

PEKING REVIEW

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March 31, 1961

The Peasant Question in the Democratic Revolution

A study of the peasantry's role in China's democratic revolution and the Chinese Communist Party's policy on this question (p. 5).

The Military Situation in Laos

Military developments in Laos surveyed. Illustrated with a map (p. 14).

Sino-Latin American Friendship Grows Apace

A common struggle has cemented strong ties between Chinese and Latin American peoples (p. 16).

Sports, Archaeology and Other Features

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MAO TSE-TUNG ON ART AND LITERATURE

This is a collection of theoretical essays on art and literature written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the years. They contain profound expositions on many fundamental questions in art and literature such as: the line that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; the standpoint and attitude of literary and art workers; popularization and elevation (i. e., raising the standard or level of literary and artistic appreciation, criticism and creation); the criteria for literary criticism; the question of how to accept critically the best of the Chinese and foreign cultural heritage and how to create a vivid, fresh and vigorous Marxist-Leninist style. These essays are of fundamental importance as guides to the art and literary movement and its line of development. They develop Marxist thinking in these fields, fully systematize it and endow it with a highly scientific character and fighting spirit.

Raise Higher the Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought on Art and Literature

by Lin Mo-han

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great Marxist revolutionary, thinker and theoretician. He has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. He is the author of great and creative developments in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also developed Marxist thought on art and literature and built up a complete Marxist theory in these fields.

In a penetrating way this booklet elaborates on the series of fundamental questions upon which Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxist thought on art and literature—of the relation between art, literature and the revolution; between art, literature and the masses; between art and life; between the artist or writer and the masses; between art, literature and national cultural traditions; the question of the struggle between the two lines on the art and literary front; the policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom; letting a hundred schools of thought contend” for the development of art and literature; the artistic method of integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism; and so on.

This book will give the reader a systematic and comprehensive understanding of the tremendous, many-sided advances Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made in Marxist thought on art and literature, rendering it fully systematized, highly scientific and powerfully militant.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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March 31, 1961 Vol. IV No. 13

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ROUND THE WEEK

Drive in Engineering Industry

Today almost everyone is "up to his ears" in agriculture. From south to north spring farming has the country in its grip. Everyone is anxious to pitch in. But most welcome was last week's news of the machine-building industry's contribution to agriculture. Engineering workers have been redoubling their efforts to turn out more machines for the farms.

Aside from tractors and other big agricultural machines which are rolling off the assembly lines in a constant flow in Loyang, Tientsin and other cities there are smaller items playing an even greater role in China's agricultural production today, which are being manufactured in the millions and rushed to the rural people's communes.

In the last two months, engineering workers in Shanghai turned out more than 1,700 tractors, diesel engines and other machines, over 400 water pumps for agricultural use, and some 2.6 million spare parts for various types of farm machinery.

No less than 2.5 million smaller pieces of farm machinery were produced by the engineering workers of Honan Province.

In close co-ordination, the local trade departments have kept machines and parts moving straight to the rural areas from the plants. By the end of last month Shanghai had already shipped over 1,200 diesel engines, generators, water pumps and large quantities of machine parts. Remote Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Yunnan Provinces had priority. The city's first batch of jumbo-sized water pumps has been sped to the countryside, well before the rainy season sets in in the south and the dry season begins in the north.

Engineering workers have given much attention to the quality of their products. Many Shanghai plants have had representatives circuiting the rural people's communes seeking the views of the peasants, on the efficiency of their machines and improving them in the light of what they learnt. The Shanghai Farm Equipment Plant has, for instance, a special

corps of "inspectors" touring the countryside to find out how its tractor-drawn disc-harrows are working out in the field.

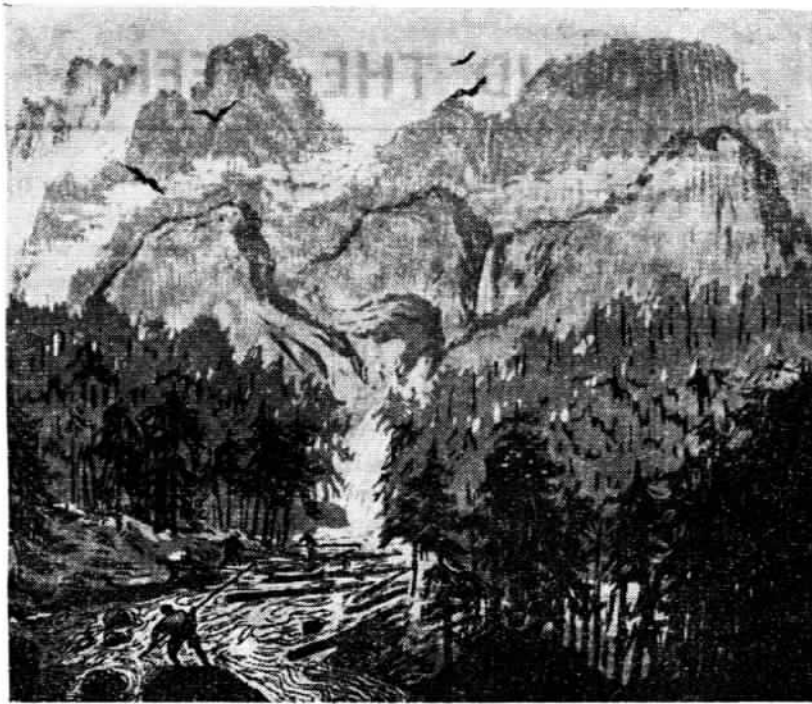
Timber!

China's lumberjacks are working at top speed.

High output is reported from the forest areas of Heilungkiang and Inner Mongolia, Shansi, Szechuan and other provinces. By the end of February Kiangmen and Shaokuan, two important forest areas in Kwangtung Province in the south, had achieved 73 and 67 per cent respectively of the felling scheduled for the 1960-61 year.

Spring is the big season for transporting and shipping timber. In the south, lumbermen and transport workers are swiftly moving their timber to catch a fast ride down the river with the swelling spring tide. Kiangsi Province reported last week that most of its timber had already reached the waterfront properly bound into rafts. These, too, will be launched as soon as the tide rises. In the northernmost provinces still blanketed with snow, the lumberjacks shoot their hauls down ice-clad slopes through "ice canals." In all the forest areas conventional means of transport—rail, truck and other vehicles—are also in wide use.

Highlighted news from the lumber camps are reports of technical innovation campaigns among the workers which have substantially boosted work efficiency. Typical are those devised by the lumbermen in the Greater and Lesser Khingan Mountains, one of the country's key forest regions. There, the traditional means of transporting timber has been the horse-drawn sleigh. Every winter and spring witnessed thousands of horses, sleighs and men winding their way up and down the snow-covered mountains in a spectacular, endless cavalcade, extracting and transporting their loads of timber. Picturesque as they are the sleighs are becoming fewer and fewer, and there is every indication that they are on their way out. For the lumberjacks and neighbouring peasants who help with trans-



Rafting Timber

Woodcut by Liang Hai

port have contrived several more efficient and economical ways to do the job. These include sliding the timber down over the ice-coated slopes, on "ice rails" or through "ice canals," by cable line, and other ingenious uses of ice, snow, water and slopes. They have also designed a number of tools and machines which have given work efficiency a further lift.

Redemption Policy in Tibet

In carrying out democratic reform in Tibet, the People's Government has adopted a policy of redemption in dealing with means of production owned by those manorial lords who did not join the 1959 rebellion staged by the reactionaries of the upper social strata. This means that their surplus means of production, such as land, draught animals, farm tools, etc., are bought by the state.

Word came in last week that this process has been basically completed. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and local regional authorities have issued certificates of payment to most of these manorial lords and their agents. Preliminary estimates of the region's Land Reform Committee showed that by the end of February this year 1,300 households had completed the procedures involved in the process of redemption. These had all received formal certificates of payment for

their surplus land, houses, draught animals and farm tools, and the payments due on last year's instalment. The Government has distributed the land and other property so bought over to former slaves and serfs.

In dealing with the feudal manorial lords the People's Government makes a just distinction between those who took part in the rebellion and those who didn't. Lhalu Tse-wongdorje, a reactionary serf-owner and one of the ringleaders of the rebellion and its accompanying crimes, its killings and destruction, had his property confiscated. But his wife, Lhalu Yangdzom, who separated from him long before the rebellion took place, and did not take part in it, received payment for the surplus means of production which she owned and which the state has bought over.

Moslem Festival

On March 19 moslems throughout China observed their important festival of Bairam or id al-fitr, which follows directly upon the moslem annual fast of Ramadam. Everywhere they attended religious services in local mosques and spent the day off greeting friends and visiting relatives.

The festival was celebrated in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, Lanchow in Kansu, Sining in Chinghai, all big moslem centres in north-west China.

In Peking, where there are some 80,000 moslems, the four largest mosques were packed with worshippers of China's many nationalities. At the Tungszu Pailou mosque, built 500 years ago, the religious service was also attended by members of the Embassies of Pakistan, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Afghanistan, as well as students from Yemen and Somali.

Ever Popular "Taijiquan"

These days when there is still a bite in the early morning air, you will come across many people in Peking's parks deeply immersed in a kind of rhythmic, slow-motion form of calisthenics. Singly or in groups, they are engaged in *taijiquan*, the traditional Chinese shadow boxing.

Over the years, *taijiquan* has enjoyed a growing popularity among our people. Recommended by medical authorities as a health preserver and for its highly curative value in such chronic ailments as stomach ulcers, neurasthenia and high blood pressure, it has attracted quite a large following in schools, factories and government offices alike. Particularly since the latter part of 1959 when, thanks to the combined efforts of medical and sports authorities, large numbers of expert and amateur instructors were provided, it has taken on an increasingly mass character.

Muscles relaxed, the devotees of *taijiquan* concentrate to guide each movement in a complex set of exercises. The limbs move simultaneously and gracefully into various fighting stances, thrusts and blows against an imaginary opponent. Because it demands mental concentration, co-ordination of body movements and natural, even breathing, it strengthens subjective control of the central nervous system and speeds the circulation of the blood and the whole process of metabolism.

As far back as the early 16th century, the Chinese people had already evolved *taijiquan* as an effective measure for keeping fit. Since then, many schools of *taijiquan* have been developed, involving scores of complicated and elaborate body and limb movements. Now it has been simplified and concentrated into 24, lasting some six minutes. Once the almost exclusive preserve of the middle-aged, *taijiquan* has, of late, won new recruits among the youngsters.

The Peasant Question in The Democratic Revolution

by LIN YI-CHOU

Following is a translation of an article published in the March 1 issue of "Hongqi," fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.—Ed.

I

TO carry out revolution and seize state power the proletariat must solve the question of alliance with the peasantry, go out among the peasant masses and lead them in waging struggle, thereby building a solid worker-peasant alliance. This is a well-known principle of Marxism-Leninism.

The question, so far as we Communist Party members and communists are concerned, is merely one of how to solve this question in the light of specific historical conditions in each country and the different revolutionary tasks which present themselves (whether of the democratic revolution or of the socialist revolution), and whether we deal with this question consciously or under pressure.

The socio-historical conditions in which the democratic revolution led by the Chinese proletariat found itself made the peasant question the most central question of this revolution.

