supreme Peace Supervised by the Emperor) and *Tai Ping Kuang Chi* (The Supreme Peace Collection of Short Stories, Tales and Anecdotes). New editions of all these, with the exception of *Wen Yuan Ying Hua*, have been published.

Tse Fu in the title of this latest edition means "repository of books" and *Yuan Kuei* means "big tortoise." In ancient China, the tortoise shell was used for divination. So here *Yuan Kuei* recalls the classical allusion—the tortoise foretells, the mirror reveals.

This great book, or rather, series of books, was compiled by Wang Chin-jo, Yang Yi and others by order of Emperor Chen Tsung. The work took eight years, from 1005 to 1013 to complete. It has 31 sections including Emperors, Kings of Various States, Imperial Houses, Families of the Mothers and Wives of Sovereigns, Prime Ministers, Marshals and Generals, Schools, Criminal Laws, etc. Its one

thousand volumes give a historical record of all the dynasties before the Northern Sung. Within each section, the material is arranged in chronological order. Those parts dealing with the Tang (618-907 A.D.) and Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.) are especially rich in content.

The present photostat edition is based on a Ming Dynasty edition which was carefully checked and collated against an incomplete Sung edition and several other Ming editions. This is the first new edition made in the last 300 years. A new table of contents with page numbers listed as well as an index have been added to the new edition. It also carries a new preface by Chen Yuan, noted contemporary historian, expounding the academic value of the book and the significance of this edition.

"*Sun Tzu, Annotated by Eleven Scholars*." The new photostat edition is based on a Southern Sung (1127-1279 A.D.) edition which was carefully checked against two Ming editions and one re-edited by Sun Hsing-yen of the Ching Dynasty. The latter has been the most used edition for the last few centuries. Incidentally, this earliest Chinese book on military science has been translated into several languages by scholars in other lands and is known to students of military science abroad.

This present edition is in four volumes, including one (a supplement) which gives a modern Chinese rendering of the classical Chinese original. Included at the beginning as a preface is an article entitled "On Sun Tzu's Laws of Military Matters" by General Kuo Hua-jo of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In this article it is pointed out that *Sun Tzu* is a work on military studies written during the Spring and Autumn Period (770-475 B.C.) and the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.). Sun Wu of the 6th century B.C. laid the basis of the book. Later, Sun Pin (380-320 B.C.) re-edited and supplemented it on the basis of actual experience in war and the military theories of the time. The present 13 chapters of the book were revised, abridged and annotated by Tsao Tsao (155-220 A.D.), a prominent statesman, military commander and poet. Kuo's article also makes a brief but valuable analysis of the historical background and objective conditions which gave rise to the military ideas embodied in *Sun Tzu*.

Brazil's Vice-President in China

Brazil's Vice-President Goulart is concluding a most successful visit to China. While in Hangchow he called on Chairman Mao Tse-tung and had a cordial talk with him. Later Chairman Mao returned the call.

On August 21 in Peking, the Vice-President of the People's Bank of China and the representative of the Brazilian Bank, a member of the Brazilian trade delegation led by Vice-President Goulart, signed a payments and trade agreement.

After visiting Peking, the Brazilian Vice-President, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, travelled through Shanghai and Hangchow. In all these centres he has seen at first hand the enthusiasm with which the Chinese people are carrying on their socialist construction. As he said in Peking, what impressed him most during his visit was the fact that "the Chinese people, under the guidance of such a great personage as Mao Tse-tung, are

striding forward, working every day, every hour and every minute for the prosperity of their own country."

During his visit, the Brazilian Vice-President and his Chinese hosts have on many occasions expressed the desire of the peoples of Brazil and China to promote a wider friendship between the two countries.

As Peking Mayor Peng Chen said at the Peking mass rally held to welcome Vice-President Goulart, "Although Brazil is geographically far away from us, your country is familiar to our people. We the people of the capital and the whole of China sincerely wish the Brazilian people even greater successes in the cause of building a new Brazil; we heartily wish your country prosperity and strength."

The Brazilian Vice-President will conclude his visit to China with a stay in Canton.

Indonesian National Day

China warmly greeted the 16th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his message to President Soekarno wished the Indonesian people new victories and successes in their lofty cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism and building up their own country.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China and Premier Chou En-lai also jointly sent a message of greetings.

Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other government leaders were guests at a reception in Peking given by the Indonesian Ambassador Sukarni Kartodiwirjo in celebration of this solemn occasion.

In his speech at the reception, Vice-Premier Chen Yi thanked the Indonesian Government and people for their consistent sympathy and support for the Chinese people's struggle to liberate China's territory

Taiwan, and for their consistent stand for the restoration of China's rightful seat in the United Nations.

N.P.C. Delegation in Indonesia. A delegation of the Chinese National People's Congress led by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. is currently visiting Indonesia at the invitation of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament. Attending Indonesia's Independence celebrations, members of the delegation were received by President Soekarno, and met leading Indonesian fighters for peace.

Speaking at a reception given in their honour by the Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament, J inul Arifin, Kuo Mo-jo said that the peoples of China and Indonesia are marching forward shoulder to shoulder in their common struggle against imperialism. The Chinese people and Government resolutely support the just struggle of the Indonesian

On the Second Asian-African Conference

The Chinese Government's support for the convening of a second Asian-African conference was expressed by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi.