Old China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, politically, economically and culturally backward. Agriculture and handicrafts constituted some 90 per cent of the entire national economy (according to statistics compiled before the War of Resistance Against Japan). The rural population made up over 80 per cent of the total population of the country and poor peasants and farm labourers accounted for 70 per cent of the rural population. As regards land holdings, landlords and rich peasants who comprised less than 10 per cent of the rural population owned about 70 to 80 per cent of the land while poor peasants, farm labourers, middle peasants and other working people who constituted 90 per cent of the rural population owned only about 20 to 30 per cent of the land. The broad masses of peasants were brutally oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Feudalism was the ally of imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism and the foundation of their rule. Therefore, to bury the rule of imperialism and its lackeys in China we had to eliminate feudalism; only when we firmly led the peasants in waging an anti-feudal struggle could a powerful anti-imperialist force be organized. In China's democratic revolution, the peasant masses constituted the main force not only of the anti-feudal but also of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Thus, as Lenin pointed out, under conditions in which the peasants made up the main body of the masses and in which the attack was not directed against capitalism in general but against medieval survivals, our task was to integrate the general theory of communism with concrete revolutionary practice under these conditions and solve this question through independent experience.

From the day he took up the cause of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had clearly put forward this task entirely consciously regarding the settlement of the peasant question as the basic starting point in handling all questions of the Chinese revolution. As far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had pointed out that the land revolution of the peasants formed the basic content of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism in China, that the bourgeois democratic revolution in China was, in essence, a peasant revolution and that in leading the bourgeois democratic revolution it was essential for the Chinese proletariat to give leadership to the struggle of the peasants who were the main force of the Chinese revolution. Dating from that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid a tremendous ground work in the field of ideology, in the training of cadres and in practical work for the handling of this task.

The Chinese revolution faced extremely powerful enemies who for long occupied China's key cities. The Chinese proletariat established its own Party; it first opened the battle in the cities, organizing and tempering its own class forces, and then also did some work in rousing and organizing the peasants in the rural areas. In 1924 it entered into an alliance with the bourgeoisie, heroically leading the first great revolution. In 1927, instigated by imperialism, the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique perfidiously launched a sudden, counter-revolutionary attack on the Chinese people, hurling the revolutionary people into a bloody sea of white terror. The Chinese people were deprived of every right to political freedom, large numbers of revolutionaries were arrested and massacred. The variety of special conditions facing the Chinese revolution determined that its main form could not be one of peaceful revolution but had to be that of armed revolution, that the revolutionary struggle in China could not possibly gain victory in a short period of time and that only by undergoing a prolonged and arduous struggle could conditions be gradually created for a nationwide victory. Under these circumstances, the question arose of building revolutionary bases in the rural districts. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"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."^{*}

That is to say, as the situation stood in the Chinese revolution, we should not only carry out Party work deep in the rural areas in a general way but we had to make the rural areas where the enemy's strength was relatively weak the centre of Party work, make use of such conditions as China's extremely uneven political and economic development and the disunity in the counter-revolutionary camp, to build powerful revolutionary base areas in the rural districts, and by relying on these base areas, build up and steel over a long period of time our revolutionary strength, persist in using the revolutionary armed force to oppose the counter-revolutionary armed force, encircle the cities with the rural areas and finally seize the cities.

SOME people doubted whether the transfer of the centre of Party work to the rural areas represented the interests of the proletariat. They feared the growth of the influence of the peasants and held that this influence would surpass that of the workers and would be disadvantageous to the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that this was a mistaken view. In revolutionary history, there have been instances where the struggle of the peasants failed because it lacked the leadership of the workers or where the struggle of the workers suffered setbacks or failed because it lacked the support of the peasants, but never has there been an instance where the growth of the revolutionary force of the peasants was detrimental to the revolution. As things were in Chinese society, only by adopting such a revolutionary line could the Chinese Communist Party truly represent the interests of the Chinese proletariat and carry out the tasks of the proletariat in the period of the democratic revolution. Otherwise, the Party could not represent the interests of the Chinese proletariat.

Shifting the centre of work to the rural areas naturally did not mean that work in the cities might be given up but that emphasis should be put on the rural areas while simultaneously giving consideration to the cities and making the work in the cities support the rural areas.

The main form of struggle in China's democratic revolution was war and its main organizational form was the army. This army was largely composed of peasants and this war was essentially a peasant war. The Chinese Communist Party relied on the rural base areas to conduct a protracted revolutionary war and fought resolutely for the interests of the peasants; it obtained from the broad

masses of peasants large reserves in manpower and material supplies needed by the people's armed forces led by the Party. Thus, the people's armed forces and the revolutionary base areas led by the Chinese Communist Party became the main form of the Chinese worker-peasant alliance during the period of the democratic revolution; it was also the main form of struggle of the Chinese proletariat in leading the people throughout the country to win liberation.

THE Chinese people seized state power first in one place and then another, area by area, then in the lesser part of China, then in half of China and then in the greater part of China until they had seized state power throughout the country. The Chinese Communist Party led the great peasant war, built powerful revolutionary bastions in the rural areas and gradually and in a wave-like fashion expanded these bastions. The process of the extension of the rural revolutionary bastions in one place after another was the process of the overthrow of the reactionary state power and the establishment of the revolutionary state power in one place after another.

Making the rural areas the centre of Party work and adopting this path of revolutionary development provided the surest guarantee for a solution to the question of the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution.

The proletariat could not fight single-handedly and rely solely on the strength of its own class. Since the enemies of the Chinese revolution were extremely powerful, the proletariat, in order to gain victory, had to enlist, in the light of varying circumstances, broad allies from all possible revolutionary classes and strata. The peasantry was the most reliable ally of the proletariat, so the peasant question was the central question in establishing the leadership of the proletariat. In China, the question of the leadership of the proletariat also involved the question of a still broader united front. That is, the Chinese proletariat had to lead not only the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie but also the national bourgeoisie and other non-labouring people with whom it was possible to unite. Under conditions obtaining in China, whether or not this united front could be established and consolidated also depended on the manner in which the peasant question was solved.

The Chinese national bourgeoisie was squeezed and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, therefore it could join the revolution or maintain neutrality towards it. But it was weak and had a dual character, being both revolutionary and reactionary, and more often than not was vacillating in the middle. Proletarian leadership over the national bourgeoisie meant waging an endless struggle against its vacillation and its lack of thoroughness. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"It depends on the strength of the masses and on our correct policies to overcome the vacillation and the lack of thoroughness of the bourgeoisie; otherwise the bourgeoisie will turn round to overcome the proletariat."^{*}

^{*}"Strive to Win Over Millions Upon Millions of the Masses to the Anti-Japanese National United Front," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London, 1954, Vol. 1, p. 279.

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

The strength of the masses referred to here meant mainly the strength of the worker-peasant alliance and the complete mobilization by the proletariat of the revolutionary strength of the peasants. By correct policy was meant the policy of unity combined with struggle, a policy adopted in view of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie. It was precisely because the Chinese proletariat relied on its powerful positions in the rural areas and established the closest, militant alliance with the broad masses of peasants that it was possible, on the basis of this alliance, to solve

the question of the formation of a revolutionary united front with the national bourgeoisie. The formation of the revolutionary united front and the implementation of the correct policy of unity combined with struggle towards the national bourgeoisie in turn facilitated the mobilization of the peasants. This is one of the laws which have been verified by the Chinese revolution.

In the history of our Party, not all people fully understood from the outset the position of the peasant question in the proletarian cause and in the Chinese revolution. For a long time some failed to grasp consciously the importance of the peasant question. Both right and "left" mistakes committed within the Party were invariably connected with this question.

During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the right capitulationists represented by Chen Tu-hsiu did not rely primarily on the alliance of the workers and peasants but on the united front with the bourgeoisie; they only united with the bourgeoisie without waging the necessary struggle against them, and all along made concessions to the Kuomintang. They preferred to give up the peasantry as the most essential ally, fearing that the peasants' struggle would frighten away the bourgeoisie. They gave no support to the great revolutionary struggle of the peasants, on the contrary they restricted and opposed it, thereby causing the proletariat and the Communist Party to stand alone. Thus, on the one hand, they could not prevent the betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang ruling clique representing the big landlords and big compradors but instead created opportunities for the Kuomintang's betrayal and its launching of an anti-popular war in the summer of 1927. On the other hand, they failed to draw the national bourgeoisie to their own side; on the contrary they pushed it to the side of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Recalling this historical lesson, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"... the capitulationists in our Party's leading body voluntarily gave up the Party's leadership of the peasant



Land to the Tillers

Etching by Tsao Chien-feng, Chao Tsung-tsao and Chang Tien-yu

masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party's leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution."*

After the defeat of that revolution, the capitulationists represented by Chen Tu-hsiu turned into liquidationists, cringing before the bayonets of the Kuomintang reactionaries, conducting so-called "legitimate" activities centred around the "National Assembly" and slandering as a "movement of roving insurgents" the peasants' revolutionary war led by the Chinese Communist Party under the flag of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

IN the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the "left" opportunists were also completely at a loss to understand the importance to the Chinese revolution of the peasant question, the rural base areas and the armed struggle. They did not understand the protracted and arduous nature of the Chinese revolution and were in a hurry to seize the big cities. They were blind to the process of the development of the Chinese revolution from the rural areas to the cities, they refused to shift the centre of Party work to the rural areas and refused to work hard for the building up of strength there. They slandered the then correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as having the "peculiar revolutionary character of the peasants," and the "localism and conservatism of peasant ideology," etc. The "left" opportunists only waged struggles against and would not unite in a proper manner with the national bourgeoisie; they denied the necessity and possibility of winning over or neutralizing the various kinds of middle-of-the-road forces in the democratic revolution. In this way, they too abandoned the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution, placing the proletariat in a position to fight single-handedly and causing heavy setbacks to the revolution. Later, as work in the cities became even more seriously disrupted, the Party's leading

* "The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

body (the then provisional Party Centre) controlled by the "left" opportunists also quit the cities and moved to the rural base areas. But so far as they were concerned, this change was made under pressure and not consciously; it was not the result of the correct conclusions drawn from their study of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution and the peasant question. Therefore they still used their mistaken idea of work in the cities to guide the Red Army and the different types of work in the base areas, resulting in the disruption of the work in the base areas.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan Comrade Wang Ming who had made "left" opportunist mistakes committed another mistake similar to Chen Tu-hsiu's right capitulationism. He did not, in fact, recognize the great role played by the peasants' armed forces and the rural base areas led by the Party in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

What was common to both right and "left" opportunists was that they did not understand the extreme importance of the peasant question for the revolution, did not recognize that the Chinese revolution must first establish base areas in the rural districts and take the path of encircling the cities from the rural districts and then seizing the cities. Because they did not grasp the importance of the peasant question for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and for the leadership of the proletariat they were unable to handle correctly the question of relations with the bourgeoisie. In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung unceasingly opposed these right and "left" opportunist mistakes. In the struggle on two fronts against right and "left" opportunism, he defended and developed the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism on the peasant question and the leadership of the proletariat and in this way gradually raised the consciousness of the whole Party on the peasant question.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung also criticized another wrong idea on the peasant question which maintained that the peasants did not need the leadership of the proletariat and even interpreted the development of the Chinese revolution from the rural areas to the cities as being the leading role of the peasants. Things were exactly the opposite. The process of the development of the Chinese revolution from the rural areas to the cities was precisely a process in which under conditions obtaining in China the Chinese Communist Party led the peasant revolution according to the proletarian viewpoint; it was not and could not be a spontaneous process in which the peasants were divorced from the leadership of the proletariat. In modern revolutions, it is impossible for the peasants to become an independent political force; they accept either the leadership of the proletariat or the leadership of the bourgeoisie. True, the peasants constitute the great majority of the population. But, as Lenin said: "... a simple majority of the petty-bourgeois masses decides nothing, and can decide nothing..."* Only under the leadership of the proletariat can the peasants become a great revolutionary force and emancipate themselves. The vanguard of the proletariat

must go deep among the peasant masses, fight for their vital interests and share a common fate with the revolutionary peasants. At the same time it must carry on arduous work among them, using proletarian ideas to continuously raise their level of consciousness, and not permit one's own level to be lowered to that of the spontaneity of the small producer. During the protracted revolutionary struggle, the Chinese Communist Party used proletarian programmes and policies, proletarian ideas and discipline to educate and guide the broad masses of peasants, enabling them to become strictly tempered ideologically and organizationally, and preventing their narrow outlook formed under conditions of small-scale production (desultoriness, non-organizational viewpoint, individualism, absolute equalitarianism, lack of far-sightedness, etc.) from influencing the Party's policies and thereby realizing the leadership of the proletariat and ensuring victory in the revolution.

II

SOLUTION of the peasants' land question and liberation of the social productive forces from the fetters of feudal relations constituted the main content of the democratic revolution. The attitude of China's various classes and social strata towards this revolution was determined to a very great extent by their attitude towards the peasants' land question.

The Kuomintang reactionary clique representing the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie was firmly opposed to a solution of the land question by the Chinese peasants. They sometimes paid lip-service to solving the land question but only as a deception, a smokescreen to cover up their ruthless attack on the peasantry.

Political parties of the Chinese national bourgeoisie did not and could not have a resolute land programme. In so far as they had need of a domestic market, this class was in favour of land reform. But since they were for the most part linked with feudal land relations and were afraid of the popular masses, many of them dreaded land reform and the genuine awakening of the peasants. Among them some right-wing elements in particular were opposed to the people's democratic revolution, and even though they also sometimes hypocritically mouthed the slogan of "solving the land question," they did so only to deceive the peasants. This situation made it "all the more imperative for the Communist Party to criticize its allies, unmask the false revolutionaries and win leadership."*

In China, only the proletariat could firmly lead the peasants to solve the land question in a thoroughgoing way. The experience of the Chinese revolution points up the following irrefutable truth: Only the Party of the proletariat which had drawn up and implemented a resolute land programme and which seriously exerted itself in the interests of the peasantry, could become the leader of the peasants and all revolutionary democrats.

The land programme advanced by the Chinese Communist Party was the most thoroughly revolutionary. It

* "Constitutional Illusions," *Selected Works of Lenin*, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London, 1936, Vol. 6, p. 183.

* Mao Tse-tung, *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 12-13.

called for the abolition of the land system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, confiscation of the landlords' land and its equal distribution on the basis of the whole rural population in a unified way so as to meet the demands of the broad masses of poverty-stricken peasants.

The general line and policy of the Chinese Communist Party in land reform was to rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, eliminate the system of feudal exploitation step by step and in a discriminating manner and develop agricultural production.

The term peasantry refers mainly to the poor and middle peasants. In old China, the poor peasants and farm labourers who constituted some 70 per cent of the rural population had little or no land at all. They led such a wretched life as seldom seen anywhere in the world. The poor peasants were the semi-proletariat of the countryside. Although China's proletariat was small in number, she possessed an extremely large semi-proletariat which was tempered in prolonged struggles against imperialism and feudalism and was highly revolutionary. This constituted an important factor which remained operative over a long period of time in the Chinese revolution — be it democratic or socialist. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, the poor peasants constituted the broadest motive force of the Chinese revolution, the natural and most reliable ally of the proletariat, and the main force in China's rural revolution. Both right and "left" opportunists ignored this reality. They were blind to the revolutionary character and revolutionary tenacity of the Chinese peasantry, hence their failure to understand that one could not speak of the Chinese peasantry and the relatively conservative peasantry of certain capitalist countries in the same breath.

BECAUSE of their economic status, the poor peasants and farm labourers were most determined in the land struggle. The basic force on which to rely in land reform must and can only be the poor peasants and farm labourers. The main and immediate task of land reform, or the main task of liberating the social productive forces in the democratic revolution, was to satisfy the demand of the broad masses of the poor peasants and farm labourers for land. The most important guarantee for the resolute and thorough carrying out of land reform was the organization in the countryside of peasants' associations which included farm labourers, poor and middle peasants and were of the broadest mass character; first and foremost, the organization of poor peasants' corps which embraced the masses of poor peasants and farm labourers and were made the leading backbone in all rural struggles. At the same time, through the land and all other struggles, the revolutionary initiative and discipline of the broad masses of poor peasants were gradually raised to a level approaching that of the revolutionary proletariat, making them an inexhaustible source of the Party's strength and the people's armed force. This was an important guarantee for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stressed the necessity of fully executing in the land reform the extremely important strategic policy of rallying the entire rural working population which constituted some 92

per cent of rural households and about 90 per cent of the rural population in a united front against the feudal system and the necessity of opposing any mistaken enlargement of the scope of our attack.

HERE the important problem was how to deal with the middle peasants. The latter were a part of the important motive force of the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"Their [the middle peasants'] stand for or against the revolution is a decisive factor in its victory or defeat. . . ."

"In the land reform it is necessary to unite with the middle peasants; the poor peasants and the farm labourers must form a solid united front with the middle peasants, who account for about 20 per cent of the rural population. Otherwise, the poor peasants and farm labourers will find themselves isolated and the land reform will fail."**

In order to unite with the middle peasants, we should, on the one hand, lead them to wage resolute struggle against the feudal class (this was because the middle peasants were also oppressed by the landlord class and were politically without rights), to win victory and put an end to their vacillation. On the other hand, we must avoid any adventurist policy towards the middle peasants and effectively protect their interests from encroachment. In the land reform, we should also satisfy demands of some middle peasants, allowing some of them to retain more land than the average received by the poor peasants in general. We must, moreover, also educate them politically. Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a notable analysis of the middle peasants. He distinguished the lower middle peasants who were close to the poor peasants from the well-to-do middle peasants. He also drew a sharp line between the well-to-do middle peasants and the rich peasants ensuring that the interests of the former would not be encroached upon and thereby provided a guarantee for solid unity with all the middle peasants. As for the lower middle peasants, they were given some land, were enlisted to help in the work of the poor peasants' corps and allowed to participate in the work of the rural political power, bringing their revolutionary initiative further into play and strengthening the predominance of the poor peasants.

In the land reform and in the organization of the revolutionary ranks of the peasantry, there existed two diametrically opposed policies which produced completely opposite results. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy called for a serious effort to raise the consciousness of the peasant masses, organize their forces to wage struggles and "in these struggles . . . form various kinds of mass organizations, set up Party nuclei, build armed units of the masses and organs of people's political power, speedily raise mass economic struggles to the level of political struggles and lead the masses to take part in building the base areas."† This was the policy of the mass line, of

* Mao Tse-tung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, p. 38.

** "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area."

† "Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast."



Peasant Members of the Red Guards

Woodcut by Ku Yuan

steadfastly relying on the political consciousness and organizational strength of the peasants, mobilizing them to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, and to secure and defend the land themselves. This policy was opposed to the concept of simply distributing land from above in a "peaceful way." It was the only correct Marxist-Leninist policy. In contradiction to this and in conformity with bourgeois reformist thinking was the policy of opposing arousing the masses for struggle, with the government simply "handing out" land to the peasants from on high in a so-called "peaceful way."

Land reform was an extremely sharp class struggle, a serious struggle waged by Chinese peasants who had for generations suffered untold misery under feudal oppression and who were standing up. Comrade Mao Tse-tung consistently and repeatedly expounded for us the following truth: Land reform involved the struggle of the peasant masses and the Party's directives and the government's laws and regulations were intended to lead and help the masses. The acquisition of land must be the result of mass struggle and not "gifts" from the government. This was the key to success. Wherever the initiative of the masses was not aroused, wherever land was "distributed as gifts" and a so-called "peaceful" land reform simply carried out from above, the whole thing was a mistake and its benefits could not be consolidated. In such cases, land might be distributed to the peasants one day and it would be possible on the next that the landlord class launched a counter-attack and staged a comeback by every manner of means.

The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government did a tremendous amount of work in the countryside, inspiring the peasants to heighten their consciousness and helping them to organize. It was necessary for the Party and Government to send work teams to the countryside to carry out land reform. Their object was not to supersede the struggle of the peasant masses but to go deep among them, to visit the poor and inquire into their sufferings, to explain policy, discover activists from among the poverty-stricken peasants, help them organize peasants' associations with the activists as their backbone and make the masses familiar with policy, so that their struggle could proceed in a well-led way. Determining class status in the countryside was an extremely complicated matter demanding meticulous handling. But once the peasant masses became militantly conscious and grasped the policies on land reform it could be done very satisfactorily. During the land reform, the People's Government set up people's tribunals to support the peasants' struggle. In a word, the working peasants could become real masters in the countryside only through their own struggles, by seizing the land from the landlord class and overthrowing the landlord forces with their own strength.

It was for the very reason that the land reform struggle was waged by reliance on the awakening of the peasant masses and on their own strength that the consciousness of the peasant masses became further enhanced in the course of this struggle. In the land reform, the broad masses of the peasants acquired a profound understanding of the fact that the local landlord forces were related to the overall reactionary forces and that their own destiny was bound up with that of the entire revolution and the whole country. Thus, during the period of the revolutionary civil wars, in the process of land reform the broad peasant masses, with the poor peasants constituting their backbone, were not only organized into a huge army of production actively supporting the front, but they also rapidly became a huge political army vigorously participating in building the base areas. This remained the policy of the Party and was implemented in the land reform launched after seizure of political power throughout the country.

IN China's land reform, land was not nationalized. The land of the landlords was confiscated and distributed to the peasants as their private property. This conformed to China's historical conditions and the aspirations of the peasants.

It is an important question of principle to draw a clear line between the democratic and socialist revolutions, to distinguish between things feudal in character and those which have a liberal capitalist character, and to strictly limit the scope of attack to genuine feudal exploitation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The target of the land reform is only and must be the system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and by the old-type rich peasants, and there should be no encroachment either upon the national bourgeoisie or upon the industrial and commercial enterprises run by the landlords and rich peasants. In particular, care must be

taken not to encroach upon the interests of the middle peasants, independent craftsmen, professionals and new rich peasants, all of whom engage in little or no exploitation.”*

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in particular:

“ . . . as the main economic sector in the rural base areas today consists of private and not state enterprises, we ought to allow the sector of non-monopoly capitalism in our economy to develop in order to oppose Japanese imperialism and semi-feudalism. This is the most revolutionary policy for China today and it will be definitely a mistake to oppose it or prevent its implementation.”**

In the latter part of the Ten-Year Civil War, the “left” opportunists applied the erroneous policy of opposing the intermediate classes and attacking the middle peasants, creating chaos and placing the revolution in an unfavourable position.