"We hope that the second Asian-African conference will be convened in time so as to promote the Asian and African peoples' common cause of friendly co-operation, solidarity and opposition to imperialism," the Vice-Premier declared at the Indonesian Ambassador's reception in celebration of Indonesia's National Day.

On the conference of the heads of state of non-aligned countries, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that "like the Indonesian Government, the Chinese Government hopes that with the joint efforts of President Soekarno and the leaders of other participating countries, this conference will make contributions to the cause of the people of all countries to win and safeguard national independence, oppose imperialist aggression and intervention, oppose the old and new colonialists and defend world peace. It further hopes that this conference will play a beneficial role in fighting imperialism and colonialism. It is therefore necessary to guard against imperialist schemes to sabotage the conference by diverting its struggle to other objectives."

Government and people for the recovery of their West Irian, he declared.

Ethiopian Cultural Envoys

The 71-member Ethiopian cultural delegation opened its premiere on August 20 in Peking with the "China-Ethiopia Friendship Song" specially composed for the visit to China. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai were in the audience. They received the leader, deputy-leader and leading artists of the delegation.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, Chu Kuang, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, said that the visit to China of the Ethiopian artists will give the Chinese people an opportunity to see and learn about the national art of Ethiopia and to understand the life and struggles of the Ethiopian people.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

7th World Anti-A-H Bomb Conference

Renmin Ribao's editorial (August 17) hails the success of the 7th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and For General Disarmament held in Tokyo, capital of Japan—the country where the first atomic bomb was dropped in human history. The conference, the editorial says, has dealt resolute blows to the imperialist forces of war headed by the United States and given courage and confidence to the peoples of all lands in their struggle for lasting peace. The conference has put forward clearly defined objectives in the defence of world peace and issued a powerful appeal to peace-loving people throughout the world. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the conference on its victory.

The editorial points out that the present grave menace to world peace comes from the imperialist bloc headed by the United States. On the pretext of the "Berlin crisis," it is whipping up tension and making military threats simultaneously in Europe and the Far East.

The editorial notes that the conference once again defined the correct way to strive for a lasting world peace, that is, by relying on the resolute struggle of millions of the people. The national liberation movements in Asian, African and Latin American countries are dealing ever heavier blows at the imperialist policies of war and aggression, thereby making enormous contributions to the world peace movement.

The victory of the conference, says the editorial, is a victory for the great unity of the Japanese people and the great unity of the peoples of the world. The Japanese peace movement and the world peace movement are being forged into a broad united front for peace the central task of which is to oppose the forces of war in the United States. No force whatsoever can prevent the steady expansion and development of the international united front for peace.

The Chinese people resolutely support the various resolutions and appeals adopted by the conference and will continue to wage an unremitting struggle, together with all peace-loving people throughout the world, to oppose the imperialist forces of war headed by the United States and safeguard world peace, concludes the editorial.

Sino-Brazilian Trade

The development of trade relations between China and Brazil—common desire of the two peoples—is the subject of an article in *Da Gong Bao* (August 13), by Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

In a survey of Brazil's natural resources, industrial development and foreign trade, the article particularly notes the role of coffee exports in the Brazilian economy. The cut in coffee prices imposed by the U.S. monopolists in recent years caused difficulties for Brazil in exporting this major crop and sharply reduced the country's foreign exchange income.

The new Brazilian Government, the article says, has adopted a new foreign trade policy aiming to develop trade relations with all countries. In the

past, Brazil's foreign trade was limited to a relatively small number of countries. From two-thirds to a half of its overseas trade was with the United States, and only about 4 per cent with the socialist countries.

Since liberation, the article states, China has restored its trade relations with Latin America. It has established commercial relations with 13 out of the 20 Latin American countries. The majority of its Latin American trade transactions have been with Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. It has sent trade missions and commercial representatives to Brazil. It has also received many Brazilian trade missions, industrialists, businessmen, and other Brazilians enthusiastic about promoting Sino-Brazilian trade. As a result, trade between the two countries has been restored and developed to a certain extent, but when compared with the potentialities, it is still on a small scale.

The visit of the Brazilian trade mission led by Vice-President Goulart, the article says, will promote trade and friendship between the two peoples. Difficulties and obstacles may still be encountered in developing that trade, and obstructions may still be thrown up by people with ill intent, but, despite this, trade relations between the two countries will surely be steadily developed through common efforts and by following the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

THE PASSING SHOW

The Man Who Loved Pictures

Dr. Barnes of Pennsylvania made millions from Argyrol, an antiseptic, and bought himself a prize collection of about 1,000 French Impressionist and post-impressionist paintings that is now worth between U.S.\$100 million and 500 million. While alive he refused to let any but a select few see his paintings. It is said that he bugged the walls of his galleries with microphones so that he could exclude critical viewers. After his death his widow waged a court fight for ten years to keep the collection closed to the general public while still claiming tax exemption for it as a "non-profit, educational institution."

Finally a court order forced it open, but only to 400 members of the public every week; on Friday and Saturday, 200 of them by appointment only. Detectives escort visitors into the collection, and the upper galleries can be viewed by only three visitors at a time accompanied by detectives; this lets in an average of about 40 per day. Barnes keeps a close grip on his pictures even in death.





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