THE rich peasant question in China’s land reform was a peculiar one arising from China’s specific historical and economic conditions. The rich peasants constituted some 5 per cent of China’s rural population and the rich peasant economy did not occupy an important position in China’s rural economy. During the democratic revolution, capitalist economy in the countryside was permitted to exist. But China’s old-type rich peasants generally engaged in exploitation that was very feudal or semi-feudal in character, and in this respect they differed from rich peasants in many capitalist countries. In the land reform, it was also necessary to eliminate such feudal and semi-feudal exploitation by the rich peasants. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, in order to more fully satisfy the demands of the poor peasants and farm labourers and thus be able to mobilize the broad peasant masses in support of the revolutionary war, the “Outline Land Law of China” promulgated at that time provided that in land reform the surplus land and property of the rich peasants were to be requisitioned and distributed to the peasants. This was necessary because in the bitter struggles between revolution and counter-revolution at that time, the rich peasants had not yet come to believe that the people would triumph, and leaned to the side of the landlord class and Chiang Kai-shek and were opposed to land reform and the people’s revolutionary war. When we carried out that policy, however, we made a distinction between the rich peasants of the old type and the new (those who became rich peasants under the democratic state power) and accorded the latter the same treatment given well-to-do middle peasants. When the revolution achieved victory throughout the country and the rule of the counter-revolution was overthrown, it became possible for us to adopt a policy that would keep the rich peasants neutral in the land reform. The “Land Reform Law” promulgated in 1950 prescribed that only that part of the rich peasants’ land that was rented out would be requisitioned in part or in whole and other parts of the rich peasants’ land

* “Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.”

** Mao Tse-tung, *Preface and Postscript to “Rural Survey,”* Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.8.

and property would in general remain intact. After the land reform, feudal exploitation by the rich peasants was eliminated but the rich peasant economy was still permitted to exist. By putting into effect this policy, the landlord class, embracing less than 5 per cent of the rural population, was completely isolated and we were in a position to concentrate our efforts on eliminating the landlords as a class while at the same time dispelling certain uneasiness on the part of the middle peasant masses making it possible to more effectively unite with the latter to carry out the land reform and develop agricultural production.

For a time the “left” opportunists implemented the policy of “no land to the landlords and bad land to the rich peasants,” a completely erroneous policy. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

“The aim of the land reform is to abolish the system of feudal exploitation, that is, to eliminate the feudal landlords as a class, not as individuals. Therefore a landlord must receive the same allotment of land and property as does a peasant and must be made to learn productive labour and join the ranks of the nation’s economic life.”*

The policy of equal distribution of land based on the entire rural population contributed to the stabilization of social order and enabled landlords and rich peasants of the old type to live on their own toil and reform themselves through a long period of labour.

There is not the slightest doubt that we must resolutely, thoroughly and completely abolish the system of feudal exploitation and that we must not be afraid to abolish it. But Comrade Mao Tse-tung also emphatically pointed out that we must abolish the feudal system in a discriminating way.

“By abolishing feudalism in a discriminating way we mean that we should distinguish between landlords and rich peasants, among big, middle and small landlords and between those landlords and rich peasants who are local tyrants and those who are not, and that, subject to the major premise of the equal distribution of land and the abolition of the feudal system, we should not decide on and give the same treatment to them all, but should differentiate and vary the treatment according to varying conditions.”**

PRACTICE has shown that in so doing we succeeded not only in making people feel that our actions were entirely reasonable and fair but also in reducing the obstacles to the revolution and enabling us to split our enemies and defeat them one by one.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung further pointed out:

“The system of feudal exploitation should be abolished step by step, that is, in a tactical way. In launching the struggle we must determine our tactics according to the circumstances and the degree to which the peasant masses are awakened and organized. We must not attempt to

* “Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.”

** *ibid.*

wipe out overnight the whole system of feudal exploitation.”*

In the land reform struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung particularly stressed the need for investigation, studies and basic analyses of the situation in the various localities, classes and strata. After this is done, he said, policies could be determined in the light of the actual situation and our work developed according to locality and stage by stage. He warned against taking decisions subjectively and groundlessly and forcing matters regardless of the level of the peasants' awareness. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the experience in land reform of the previous periods and pointed out that in all newly liberated areas, reduction of rent and interest must be made the first stage of our work, an unavoidable preparatory stage in which the tactic of neutralizing the rich peasants and the middle and small landlords was put into effect and the scope of attack was strictly confined to wiping out the Kuomintang reactionary armed forces and inflicting blows at the tyrannical gentry and despots, and that only later, in the light of the heightened degree of awakening and organization of the masses, should our work gradually be developed to the stage of the equal distribution of the land, i.e., the stage wherein the entire feudal system is abolished.

THE Chinese revolution was a protracted affair in which the situation was extremely complicated because national and class struggles intertwined and promoted each other. As regards the tactical moves to be made in abolishing the feudal system, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always advocated that the Party's tactics for struggle be worked out in a flexible way appropriate to the situation and tasks of the struggle in the different periods.

From 1927 the land revolution struggle passed through four periods: the period of the Ten-Year Civil War; the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan; the period of the War of Liberation; and the period after achieving nationwide victory. The situations in these periods differed. After the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, resolutely led the peasants to wage the land struggle, revived and developed the revolutionary movement, and established rural revolutionary bases. The land policy in that period was one of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it to the peasants. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, in order to form an anti-Japanese united front with the Kuomintang, reduce the obstacles created by the landlords to our mobilization of the peasants to fight Japanese imperialism, and to unite with all those who at that time were willing to oppose Japanese imperialism, the Chinese Communist Party changed its policy which prevailed throughout the Ten-Year Civil War period of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it to the peasants to one of reducing rent and interest, of reasonable tax burden, etc. This was done to weaken the feudal forces economically step by step, and not to eliminate them right away. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, conforming to the changes that had taken place in the situation of the class struggle, and

to satisfy the peasants' urgent demand for land so that they might be mobilized to actively support the War of Liberation, the Chinese Communist Party came to a timely decision to change its land policy from one of rent and interest reduction in effect during the period of the Anti-Japanese War to one of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it to the peasants. This change in policy won the enthusiastic support of the broad peasant masses. In the two short years of 1946 and 1947, peasants in the liberated areas gave tremendous support to the war in material production and some 1.6 million young peasants who received land volunteered to join the People's Liberation Army.

In this way, under the leadership of the Party and relying mainly on the peasant forces that had been aroused in the land reform struggle, we finally once and for all buried the criminal reign of imperialism and its lackeys on the great soil of China.

III

THE basic question in all revolutions is the question of state power. In order to gain state power, the proletariat must obtain the support of the peasants. As Marx and Engels repeatedly pointed out after the revolution of 1848, as soon as the proletariat raised the question of state power, or in other words, as soon as it touched on the question of revolution with any degree of seriousness, it inevitably came up with the peasant question, the question of forming a solid alliance with the broad masses of working peasants and of becoming itself the leader of this alliance. Otherwise, the proletariat could never gain state power, or even if it did, would not find it possible to keep a firm grip on it. As for the peasant masses they could gain genuine and complete emancipation only with the help of the state power under the leadership of the proletariat which alone could guarantee them emancipation. Without this state power, all the benefits secured in the revolution may once again be lost.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party, in prolonged revolutionary wars, established revolutionary state power in the countryside. During the entire course of the democratic revolution this was a democratic revolutionary state power led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This state power gradually developed in different areas, and with it, the peasants' land question was also gradually solved or partially solved in those different areas. The solution of the peasants' land question, in its turn, strengthened the foundation of this state power and constituted the most fundamental condition for its existence and development. Since the peasants' land question was gradually solved under the leadership of the people's state power, since the peasants secured tangible benefits in the process of gaining state power in the democratic revolution, and since they, educated by the Communist Party, had constantly enhanced their political consciousness and from their own experience became more and more aware of the importance of state power, they were able, under the leadership of the proletariat, to struggle more consciously and resolutely to achieve the basic aim of the revolution — the seizure of state power.

* *ibid.*

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme."*

As the Chinese proletariat gained power throughout the country, the historic task of the Chinese revolution to encircle the cities with the countryside and then take over the cities was accomplished, and the democratic revolution as a historical stage was brought to an end. The new stage of the socialist revolution had begun. But the tasks of the democratic revolution left over from the old historical stage, primarily the task of land reform in the vast newly liberated areas, remained to be thoroughly completed.

AFTER the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the first thing we did was to immediately carry through, in three years, the land reform in the vast rural areas. In this nationwide land reform, the landless and land-poor peasants received some 700 million *mu* of land and were relieved of a burden of rent amounting each year to the equivalent of more than 30 million tons of grain. They also received large quantities of farm tools, draught animals, etc. Thus we thoroughly eradicated the system of feudal exploitation throughout the country and, on this basis, further consolidated the great cause established and developed in the previous revolution — the cause of the worker-peasant alliance.

It can be seen from this that only by gaining state power throughout the country were we able to solve the land question universally and thoroughly throughout the country.

Lenin pointed out that the following mutual relationship exists between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution: the former may be transformed into the latter; the latter can, in its course, solve the problems of the former thereby consolidating the former's achievements.

In all the areas where land reform was effected both before and after the liberation of the entire mainland, the broad peasant masses, without exception, under the leadership of the Party and on the basis of the land reform, set up large numbers of all types of mutual-aid and co-operative organizations. Under conditions of the democratic revolution, such organizations could only be built on the basis of individual peasant economy (peasant private property). But they contained socialist elements and played a significant role in raising labour productivity, developing agricultural production, supporting the revolutionary war and fostering the collective spirit of the

*"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

peasants. Under conditions of the socialist revolution, these mutual-aid and co-operative organizations played a social role of particular significance. They facilitated the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution in the countryside, and from there guided the worker-peasant alliance, consolidated on the basis of the land reform, further onto the socialist road while gradually laying a new and even more solid foundation for this alliance, namely, socialist co-operation.

Under conditions obtaining in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, proceeding from the actual situation, had a firm grasp of the peasant question, and made it his point of departure and centre in solving the question of China's democratic revolution. This historic experience is in its entirety of great significance. Today, we have achieved new, tremendous victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The socialist and democratic revolutions are different in nature and the Party's line and policies are today different in principle from those of the past. But China is still a country where the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the masses, the consolidation and development of the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and the development of agricultural production are still extremely important questions for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In this respect, our experience in leading the peasants to wage struggles and in solving the peasant question during the democratic revolution still has for us the most pertinent reference to our present work. It is still of enormous significance.

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Military Situation in Laos

by FANG MING

A BIG change has recently taken place in the military situation in Laos. This is particularly vividly reflected in the Xala Phukhun campaign.

On December 13, 1960, the Phoumi-Boun Oum traitorous clique, acting on instructions from U.S. imperialism, attacked Vientiane, capital of the Royal Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma. The attack was under direct command of U.S. officers, with active participation by Thailand and south Viet Nam and remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits. At that time, reckoning on what they supposed to be their superior military strength, they were confident that they could suppress the patriotic forces of Laos. Their hopes, however, have been dashed. Far from being weakened, the Laotian patriotic forces have grown steadily stronger.

On December 17, 1960, the Royal Government forces and the Pathet Lao fighting units, after dealing heavy blows to the enemy, evacuated Vientiane on their own initiative. Leaving part of their troops in the neighbourhood of Vientiane to engage in guerrilla warfare, they pushed north along the Vientiane-Luang Prabang Highway. On December 22, these units liberated Xala Phukhun, the intersection of Highways 13 and 7, and then liberated Muong Soui on Highway 7 leading to the Plain of Jars. At the same time, the Laotian patriotic troops mounted a powerful offensive in Xieng Khouang, Phong Saly and other provinces. During the five days from December 31, 1960, to January 4, 1961, they liberated a series of important cities and towns in upper Laos, such as Phong Saly, capital of Phong Saly Province, Xieng Khouang City, capital of Xieng Khouang Province, and Nong Het and Ban Ban, important strongpoints in that province. Thus, the Laotian Royal Government forces and the Pathet Lao fighting units secured complete control of the Plain of Jars, the important strategic area in upper Laos. They also created a situation for encircling Luang Prabang, where the Laotian Royal Palace is located, and extended the liberated areas to embrace the whole of Sam Neua Province, large areas of Xieng Khouang, Phong Saly, Luang Prabang and other provinces, and a part of the areas of Vientiane and Cammon Provinces. Even in areas where the rebels are still nominally in control, their rule is in fact limited to cities and towns and the main roads, while the Pathet Lao fighting units are active in the countryside and mountain areas.

In face of this steady growth of the Laotian patriotic forces, U.S. imperialism instigated its lackeys to launch a series of frenzied counter-attacks. First they tried to recapture the Plain of Jars and Xieng Khouang Province at all costs. They mustered a force of nearly 20 battalions including all mobile units of the rebel group and the aggressive forces of Thailand and the Chiang Kai-shek

brigands. They also used U.S.-made modern equipment including 18-ton tanks and AT-6 aeroplanes equipped with rockets. They set out in two columns from Vientiane City and Luang Prabang City to attack Xala Phukhun. On February 4, after suffering heavy losses, they temporarily occupied Xala Phukhun.

Xala Phukhun, starting point of Highway 7 leading to the Plain of Jars, has important strategic significance. After occupying it, the rebel troops boasted that in three days they would occupy the Plain of Jars. Phoumi Nosavan, ringleader of the rebel group, boasted that the Pathet Lao fighting units had withdrawn from Xieng Khouang and that this area would soon be occupied too. The rebel troops had a seemingly good plan but they ventured to forecast its results much too early.

Their plan was to launch offensives on the Plain of Jars from the west and the southeast simultaneously. The rebel troops west of the Plain moved out from Xala Phukhun in three columns. One column pushed along Highway 7 from Xala Phukhun. The other two columns made a pincer movement from south and north of Highway 7 in an attempt first to occupy Phou Soung, eight kilometres east of Xala Phukhun. In the southeast, the attack launched by the rebel troops north of Paksan was spearheaded against Xieng Khouang City.

From February 4 to March 7, the rebels launched 27 offensives, all told, in the Xala Phukhun area. A bitterly contested battle was fought here. The rebel troops subjected Phou Soung to heavy artillery fire. Hundreds of bombs were dropped by U.S.-made planes and rockets were used against the city. However, this frantic attack failed to make any headway. On the contrary, as a result of a powerful counter-attack of the Laotian Government troops and the Pathet Lao fighting units, they were compelled to withdraw from Xala Phukhun on March 7, and take to flight in confusion. Following the recapture of Xala Phukhun, the Laotian Government troops and the Pathet Lao fighting units, in the flush of victory, are pursuing the enemy retreating northward and southward along Highway 13. On March 11, the units which are advancing southward recaptured Muong Kassy, a strongpoint on Highway 13.

The Laotian patriotic forces have won a big victory in the Xala Phukhun campaign. The rebel troops have suffered heavy losses. Their frantic attempt to occupy the Plain of Jars has been smashed. After more than a month of fighting, the rebel troops southeast of the Plain of Jars failed to make any progress too.

With a large part of the rebel forces pinned down in Xala Phukhun, the Laotian Government troops, the Pathet

Lao fighting units and the guerrillas have taken advantage of the opportunity to engage in active operations in vast areas, making a succession of attacks against rebel troops. According to preliminary statistics, in the areas north of Vientiane and south of Luang Prabang alone, within a month since the recapture of Xala Phukhun by the enemy, nearly 200 rebel troops were killed or wounded, more than 100 were taken prisoner and a dozen or so vehicles of various types were destroyed. The rebel troops on Highway 13 are subject to a constant threat.

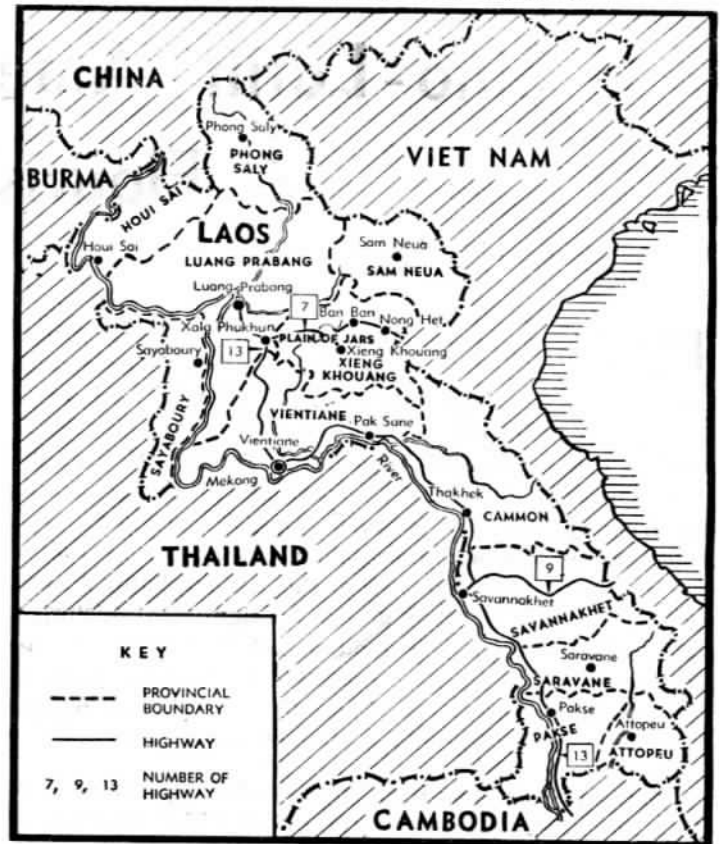
The Laotian people wholeheartedly support the policy of peace, neutrality and national independence pursued by the legal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party, and oppose the U.S. and Thai aggressors and the Phoumi-Boun Oum traitorous group they have fostered. This is why they are carrying forward and developing their patriotic traditions and the traditions of guerrilla warfare born during the war against French aggression. They are fighting with great spirit in co-ordination with the Laotian Government troops and the Pathet Lao fighting units. They are also sending their sons and daughters to join the army. This is the main reason why the Laotian patriotic forces are growing steadily in strength day by day, have won victories one after another in various parts of the country and particularly the recent big victory in the Xala Phukhun campaign.

This victory at Xala Phukhun has greatly increased the confidence of the Laotian patriotic troops and civilians that they can eliminate the U.S. and Thai aggressors and the Phoumi-Boun Oum traitorous clique. They are determined to win still greater victories. In sharp contrast, the rebel troops are panic-stricken and demoralized. Reports say that more and more rebel troops are deserting, and running away by whole squads and platoons. Families are going to the "government organizations" of the traitorous clique, demanding that husbands, sons or brothers be permitted to return home from the puppet army. In the city of Vientiane, leaflets are being circulated exposing the crimes committed by the U.S. and Thai aggressors and the Phoumi-Boun Oum group, and calling upon men of the rebel army to return to the fold of the government headed by Prince Phouma and the people. The rebel group in Vientiane is in a state of panic.

The military situation in Laos is becoming increasingly unfavourable to the Laotian rebel group. In face of this situation, since its plot to get a so-called "political solution" in an attempt to overthrow the legal Royal Laotian Government has been thrown into disarray, the United States has been stepping up its military intervention in Laos. On March 17, U.S. State Department spokesman Lincoln White announced that the United States had increased the number of its military personnel in Laos and would provide all practicable military aid to the rebel group. Of late, President Kennedy has successively called several meetings of top-ranking officers and government officials to work out fresh plans for extending the war in Laos. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk will personally lead a 25-member U.S. delegation to attend the conference of the SEATO military bloc in Bangkok in order to "save" Laos and SEATO. Some U.S. lackeys have raised even more rabid cries. Sarit Thanarat, Premier of Thailand,

March 31, 1961

SKETCH MAP OF LAOS



said that "the only solution for the Laotian situation was the sending of troops to Laos by SEATO to fight there." Philippine Foreign Minister Serrano wants the United States to fulfil its "traditional commitment to freedom" so that the SEATO bloc can intervene in Laos "effectively." Australian Vice-Admiral Roy Dowling, who attended the SEATO military advisers' meeting, said that if a decision was taken by SEATO, the well-prepared "Australian troops could begin moving into Laos within a matter of hours." What is particularly worthy of attention is that the U.S. Government, while pretending that the several thousand remnant Kuomintang bandits who have escaped to Laos will be sent back to Taiwan after "screening," is actually using "voluntary repatriation" as a pretext for dispatching them to Luang Prabang to take part in the Laotian civil war.

The Laotian war is in danger of being extended. The people of the world must be vigilant against U.S. imperialism's further, direct intervention in Laos or its use of the SEATO bloc for carrying out armed intervention there. The patriotic troops and civilians of Laos still face a difficult and complex struggle in defeating the enemy's military intervention and political intrigues. However, it has happened before that the more naked and more frantic U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression becomes, the more resolute is the resistance of the people in the countries which are the victims of aggression. We are confident that the Laotian people will eventually drive out the foreign aggressors and interventionists and attain their noble aim of building Laos into a country of genuine peace, neutrality, national amity, independence and unity.

Sino-Latin American Friendship: A Flourishing Year

TO celebrate its first anniversary, the China-Latin America Friendship Association has organized an exhibition on the friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples. It opened in Peking on March 23. Displayed in the bright and spacious Wenhua Hall of the Palace Museum, it contains more than 200 photos recording friendly contacts between the Chinese and Latin American peoples and more than 200 gifts sent to the Chinese people by friends from the various Latin American countries. Here too are some significant historical relics. They add up to a vivid record of the mutual support between the Chinese and Latin American peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, to win and uphold national independence and to defend world peace.

Many photographs recall the activities of guests from Latin America and the warm receptions which the Chinese people have given them. Here are photos of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Party and government leaders receiving guests from many Latin American countries and in cordial conversation with them. Many photos show performances of artists sent to China by the Latin American peoples, and their hugely appreciative Chinese audiences. Here too are pictures of guests from the various Latin American countries on visits to factories, mines, people's communes and schools and at gay, informal meetings with workers, peasants and students.

A Busy Year

The China-Latin America Friendship Association, founded on March 16, 1960, has had a busy year. On its invitation friends from more than ten Latin American countries including Cuba, Brazil, Argentina and Chile came to participate in celebrations of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On October 5, 104 friends from 15 Latin American countries while on a visit to China jointly signed three documents expressing their common aspirations to oppose imperialism and strengthen the solidarity and friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples. At the end of last year, the Chinese people commemorated the 150th anniversary of the struggle of the Latin American countries for national independence and held a Friendship Week to celebrate the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. All these, as well as many other important activities, are reflected in the photos on display.

Envoys of the Chinese people who have visited the various Latin American countries have also been warmly welcomed by the peoples there. Chinese artists have

carried their rich and varied arts to those lovely lands and brought back full books of photographs of their friendly visits. Many of these are on display.

Among the historical relics gifted to China are a copy of the "Havana Declaration" in which the Cuban people denounced U.S. imperialism; the fountain pen used by Premier Fidel Castro to sign the first land certificate issued to the Cuban peasants and the decree taking over three U.S.-owned sugar refineries; a portrait of Premier Castro sent by Cuba to the China-Latin America Friendship Association and a large oil painting by the famous Chilean artist Jose Venturelli in praise of the friendship between the Chilean and Chinese peoples. There are many lovely, delicate handicraft articles from Latin America: Chilean copper plates, calendar racks, and gongs, Uruguayan silverware and Panama straw hats and much else.

This is a record of the flourishing friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples. An endless stream of visitors has been passing through the exhibition since it opened. There can be no doubt that it will make a big contribution to promoting the friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples.

Against the Common Enemy

Chu Tu-nan, Chairman of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, and Cecilio Martinez, Charge d'Affaires ad Interim of the Cuban Embassy, spoke at the opening ceremony. In his speech, Chu Tu-nan, outlining the work of the association in the past year, recalled that friendly contacts between the Chinese and Latin American peoples in the past year have embraced an increasing number of persons and taken on an ever broader representative character. Referring to the solidarity, co-operation and militant friendship between the Chinese and Latin American peoples, he said that the Latin American peoples have come to realize more clearly that the Chinese people who, like them, also suffered from imperialist oppression are their faithful friends. The national democratic revolutionary struggles of the people of Cuba and other Latin American countries are a great support to the Chinese people, he declared, and the Chinese people on their part firmly support the peoples of Cuba and other Latin American countries in their revolutionary struggles. Though China and Latin America are separated by the ocean, the friendship between their peoples has been growing steadily on the basis of the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, and in defence of na-

tional independence. In conclusion, he heartily wished still greater victories to the Latin American peoples.

Cecilio Martinez in his speech warmly greeted the first anniversary of the China-Latin America Friendship Association and the opening of the exhibition. He praised the work of the association as an important contribution to the struggle for friendship and solidarity between the

world's peoples and in defence of world peace. He added that in the struggle against imperialism, the Latin American people take the same stand as the Chinese people; they know that U.S. imperialism is the worst enemy of mankind's progress and that U.S. imperialism is the moving spirit behind all the evils.

The exhibition will be open till April 6.

Pen Probes

The Mantis and the Wheel Of History

Chester Bowles, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, is one of the leading publicists for American capitalism in international affairs. In a recent speech he cited facts which, he said, "are not calculated to give thoughtful and responsible Americans [read: American rulers] a good night's sleep." His items include:

- "During the last decade, the military balance of power has shifted to our general disadvantage. . . . The political and economic balance of power has also changed to our disadvantage."

- "The Soviet economy in the meantime has grown at a rate substantially greater than our own. . . . The Soviet Union has become an increasingly powerful force in world affairs."

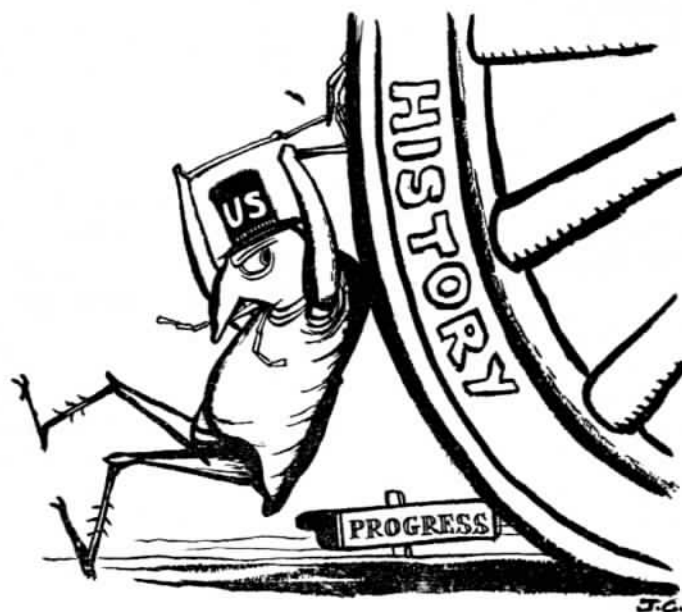
- China "has emerged from a generation of bloody civil war to become a major world power . . . and is developing a significant industrial establishment."

- "These developments are taking place against a background of unprecedented political, economic, and social revolution that affects more than one-half of the world's peoples."

- "Our own rate of economic growth has slowed down. Three recessions [economic crises] in ten years have cost us heavily. . . ."

- ". . . In recent years we have been losing ground. The tide cannot be reversed by public relations gimmicks, or by diplomatic manipulation, or by glittering pronouncements, or by angrily rattling our rockets."

Such is the Bowlesian diagnosis of the fatal sickness of U.S. imperialism. It does at any rate show a bit more sense of reality than the braggadocio of many of his colleagues. But the same can't be said of the Bowlesian prescription for a cure. To tide over the "period of crisis," he suggests "a fresh approach to world relations." But this "fresh approach" has a remarkably mouldy smell. It includes "maintaining and strengthening" the U.S. system of aggressive military alliances; a "Marshal plan" scheme of "aid" to cover Asia, Africa and Latin America; and more propaganda to "explain" U.S. policies, etc. Making due allowance for the thicker sugar coating on some of the pills, anyone can readily recognize the old imperialist



"cure-alls." They failed to cure U.S. imperialism in the past ten years, so why should they suddenly become miraculously effective now?

Even Mr. Bowles himself appears to be somewhat diffident about his cure. Feeling Fate breathing down the neck of U.S. imperialism, he calls on the United States not to "sit back and clip the coupons of destiny," but, instead, to "have our date with destiny." Whistling in the dark, he says: "Contrary to Karl Marx, there are no inevitable laws of history."

To screw up the courage of the defenders of moribund imperialism, Mr. Bowles may lightly dismiss the objective laws of social development in an after-dinner speech, but that won't stop the wheel of history turning. For those who see that giant wheel advancing irresistibly against U.S. imperialism, Mr. Bowles' bravado recalls the image in the old Chinese saying used to describe a man in an impossible situation: "a mantis who tries to stop a chariot with his 'strong arms.'"

"Soapy" in Africa

Africa "is an opportunity which the U.S. can afford to lose only at its own peril. . . . For our own interests . . . this is an area to which we must attach very real importance," said G. Mennen Williams to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee when it was considering his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

So, as soon as he had talked himself into the job, Mr. Williams hurried off to Africa. In 30 days, he toured 16 African countries.

In his version of Mr. Bowles' "fresh approach," Mr. Williams treated Africa as if it were his election constituency. The U.S. propaganda machine ran full blast boosting his publicity stunts. The U.S. Information Service gave rave notices of how he went to a hospital to see sick African babies, shook hands with Negro pupils of a high school ("He probably would have shaken hands with all 225 children in the school if he had not been reminded of other visits on the day's schedule") and how, "within minutes, Williams was laying bricks for a house" being built by a local trader.

Everywhere living up to his new part as the "friend of the Africans," drummer Williams "stressed President Kennedy's deep interest in Africa and America's commitment to the principle of self-determination for all peoples." In Kenya, in a moment of heady enthusiasm for his role, he even declared that the United States advocated "Africa for the Africans." This, however, boomeranged immediately.

Fed up with such undercutting, Whitehall, writes AFP, frostily let it be known in Washington that "it is not impressed" with Williams' activities in Africa, and the Western press reported evident "signs of resentment" in British ruling circles.

So at his next stop, Mr. Williams hastened to explain that when he said "Africa for the Africans," he meant people whose homes are in Africa, whether Negroes or Caucasians (doubletalk for those white colonialists and racists who have seized vast parts of Africa).

The British colonialists, to be sure, know only too well that Williams' "Africa for the Africans" line is nothing but sales talk. Washington's record on Africa is there for all to see. And, incidentally, just a few days before Williams made his remarks, Senator Wayne Morse, member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, stated frankly that on major issues involving colonialism, "the U.S. delegation was directed by our State Department to side with the colonial powers, and against the proposals to end colonialism."

What really infuriated the old colonialists was the real aim behind Washington's manoeuvres — "Africa for the Americans." It is no secret that the arm twist and the stab in the back is daily routine in relations between the new and old colonialists in Africa. Just one of the latest stabs is the building of a £18 million oil refinery in Southern Rhodesia by the American Independent Oil Co. about which the London *Sunday Dispatch* bitterly complains: "This move forms part of the Kennedy administration's policy of taking a major interest in African affairs. It is American big business penetration."

In the "Free World"

The South African police force is now 30,000 strong, bigger by some 10,000 men than at the time of the Sharpeville massacre a year ago. The defence force has been specially equipped for operations inside the country, and a new 5,000-man police reserve is being formed. No non-whites are allowed to serve in these colonialist forces.

Leaving no doubt that the racists of South Africa are ready for bloodshed to maintain their rule, their Minister of "Justice" says: "South Africa must prepare for internal trouble in the same way as the major powers are continually preparing for war." Their Minister of "Defence" says: "We are arming to shoot down the black masses."

Two years ago, one in 200 among the white population was in the police force. Today the proportion is one in 40.



The Moral Basis of Apartheid

On this African "safari," Mr. Williams talked quite a lot about the United Nations. Before he set off, he said: "In so far as we can, the utilization of the United Nations is tremendously important . . . as a more acceptable method of receiving by most of the Africans." Back in New York, he stressed that "only through the United Nations will we be able to resolve our problems." [My italics. — Author.] But with the murder of Lumumba and the example before them of what a U.S.-manipulated "U.N. operation" in the Congo means, it is no wonder that for all his handshaking and backslapping, Africans are telling Mr. Williams some pointed home truths.

"American imperialists, you have chosen the wrong site — go home!" read one of the placards carried by demonstrators in Zanzibar when Mr. Williams went there to inspect the U.S. rocket base that bears the innocuous name "Project Mercury Tracking Station."

"To abduct Africa, the moguls of American business pretend to be its friends and benefactors. But no mask can conceal their fangs. American imperialism is the worst enemy of the peoples of Africa, now fighting for their complete liberation," wrote the *Ghana Times* in a recent number.

"We must be more vigilant against American imperialism under Kennedy. Besides old Western imperialism, American imperialism and neo-colonialism under Kennedy is emerging more determined than ever to disrupt by every means the African liberation struggle," said a statement issued recently in Cairo by a number of nationalist organizations of the Kamerun, South Africa, Kenya, Zanzibar, the Northern and Southern Rhodesias and Uganda.

It is not for nothing that his political cronies in the States have nicknamed G. Mennen Williams: "Soapy." But the treatment he offers Africa is too brash. All Africa is awakening to this new U.S. ploy of soft soaping its intended victims.

— PIEN HSUEH

Welcome, Friends From All Over the World!



A festive air has settled over Peking as April 5, the first day of the 26th World Table Tennis Championships, draws near. The Peking airport and railway station are decorated with multi-coloured flags, gay posters and red banners carrying a message of welcome to players converging on the capital from all over the world. In the streets and busy shopping centres, colourful posters have appeared on walls and in shop windows, and the talk of the town is the world tournament due to commence next Wednesday.

Everything is in readiness at the new Peking Workers' Gymnasium where the Championships are to be held. A giant emblem of the 26th World Table Tennis Championships—a pentagonal insignia formed by five table tennis bats in red, yellow, black, blue and green with the red Arabic figures "26" in the centre—has been mounted over the main entrance. The multi-coloured banners atop the building and the specially designed posters enhance the appearance of the gymnasium and add warmth to the expression of welcome emblazoned in Chinese and English.

The stage is set and the schedule of play has been announced. On April 5 the Championships will open with the men's and women's team championships. The 9th will be a gala day for table tennis fans, for on that day the finals for the men's and women's team titles will take place. After one day's rest, the Championships will resume on the 11th when the men's and women's singles titles will be contested. On the 12th the men's and women's doubles will get under way, and the 13th will see the beginning of the mixed doubles, men's consolation event, women's consolation event and the Jubilee cup event for old-timers. The two consolation events will be concluded on the same day. The 14th, the grand climax of the Championships, will witness the finals of the five major events—men's and women's singles and doubles and the mixed doubles. Matches will be played each

day from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon, 1:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. The biennial congress of the International Table Tennis Federation will be held on April 8 and 14.

At the request of great numbers of people from all parts of the country, and especially from residents of Peking, the Central People's Broadcasting Station and the Peking Television Station have made special arrangements to cover the Championships. The TV station, apart from its on-the-spot coverage during the days of the finals on the 9th and 14th, will make selections of other matches which it will televise. For those unable to see the games in the daytime, the station will film some of the best matches of each day for showing in the evening so that enthusiasts will have an opportunity to see most of the highlights of the Championships. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has also made ample provision for keeping listeners well-posted on the progress of the matches. Besides summaries at given intervals each day, there will be an overall summary of the day's games each evening. The station will also carry special features, commentaries, interviews with players and other topical items.

As part of the intensive preparations for the Championships the organizing committee has prepared special souvenir prizes, medals and badges. The winners of the major events, in addition to the trophies conferred by

the I.T.T.F., will be presented with exquisite cloisonne cups of traditional Chinese design in gold and enamel, inscribed with the emblem of the 26th World Championships. Medals of gold, silver, and bronze to be awarded to the first three places in all the events are in the form of a star overlaid with the emblem and hung from a pin in the pattern of the Tien An Men Gate, memorializing the fact that the Championships were held in the capital of China.

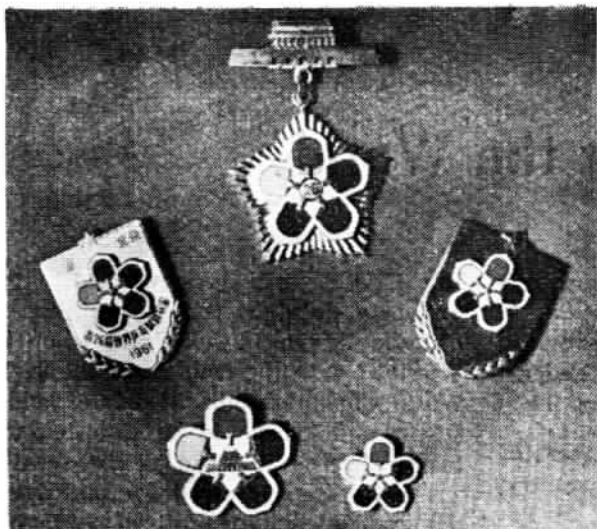
For leading officials of the I.T.T.F., there is a shield-shaped badge with the emblem of the 26th World Championships inlaid on a white background. Inscribed in gold are the Chinese characters for "Peking, China" and "The 26th World Table Tennis Championships, 1961." Players and officials from all member associations participating in the Championships will receive similar badges with a green background instead of white.

Two other souvenir badges in the shape of the emblem have been made and will be available during the Championships. The larger of the two has a golden Tien An Men Gate at its centre.

Honouring the 26th World Table Tennis Championships will be a supply of souvenir articles for everyday use—ivory chopsticks and cigarette holders, plastic and leather purses and handbags, leather and canvas weekend bags and knapsacks, matches, etc., bearing



Commemorative stamps



(Top) Souvenir medal for winners of first (gold), second (silver) and third (bronze) places; (left) badge for I.T.T.F. officials; (right) badge for players and team officials, and (bottom) souvenir badges

the Championships' emblem or other related designs.

Preparations to ensure the success of the Championships have not been confined to Peking. One hundred and twenty referees, one-sixth of them being women, have been selected from over ten cities in various parts of the country and have been given special training in world championship regulations. The workers of Shanghai have outdone themselves in producing 16 varieties of world-class table tennis equipment for use at the tournament. The Double Happiness table tennis ball which has been designated the official ball for the 26th World Table Tennis Championships is one of their products, 60,000 of which have been ordered for the coming Championships!

Of particular interest to philatelists is the news that the post office will issue a set of four stamps in red, yellow, blue, and black. A special post mark (shown at the top of the previous page) has been readied for use during the Championships by the post office branch at the Peking Workers' Gymnasium and 16 others in Peking.

ARCHAEOLOGY

2,000-Year-Old Book Discovered

Chinese archaeologists have now given details of what they describe as one of their most interesting finds since liberation—the discovery in 1958 in Wuwei, Kansu Province, of the

oldest extant book in China. It is a lost version of the *Yi Li (Book of Ritual)*, one of the ancient classics, in the form of scrolls composed of inscribed slips of wood and bamboo strung together with cord and dating approximately from the first century B.C.

There have been previous finds of similar inscribed bamboo or wooden slips, both single or bound into books, but archaeologists who have been eagerly at work these past two years on this latest find at Wuwei judge it to be one of the most important of its kind yet made. It is the first

major literary work to be placed in our hands in this form and is a most outstanding example of the art of the ancient bookmaker.

It is known that books made of slips of bamboo or wood with the characters written on them in ink already existed during Yin times, more than ten centuries before our era. Records dating back as early as the 11th century B.C. state that the Yin people "had both *tse* and *tien*," *tse* being books made of bamboo and wooden slips; *tien* being similar books, but of a larger size and usually of the classical writings, bound with cord. (Later books came to be written on silken scrolls, then on paper. Later still China invented the methods of printing books on paper from wood-blocks and then from movable type.) But for centuries China has possessed no actual copies of books of this type which, of course, are very perishable.

Historical records show that sixteen books made up of bamboo slips were unearthed in a grave of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) near Chihhsien, Honan, in 281 A.D. But these were lost again and copies of the texts of only two of them have survived. They are the famous *Annals of the Bamboo Books*, a history of the state of Wei, and *Tales of King Mu* (of the Western Chou Dynasty). The next finds came only in the first half of the present century, when more than eleven thousand inscribed wooden slips of the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Ts'in (265-420 A.D.) Dynasties were unearthed in China's northwest. These are mainly reports and documents

concerning the affairs of the frontier garrisons. Archaeological excavations made after liberation uncovered several hundred wood and bamboo slips of the Warring States Period and the Han Dynasty, all dealing with details of burial practices, in Hsinyang in Honan, and Changsha in Hunan Province.

It was while excavating a group of Han Dynasty graves, outside the city of Wuwei, that the current find of this rare book was made. It was found in a small tomb where a man and his wife were buried together. On top of the man's coffin lay 504 wood and bamboo slips inscribed with characters in the Han language. Of these, 11 pieces contained short items about divination. The rest, which included 34 made of bamboo, made up nine volumes of the *Book of Ritual* (including two duplicates). When found, the binding cords had decayed, and the "pages" of the once neat rolls of bound slips lay scattered in disorder. A preliminary study of the volumes after they were put into order showed that they comprised seven of the seventeen chapters of the *Book of Ritual*, one of the classics used by scholars to teach the rules of propriety, ceremonies, rituals, marriage and funeral rites, etc. for the feudal nobility during the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.). They show not only how the classics were copied and compiled at that time but how they differed in language and content from the printed versions of later periods with which we are familiar.

The wooden slips are of spruce (*Picea*) common in the northwest; the bamboo is of a type grown in the south. Both kinds have highly polished surfaces and are 56 cm. long (the longest standard "page" length of the time), 0.75 cm. wide and 0.3 cm. thick. They average 60 characters to a slip. The slips of each volume were connected by four silk or hemp cords running horizontally through them and stringing them together in the way the leaves of a bamboo screen are joined. As the characters written on them with brush and ink invariably have room for the string grooves, it is deduced that the slips of a volume were prepared for binding before the writing was put on them.

A big circle marks the beginning of each section, a smaller circle each sub-section. A new section begins on

a new slip even if the previous slip is not filled up. Each slip is numbered at the bottom and the total number of characters contained in the volume is recorded at the end of each volume. When not in use a volume was rolled up like a scroll of traditional Chinese painting, starting from the last slip and with the inscribed sides facing inward. Then the roll was tied with a short piece of cord. The title of the chapter and the volume number are written on the back of the first slip.

In the Han Dynasty, there were professional scribes and a single book might be given out to several to copy. The volumes found at Wuwei are inscribed in *li shu*, or the square, plain style, of Chinese script, in different handwritings. Compared with the inscribed slips previously found, the characters of the Wuwei book are on the whole better written, more neatly formed. A close scrutiny shows, however, that even at that time, there was no rigid demand for strict uniformity in the strokes of the characters, indicating that in practice, the need for simplified written characters has long been felt.

The square, plain style of characters which were in general use in the Han Dynasty, were called the "modern script" as distinguished from the "archaic script" which was used in earlier times. Most of the scholars of the imperial academy in the capital used "modern script" classics. These differed from the "archaic script" classics not only in style of script, but in the commentaries, that is, in the interpretation of the texts, and sometimes also in the versions adopted as the original. But there were also scholars who, ambitious for appointment to office in this academy, lauded their "archaic script" classics and demanded that these should also be made official texts of the classics. These scholars succeeded in achieving their aim during the short-lived reign of Wang Mang (8-23 A.D.). Hence arose the continued disputes between the two schools, the one supporting the "modern" and the other the "archaic script" version in the Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.) and later periods.

One of the most celebrated scholars of the classics in the latter part of the Eastern Han was Cheng Hsuan. He made use of the versions of both schools in his annotation of the *Book of Ritual*. It is his text which was later adopted by the Tang Dynasty as

the official textbook and has since been handed down over the ages as the only authoritative one. Gradually the Han textbooks of the classics in "modern script" disappeared. In 175 A.D. (Eastern Han), the court ordered the seven classics to be carved on stone tablets and kept in the imperial academy in Loyang. This was the first formal publication of the official texts. But unfortunately the text of the *Book of Ritual* (based on an Eastern Han "modern script" version) carved on these tablets has been damaged and only a few hundred characters of it have been preserved.

So, it is only now with the Wuwei discovery that we can see for the first time not only what an ancient classical book of the Western Han looked like in its original form, but furthermore, what was the actual text of a long-lost version of the classic *Book of Ritual*.

The Western Han "modern script" version of the *Book of Ritual* was first compiled by one Hou Tsang who passed it on to three pupils who were later officially-appointed *po shih* (doctor) of the imperial academy; two were named Tai and the third, Ching Pu. Ching's school became very popular in Eastern Han times. The Wuwei volumes are now accepted as a text of this Ching Pu school. This conclusion is based on the following facts. Firstly, it is known that the seventeen chapters of the *Book of Ritual* were arranged by the different schools in different orders. The Wuwei version follows neither the order of the "archaic script" version, nor those of the two Tais, which are known, so the reasonable supposition is that it is of the Ching school.

Secondly, two important debates took place among scholars of the classics during the Han Dynasty, one in 51 B.C. (Western Han) and the other in 79 A.D. (Eastern Han). Records of the discussions show that the central question at issue in each case concerned funeral rites and some of the views mirrored the rites as laid down, as we see now, in the Wuwei volumes. It was around 51 B.C. that the two Tais and Ching Pu were appointed doctors. The Wuwei volumes were thus presumably copied in the latter part of Western Han and since the views of the two Tais are known, the conclusion is that the Wuwei volumes give the text of the Ching Pu version compiled around 51 B.C.



Drawing of the third volume of the Western Han "Book of Ritual," found at Wuwei, showing wood slips and binding

It is noteworthy that after being buried for 2,000 years, with the exception of a few which have decayed, most of the slips of this book are still in a good state of preservation. It has not been very difficult to restore them. The wood looks fresh and the ink too looks as fresh as if it had just been written. This gives good hope of the existence of more books and other written materials of the Han and of still earlier periods, which, like this find at Wuwei, will throw more light on the past.

* * *

Sung Porcelain Kiln Found. Over 900 bowls with the inscription "*chien yao*," "trademark" of a famous type of Sung Dynasty (960-1279) porcelain, have been found by history students of Amoy University while doing practical work in Chienyang County, Fukiens Province, last year. Many of the bowls are well preserved in lustre and colour, and bear insignia showing that they were for the use of the imperial court. This is the first time that a Sung kiln producing *chien yao* porcelain has ever been excavated and studied.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

Greetings to Rumanian Leaders

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of congratulations to Comrades Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Stefan Voitec, and Gheorghe Maurer on their being elected respectively Chairman of the State Council, Chairman of the Grand National Assembly and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, of the Rumanian People's Republic. The message wished them fresh achievements in the lofty cause of building socialism, strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and defending world peace. It also expressed the wish that the indestructible fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples be consolidated and developed with each passing day.

All-African People's Conference

Warm greetings were conveyed by Premier Chou En-lai to the Third All-African People's Conference held in Cairo, March 25-31.

Premier Chou in his message hailed the national awakening of the great African peoples as an extremely important event in the contemporary anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. He said that the fate of Africa can be determined only by the African peoples themselves. The united African peoples will eventually defeat all the shameful plots of the new and old colonialists to invade Africa, carve it up and interfere with the African peoples' liberation struggles. Premier Chou reiterated that the Chinese people would stand unswervingly by the African peoples and resolutely support their just struggles to win and safeguard their national independence. He wished the conference success in making a great contribution to supporting the national liberation cause of the Algerian, Congolese and other African peoples.

Support for Angolese Struggle

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity has sent a cable to

the Angolese people expressing firm support for their just struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. The cable declared that national independence is a right of the peoples of Angola and other Portuguese colonies which they cannot be deprived of. So long as the Angolese people stand united as one, with the support and sympathy of other African peoples and peoples of the socialist countries and the rest of the world, they will surely win the final victory of national independence, the message concluded.

The message was sent through the Third All-African People's Conference.

New Zealand C.P. Leader Leaves for Home

V. Wilcox, General Secretary of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, ended his visit to China and left for home on March 24. During his stay in China, he was received by Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They had a cordial and friendly talk. Comrade Wilcox visited Peking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Canton and other places.

Ghanaian Ambassador Presents Credentials

The first Ghanaian Ambassador to China, Cobina Kessie, presented his credentials to Vice-Chairman Tung Piu-wu, on March 26 in Peking. In presenting his credentials, the Ghanaian Ambassador said that there is a fund of mutual friendship and understanding between Ghana and China. Both countries had been subjected to imperialist domination for a long time. They are determined to guard their political independence, and by their work of national reconstruction, to maintain their economic independence. Ghana counts China among its most important friends, he said.

In reply, Vice-Chairman Tung Piu-wu stressed that the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Ghana, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, are not only in the vital interests of the two peoples, but will certainly make positive contributions to the sacred cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace. He expressed admiration for the efforts and achievements made by the Ghanaian people in opposing imperialism and developing their na-

tional economy under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah in the four years since they gained their independence.

Greetings on Pakistan's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi sent a message to Pakistan's President, Marshal Ayub Khan, congratulating him on Pakistan's National Day.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi attended the National Day reception in Peking given by Dr. D.M. Malik, Pakistani Ambassador. He proposed a toast to the friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan, to the prosperity of Pakistan and the happiness of its people, to peace in Asia and the world.

Somali Guests Denounce Imperialism

Abubakar Hammud Sucoro, Chairman of the Somali National Union, Shek Mohamed Ahmed Mohad, Chairman of the Somali Independent Constitutional Party, and a number of other Somali guests recently visited China. In a press interview in Peking before their departure, Sucoro said that "the Somali people fully support the Congolese people, and imperialism must be ousted from the Congo and Africa."

U.S. imperialism and Hammarskjold were responsible for the killing of Premier Lumumba and for all the strife in the Congo, he pointed out.

The Kennedy administration is no different from that of Eisenhower, he continued. U.S. imperialism remains the biggest threat to the Asian and African peoples. All Asian and African peoples are fully aware of this, he added.

Speaking about his impression of China, the Somali guest said that he was astonished at the achievements gained by the Chinese people in the past few years since liberation. He added that he was particularly impressed when he saw the 650 million Chinese people united as one, devoting all their efforts to construction. He expressed confidence that friendly relations between the Somali and Chinese peoples would certainly grow with each passing day as the two peoples share a common struggle.

Shek Mohamed Ahmed Mohad spoke also on the anti-imperialist struggle of the Somali and African peoples. He condemned imperialism for sowing dissension among the African peoples. Imperialism is doomed, he declared.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

New Storm in South Korea

The Chinese press headlines reports on the new storm which is rising in south Korea against the Chang Myun clique, the local puppet of U.S. imperialism. On March 22, over 20,000 Seoul citizens held a rally to denounce that clique's fascist rule. That same evening, they demonstrated in the streets, holding torches and shouting: "Down with the Chang Myun regime!" There followed a fierce struggle with attacking puppet police. Further big demonstrations were held on the following day and the struggle has spread to Taegu, Pusan, Masan, Chonju, Wkang-joo and other places.

Reviewing these developments, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator says (March 26) that this new upsurge in the people's struggle in south Korea is the inevitable result of the intensified enslavement and plunder which U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have undertaken there.

Commentator recalls that during the past year, the U.S. Government has been constantly violating the Korean Armistice Agreement, strengthening its military occupation of south Korea and obstructing Korea's peaceful unification. The Chang Myun clique, when it came to power in August last year, immediately reactivated those organs of political power which had been paralysed by the hammer blows of the south Korean people. It reinforced the police and secret service organizations to suppress the patriots. In continued defiance of the will of the south Korean people, it clamoured for "U.N. supervised elections in accordance with the constitutional process of the Republic of Korea" to effect "anti-Communist unification." For this purpose, the clique has done its utmost in the campaign to strengthen the puppet army with "new equipment," and, in utter disregard of the people's sufferings, has allocated 70 per cent of the budget for military expenditure.

In January and February this year, Commentator recalls, the Chang Myun clique twice devalued the puppet currency so as to facilitate U.S. imperialist plunder. Within the space of a

single month this raised the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar in relation to the puppet currency by 100 per cent. This led to malignant inflation and skyrocketing prices in south Korea, dealing another fatal blow to that area's waning industry and commerce and further adding to the people's wretched plight. At the present time there are 6.6 million people unemployed or semi-unemployed in south Korea, an increase of more than one million in the last twelve months. Of the 2.2 million peasant households in south Korea, one million had already run out of food at the beginning of this year. On February 8, the Chang Myun clique signed the so-called south Korea-U.S. "economic and technical agreement," handing over to the United States, lock, stock and barrel, the right to control south Korea's military, political and economic life.

Commentator points out that the south Korean people have learnt from their own experience that Chang Myun, like Syngman Rhee, is a puppet of U.S. imperialism, and that so long as U.S. imperialism continues to occupy south Korea by force, the people there will never be free no matter whether it is a Syngman Rhee or a Syngman Chang in power. This is why the patriotic struggle of the south Korean people against U.S. imperialism has continued to mount wave after wave during the past year.

Commentator notes that the so-called "demonstrations control law" and "special provisional law against communism" recently framed by the Chang Myun clique rob the south Korean people of their last shreds of freedom. These fascist laws deprive the south Korean people of their rights of assembly, speech and demonstration. Anyone sympathizing with or supporting the patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism is liable to be sentenced to a long term of imprisonment or death on a charge of "breach of the law."

The south Korean people with their glorious tradition of struggle against Japanese imperialism and Syngman Rhee, the lackey of U.S. imperialism, can no longer tolerate this brutal re-

gime, Commentator says. Tens of thousands of indignant people have rushed on to the streets of Seoul, Pusan and Taegu shouting: "Down with the Chang regime — a twin replica of the Syngman Rhee regime!" All the deceptive and repressive measures taken by U.S. imperialism to maintain its rule over the south Korean people by replacing the Syngman Rhee clique with the Chang Myun clique have failed ignominiously.

Noting how immediate and enthusiastic is the support given by the people in north Korea to this struggle in south Korea, Commentator says that the people in both parts of that country are becoming further united in the common fight to oust U.S. imperialism and peacefully unify their fatherland.

The Chinese people, Commentator says, have boundless sympathy for the south Korean people in their deep distress and express great admiration for the heroism and resolve they have displayed in their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism and save their fatherland. We are firmly convinced, Commentator declares, that, with the support of their compatriots in the north and of the peace-loving countries and people throughout the world, the south Korean people, increasingly united and steeled in this succession of great struggles, will certainly be able to smash the colonialist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and bring about Korea's peaceful unification.



Cartoon by Cheng Feng

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